

An Exemplifying Study On Voting Behaviour, Fake News And Associated Laws

Dr. Zahid Parwez

Visiting faculty: XIM University & KIIT University, Bhubaneswar, Odisha, zahidparwez786@gmail.com

Abstract

The study is an attempt to investigate the voting behaviour exhibited by the respondents and identify the important elements that made them believe in fake news. Further, the study was made to get the opinion of the effectiveness of the law against the spread of fake news. The descriptive research design was used in this study. Using a standard random sample method, data was collected from 472 respondents. A systematic questionnaire was used to collect data for the investigation. From the analysis performed, it can be interpreted that, if the candidate is a Relative, if he/she is a Good Politician from past experience and if he/she is having an Inspirational Leadership quality then the respondent would vote. Also, it was found that respondents are driven away by the fake news at the time of the election. The important elements that made them believe in fake news were identified to be; if the fake news were the headline news in Every Media if the fake news has Circumstantial evidence and if spoken by a Learned person it will make the respondents believe in fake news. Furthermore, it was perceived that the Law against Spread of Fake News is 'Less Effective' in India.

Keyword: Voting behaviour, fake news, Laws

Introduction

In today's period of democratic politics, one of the most often used expressions is "voting," which is also one of the most perplexing. The popularity of democratic philosophy and practise has even lifted it to the level of a household term. 'Voting' is a democratic system in which each adult citizen, whose number is increasing all the time, uses it to express agreement or dissatisfaction with government decisions, policies, and programmes, as well as the policies, programmes, and attributes of a variety of political parties and individuals vying for the role of representing the people [1]. When individuals vote in elections, they are performing the function of choosing representatives, as described below: Fake news is information that is obviously false and available on the internet in order to influence people's beliefs. As a consequence of advances in information and communication technology, India's democracy has been repeatedly

pummelling. Political newspapers were allowed unprecedented freedom in the nineteenth century, allowing them to rapidly grow their impact. Many have said that as a consequence of self-regulation, the press's efficacy has been severely harmed. Radio and then television dominated the market for much of the twentieth century, prompting critics to claim that these new platforms would reduce substantive policy debates, favour charismatic candidates over those with greater ability but less polish, and give large corporations complete control [2, 3, 4, 5]. With the introduction of internet media in the mid-2000s, a new wave of worries developed about the proliferation of viewpoints, which made it easier for like-minded individuals to establish groups, chambers, or filter bubbles where they would be sheltered from alternative points of view, among other things. Despite the fact that the electoral commission has issued a number of instructions relating to election campaigns

and the increasing use of social media, the general public suffers as a consequence of the absence of strict controls on the distribution of misleading information. There is laws and protocols in place in India to address the evil of fake news, but they are ineffective. The Indian Penal Code, which was adopted in 1858, may punish anybody who disseminates incorrect information, whether as a content creator or a content forwarder. Another major piece of legislation is India's Information Technology Legislation of 2000, which was the country's first cyber law. Sections 69 and 79 had previously been investigated for the same reason, but the Supreme Court found that they were unconstitutional in the case of *Shreya Singhal*, which was heard in 2011, and reversed the ruling. The punishment under the Indian Penal Code may range from two to five years in jail, as well as a fine, or any combination of these penalties. A second or subsequent conviction under Section 67 of the Information Technology Act may result in up to five years in jail and a fine of up to one lakh rupees, as well as 10 years in prison and a fine of up to two lakh rupees for a third or subsequent conviction [3]. Spreading obscenely incorrect information is punished by up to five years in jail and a fine of up to one lakh rupees. Apart from that, the Indian government has attempted a variety of solutions to the issue, including slowing down the internet and enacting internet blackouts, but none of them have worked. As a consequence, in order to combat this evil, our nation needs strong laws, such as anti-fake legislation [4].

To connect with people and exchange information, it has grown increasingly common to utilise social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter, which have a fundamentally different structure than preceding technologies such as the internet. According to the Associated Press, anybody with no reputation or who is not a journalist may contact as many individuals as they like to spread "fake news." However, "fake news" is a long-standing issue that has just lately been brought to light as a consequence of the digital era, according to the poll. "Fake news" was not a commonly used term until recently, but it is now seen as "probably the greatest danger to democracy." The only difference is that, due to its growing popularity, it is now now being transmitted via digital means. The phrase "fake news" has gained popularity in academics and

even common speech since the early 2000s, and it is currently being used to bring attention to erroneous data and, among other things, to criticise traditional news organisations and news organisations in general. As a result, understanding the notion of fake news is critical today. A comparable technique should help in the finding of underlying causes, or what drives individuals to trust incorrect information. Fake news has been around for a long time and has been utilised in a number of situations, so considering the many ways it may be classified is useful. The ingestion of sewage water or large amounts of unmoderated material is equally as dangerous as drinking tap water." Violence fueled by false information and misinformation is not new in India; nevertheless, the proliferation of mobile phones and internet access in the country's poorest and most distant regions has exacerbated the problem [5]. The number of social media users in India is predicted to reach over 448 million by 2023, according to the results of a research and the conclusions drawn from it. According to a poll and the data that resulted from it, India's active social media users increased to 326.1 million in 2018. According to the report, Facebook and Twitter are the most prominent distributors of fake news in other countries, while WhatsApp is the most important distributor in the world's most democratic countries (India). According to the BBC, WhatsApp is the most essential component in the spread of fake news in India, according to their study. Indians are disseminating information from alternate sources without first authenticating it due to widespread scepticism in the country's primary news organisations. While going about their business, they have trust in themselves that they are delivering the "real storey." The incident also influenced the frequency of a few types of usual turbulence, which resulted in disorder during times of crisis [6].

India is the world's largest parliamentary democracy and the world's largest still-functioning democracy. In the elections conducted in March and April 1996, a total of 591.5 million people voted, with 14474 candidates running for representative positions. Elections are open to everyone above the age of 18 who is registered to vote in India. This covers both men and women in India. Despite the fact that over half of them are illiterates,

they have acted responsibly and maturely in the past when it came to picking their own delegates to represent them. They have previously participated in 11 Lok Sabha elections, as well as many elections to state legislatures and a significant number of bi-elections. In order to prepare for India's first national elections [7], certain electoral studies were conducted. They lack methodological rigour and complexity at the start of the process as compared to other studies. On the other hand, the sharpness of psychological research techniques increased as more and more studies of electoral politics and voting behaviour were conducted. It was understandable for a long time that the bulk of these inquiries were impressionistic and journalistic in nature. As survey methodology and observation methods have become more common in India, the quality of electoral research has improved as a consequence of their increased use. Western studies have had a considerable effect on voting behaviour research in India. According to the authors, "an electorate driven by concern for substantive and important concerns of public policy, governmental performance, and presidential personality." Social anthropologists have made major contributions to the study of Indian elections, despite the fact that political scientists have dominated the area. They investigated electoral politics and people's voting habits by using observation methods that were employed by both participants and non-participants [8]. As a consequence of these efforts, which are based on patronage and brokerage linkages, the interconnectedness of local, state, and national politics has been shown. Their efforts have brought attention to the reality that political politics is inherently a "Machine." To a larger degree than any previous election in the country's political history, the 2019 Lok Sabha election has been dominated by publicity and conjecture. According to Mr. Ravi Shanker Prasad, the Union Minister of Communication, Information Technology, and Law, the Lok Sabha reported 154 cases of fake news/misinformation during the recent general and assembly elections, with 97 cases coming from Facebook, 11 from Twitter, and 154 from YouTube, among other sources. The Indian state of West Bengal, for example, has been labelled a "hotbed of political cruelty" and a "place to hurl aspersions among pioneers of different ideological groups." Accusations of

Muslim appeasement levelled against Mamata as a consequence of a number of government policies have only contributed to worsen the Hindu-Muslim divide [9]. Hindutva parties have effectively inflamed communal tensions by exploiting problems such as imam remittances, changed Durga Puja immersion times owing to Muharram, and other concerns. In this sort of energization of awful religious views and the realm of politics, fake news and phoney accounts thrive, and the internet is often used to aid in the propagation of such ideas and propaganda. Several subjects that got attention on social media platforms are likely to have influenced discretionary decision-making [10].

Literature Review

The calculation of electoral shifts and swings, as well as the examination of voting data and records, is not the only approach of evaluating voting behaviour in elections. Individual psychological processes (such as perception, emotion, and motivation) are closely examined, as is their relationship to political action. Institutional trends, such as the communication process and its influence on elections, are also examined closely [11]. Vulnerable Voting Behaviour is a branch of research that looks at how individuals vote in public elections and why they do so. It was only recently recognised as a key determinant in voting behaviour, and it is now considered a vital and extensive research issue [12]. The study of election behaviour is a highly important issue in empirical research, and it is becoming more important. In the philosophical sense, man is a rational creature, but in the domains of economic and political behaviour, he is not so rational.

The astonishing fact that man's behaviour is influenced by a variety of irrational factors and pressure groups invoking religious and communal factors, the influence of money, the charismatic personality of a leader, and a host of other irrational forces can have a definite influence on the minds of voters is revealed by an empirical study of electoral behaviour [13]. Voter behaviour is influenced by a multitude of elements, including religion, caste, community, language, money, policy or philosophy, election purpose, voting franchise length, and so on. Political parties and organisations use these characteristics to their

advantage in order to win the war of the vote box. Politicians may be seen appealing to people's religious and communal sensibilities, despite their claims to be proponents of enlightened secularism; they may also be seen manipulating things such as language or money to accomplish their goal of winning the vote war. [14] Public appeals and canvassing attempts are done in the name of a certain programme or philosophical stance for the same purpose. As a result, the nature or purpose of elections, as well as the breadth of suffrage accessible in a particular nation, impact voters' interests and voting behaviour. To put it another way, national elections, such as those for the position of chief executive, get more attention than local elections for lower-level positions [15].

Voting When it comes to behavioural research, one school of thought takes a sociological approach, while the other takes a psychological one. The most prominent examination of this point of view may be found in the book 'voting.' The importance of voters' socioeconomic and ethnic origins in the election process is emphasised. Despite large fluctuations in support from one socioeconomic stratum to the next, political party support is rather consistent throughout the major socioeconomic strata (ethnic, religious, and economic). Only if there is a notion that a political dialogue is taking place can this be explained. It is particularly widespread among specific groups and is much less likely than other kinds of prejudice to transcend social boundaries. The writers of the American voters represent a completely opposite school of thinking. The psychological approach to therapy takes into account social factors such as socioeconomic position, religion, and familial influence. Despite the fact that elections are conducted every four years, the distribution of social traits in a population changes with time, while the transition is rather slow. Significant fluctuations in the national vote occur. Using independent variables that do not vary over short periods of time, it is difficult to account for such fluctuations. Political objects of orientation such as the candidate and issues that change often were given greater importance according to the attitudinal approach [16].

A student of empirical politics may be able to recognise or discern the existence of

these irrational influences by paying attention to how election outcomes are generated. This is a universal principle that may be applied to every democratic society, including India. Taking the case of Indian voting behaviour as an example. Elections are influenced by reasons other than rational considerations, according to a study. The fact that India has a stable administration is correct; yet, mass manipulation, minority' caste-based concerns, and the Prime Minister's charismatic grip on power have all played no role in this process so far. In today's society, the term "fake news" has no unique significance. This may be due in part to the fact that the word "news" connotes undeniable facts of public interest [17]. The term "fake news" is an oxymoron that refers to the lowering of data quality to satisfy the criteria of unmistakable nature and acceptable public policy news. Fake news is defined as "news pieces that are purposely and verifiably inaccurate, and that have the potential to mislead leaders," according to a recent research. "Fake news," according to the Oxford Dictionary, covers a wide range of topics, including deception and misinformation. Misinformation is defined as "the act of communicating false information about something," and disinformation is defined as "information that is intentionally misleading." Because deception is regularly sorted out, heavily resourced, and sustained via technological innovation, the spread of misinformation is more dangerous than the dissemination of factual knowledge. Those who cannot afford good reporting or who need free and transparent media management are especially vulnerable to "fake news," since they have a weak defence against both misinformation and deception [18].

Fake news is made-up content that seems to be similar to news media content but differs from the actual information in terms of organisation approach and objective. Fake-news websites, on the other hand, do not adhere to the editorial norms and procedures that the news media employ to ensure that the material they publish is accurate and trustworthy. False news has been linked to other information diseases such as ignorance and misdirection. [19] The French law is the first to describe "fake laws" as inexact assertions or imputations, or news that presents information incorrectly, with the goal of influencing the sincerity with which

a vote is made. The presence of Goliath man-bats roaming around the field harvesting green vegetables, goat-like creatures with blue skin, and a temple built of pure sapphire added to the intrigue. Goliath man-bats gathering green veggies as they travel around the field. Regardless, Locke was well aware that finding his phoney information would take a long time, since the Cape's primary mode of contact was through letter. Since everything was a massive fiction, we'd now refer to it as "fake news." However, they were distinct in that they maintained a large number of different storylines, not just one, and appeared on a regular basis under the same title. As a result, they had to preserve their standing as a best-selling newspaper. The finest illustration for this was the sun, which we studied earlier. Their competitors quickly exposed them. When this editor realised that the only way to secure the newspaper's long-term existence and maintain its image was for reporters to attend courts and police stations and write factual stories, he determined that reporters should visit courts and police stations and write truthful stories [20].

As the nineteenth century progressed, objectiveness and impartiality became increasingly crucial in the most well-known newspapers. However, owing to the present usage of web crawlers and social media, newspaper bundles of articles are being blown apart. Facebook displays an endless stream of information from all across the internet. If you take a picture of anything interesting, you can end yourself on a phoney news website. As dealers of bogus news, they have no incentive to be truthful and have no reputation. "The sociological imagination is the idea that an individual can comprehend her own experience and measure her own destiny simply by finding herself in her time, that an individual can comprehend her own odds in life simply by becoming aware of those in similar situations," he writes in his book *The Sociological Imagination*. To put it another way, "the sociological imagination is the belief that a person may understand her own experience and evaluate her own destiny just by discovering herself in her moment." Mills advised individuals to think about society as a whole instead of just their own lives and situations. He did not limit himself to sociology in his studies; rather, he addressed it from a broader

viewpoint. According to him, we enter the area of social imagination the moment we begin to examine things from a range of viewpoints other than our own. It is also known as the sociological imagination, and it is a scholastic tool that aids in the study of knowledge sociology (or the nature of reality) [21]. The idea is that, regardless of one's overall perspective on reality, some social certainties and realities bind us together as a community and as people in a world. We shall be able to grasp why false news is at the core of our current information society if we use the previously stated assumption. The utilisation of recorded information is a means through which we communicate, develop, and display our environment and society. It is essential for us to be updated about current happenings in society and throughout the globe, which is why news and other sources of information are so crucial. Furthermore, the general public places a high level of trust in these sources, and if they fail to supply us with accurate information, we will be unable to trust any social media intermediates or other information sources in the future. From a sociological standpoint, there are several ways to understand social concerns. The sociological imagination enables us to comprehend biography and history, as well as their relationship. The main challenge is determining such a job classification of a social problem when the general public defines it as such: social problems are socially formed. However, we've observed that a problem gains traction and is recognised as a societal issue when it starts to have a more visible impact on spectacular and high-class events, as well as when it gets more media coverage. This, we feel, is the case. Experts are offering sociological theories for why, despite concerns about propaganda and sensationalised information having been prevalent for some time, fake news is suddenly being recognised as a societal issue [22].

Objectives

"The study is an attempt to investigate the voting behaviour exhibited by the respondents and identify the important elements that made them believe in fake news. Further, the study was made to get the opinion of the effectiveness of the law against the spread of fake news".

Methodology

For the study, the descriptive research design was adopted. The data was collected from 472 respondents using a simple random sampling technique. The data collection instrument used for the study was a structured questionnaire.

Gender	Male	280	59.3
	Female	192	40.7
	Total	472	100.0
		Frequency	Percent
Age	18 - 30	141	29.9
	31 - 45	142	30.1
	46 - 60	113	23.9
	Above 60	76	16.1
	Total	472	100.0

Source: (Primary data)

Analysis and Interpretation

Herein analysis was carried out to identify the demographic profile of the respondents considered for the study.

Table No. 1: Demographic Profile

	Frequency	Percent
--	-----------	---------

For the study, most of the data were collected from male respondents belonging to the age category between 31-45 years.

Herein analysis was carried out to identify whether there is a significant difference in the voting behaviour of the respondents.

Table No. 2: Multivariate test – Voting Behaviour

Multivariate Tests						
	Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
D1	Pillai's Trace	.018	1.400 ^b	6.000	459.000	.213
	Wilks' Lambda	.982	1.400 ^b	6.000	459.000	.213
	Hotelling's Trace	.018	1.400 ^b	6.000	459.000	.213
	Roy's Largest Root	.018	1.400 ^b	6.000	459.000	.213
D2	Pillai's Trace	.018	.462	18.000	1383.000	.973
	Wilks' Lambda	.982	.461	18.000	1298.733	.974
	Hotelling's Trace	.018	.459	18.000	1373.000	.974
	Roy's Largest Root	.008	.610 ^c	6.000	461.000	.722
Tests of Between-Subjects Effects						
	Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
D1	The candidate is a Relative	.012	1	.012	.027	.869
	Belonging to same Caste	.001	1	.001	.001	.972
	Economic Benefits	.070	1	.070	.087	.768
	Highly Educated candidate	4.205	1	4.205	4.748	.030
	Inspirational Leadership quality	.575	1	.575	1.022	.313
	Good Politician from past experience	.483	1	.483	.877	.350
D2	The candidate is a Relative	1.246	3	.415	.929	.427
	Belonging to the same Caste	1.148	3	.383	.428	.733
	Economic Benefits	.605	3	.202	.252	.860
	Highly Educated candidate	1.513	3	.504	.570	.635
	Inspirational Leadership quality	1.112	3	.371	.658	.578
	Good Politician from past experience	.606	3	.202	.367	.777

Source: (Primary data)

“The estimated significance value is greater than 0.05, meaning the null hypothesis is accepted. Therefore there is no significant difference in the voting behaviour of the respondents”.

Herein analysis was carried out to identify the important voting behaviour exhibited by the respondents.

Table No. 3: Rank Analysis – Voting Behaviour

Rank Analysis			
	N	Mean	Rank
The candidate is a Relative	472	4.4640	1
Belonging to the same Caste	472	3.9301	5
Economic Benefits	472	3.9407	4
Highly Educated candidate	472	3.9004	6
Inspirational Leadership quality	472	4.3814	3
Good Politician from past experience	472	4.4301	2

Source: (Primary data)

From the rank analysis made using the mean score, it can be interpreted that; if the candidate is a Relative, if he/she is a Good Politician from past experience and if he/she is having an Inspirational Leadership quality then the respondent would vote.

Herein analysis was carried out to identify whether there is a significant difference in the opinion for the fake news by the respondents.

Table No. 4: Multivariate Test – Fake News

Multivariate Tests						
Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
D1	Pillai's Trace	.012	1.154 ^b	5.000	460.000	.331
	Wilks' Lambda	.988	1.154 ^b	5.000	460.000	.331
	Hotelling's Trace	.013	1.154 ^b	5.000	460.000	.331
	Roy's Largest Root	.013	1.154 ^b	5.000	460.000	.331
D2	Pillai's Trace	.020	.626	15.000	1386.000	.856
	Wilks' Lambda	.980	.626	15.000	1270.259	.856
	Hotelling's Trace	.020	.626	15.000	1376.000	.856
	Roy's Largest Root	.016	1.521 ^c	5.000	462.000	.182
Tests of Between-Subjects Effects						
Source		Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
D1	Well Known Publisher	2.814	1	2.814	3.437	.064
	Well Known Reporter	.015	1	.015	.020	.888
	Head-line news in Every Media	.177	1	.177	.337	.562
	Circumstantial evidence	.171	1	.171	.321	.571
	Learned person talks	1.260	1	1.260	1.572	.211
D2	Well Known Publisher	1.268	3	.423	.516	.671
	Well Known Reporter	2.742	3	.914	1.174	.319
	Head-line news in Every Media	.091	3	.030	.058	.982
	Circumstantial evidence	.718	3	.239	.450	.717
	Learned person talks	1.909	3	.636	.794	.498

Source: (Primary data)

“The estimated significance value is greater than 0.05, meaning the null hypothesis is accepted. Therefore, there is no significant difference in the opinion for the fake news by the respondents”.

Herein rank analysis was made to identify the important elements that make the respondents believe in fake news.

Table No. 5: Rank Analysis – Fake News

Descriptive Statistics			
	N	Mean	Rank
Well Known Publisher	472	3.9576	4
Well Known Reporter	472	3.9386	5
Head-line news in Every Media	472	4.4195	1
Circumstantial evidence	472	4.4068	2
Learned person talks	472	3.9788	3

Source: (Primary data)

From the rank analysis made using the mean score, it can be interpreted that; if the fake news were the headline news in Every Media if the fake news has Circumstantial evidence and if spoken by a Learned person it will make the respondents believe in fake news.

Herein univariate analysis was done to identify the opinion of the respondents for the effectiveness of law against the spread of fake news

Table No. 6: Univariate Test – Effectiveness of Law Against Spread of Fake News

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects					
Dependent Variable:					
Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
D1	.005	1	.005	.008	.927
D2	.172	3	.057	.103	.959
Descriptive Statistics					
			N	Mean	
Effectiveness of the Law			472	2.3919	
Valid N (listwise)			472		

Source: (Primary data)

“The estimated significance value is greater than 0.05, meaning the null hypothesis is accepted”.

Therefore there is no significant difference in opinion for the effectiveness of the law against the spread of fake news. From the mean score value, it can be interpreted that respondents indicate the Law against Spread of Fake News is ‘Less Effective’.

Findings and Conclusion

From the analysis performed, it can be interpreted that, if the candidate is a Relative, if he/she is a Good Politician from past experience and if he/she is having an Inspirational Leadership quality then the respondent would vote. Also, it was found that respondents are driven away by the fake news at the time of the election. The important elements that made them believe in fake news were identified to be; if the fake news were the headline news in Every Media if the fake news has Circumstantial evidence and if spoken by a Learned person it will make the respondents believe in fake news. Furthermore, it was perceived that the Law against Spread of Fake News is ‘Less Effective’ in India.

References

1. Chhibber, Pradeep K. And Rahul Verma. (2018) Ideology and Identity: The Changing Party Systems of India, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
2. De Souza, Peter Ronald and E. Sridharan. (2006) India's Political Parties, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
3. Government of India, (2003) Constitution Assembly Debates, Book No. 5, New Delhi : Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2003, (4th Reprint), page 972-981
4. Election Commission of India (ECI). (1999) Landmark Judgements on Election Law, Vol. I, ECI.
5. G. Gopa, G. Kumar. 2014. “Changing Dimensions of Coalition Politics in Kerala: A Puzzle or Pattern”, In Coalition Politics in India edited by E. Sridharan, 341 – 342. New Delhi: Academic Foundations.
6. Election Commission of India. (2010), In re: Rashtriya Janata Dal-Withdrawal of recognition as a National Party, order dated 26 August 2010, accessed from www.eci.nic.in/eci_main/Electorallaws/PoliticalParties.pdf. Accessed on 26 August 2013
7. Murari, Krishna. (2017) ‘Identity, Politics and Development in Jharkhand’, in Himanshu Roy, M.P. Singh and A.P.S. Chouhan (eds.) State Politics in India, New Delhi: Primus Books, pp. 354-386.

8. Murari, Krishna. (2019) 'Political Parties in India' in Abhay Prasad Singh and Krishna Murari (eds.) *Political Process in Contemporary India*, New Delhi: Pearson, pp. 33-62.
9. Singh, M. P. and Rekha Saxena. 1996. *India's Political Agenda: Perspectives on the Party System*. New Delhi: Kalinga Publications.
10. Narayan, Sachindra Bhaskar and Lalit Panda. (2018) *Money and Elections: Necessary Reforms in Electoral Finance*, Vidhi: Centre for legal Policy, January, www.vidhilegalpolicy.in (Accessed 29.05.2020).
11. Singh, Mahendra Prasad, 'Waiting for the Waves: India Against Corruption Movement and the Aam Aadmi party - Post Gandhian Legacies' in Sanjeev Kumar, ed. *Gandhi and the Contemporary World*, Abingdon, Oxon. Routledge, South Asia Edition, 2020, Chapter 13, pp.184-199.
12. Srinivas, M.N. (1966), *Social Change in Modern India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
13. Vaishnav Milan and Jamie Hinton. 'India's New Fourth Party System; Canegie Endowment for International Peace', India Seminar, August 19, 2019, <https://canegieendowment.org/2019/08/19....-79686> (Accessed 1.4.2020).
14. Verma, Aprajita, (2020) 'Voter's Right to Know on Disclosure of candidate's Criminal Antecedents.' *factly.in* (Accessed 26.5.2020).
15. Waseem, S. Ahmad, and Nilofer. 2009 "Coalition Government in India." *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 70 (3): 753.
16. Khanna, S. K. 1991. *Contemporary Indian Politics*. New Delhi: Discovery Publisher.
17. Chander, N. Jose. 2004. *Coalition Politics: The Indian Experience*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
18. Malik, Farooq, Ahmad, and Bilal Ahmad Malik. "Coalition Politics in India", *Journal of Power, Politics and Governance*, 2 (1): 3.
19. Fadia, B. L. 1980. *Pressure Groups in Indian Politics*. Udaipur: Radiant Publishers.
20. Madhu, DaNDA-Ivate. 1997. *Coalition Politics in India*. New Delhi: National Publishing House.
21. Bhamir, C. P. 2005. *Indian Politics 2001 – 2004: Political Process and Change of Government*. New Delhi: Shipra Publications.
22. Chaudhuri, Amiya, K. 2014. "Coalition Politics in West Bengal: The Long Duration Left Front", in *Coalition Politics in India*, edited by E. Sridharan, 402 – 404. New Delhi: Academic Foundations.