

Changing Political Landscape in State Assembly Elections of Uttar Pradesh

Kamal Kumar

Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Lucknow

Abstract

Uttar Pradesh is politically important and state Assembly elections are likely to influence the national politics. There has been significant rise of Bhartiya Janta Party while Indian National Congress has shrieked over the period. The other major political parties of the state are Bahujan Samaj Party and Samajwadi Party performed well during the last elections however, these parties could not significantly gained politically in the state Assembly election of 2017. In the election of 2022, all these parties tried their best with new political zeal and approaches. The results of State Assembly elections clear cut indicated massive victory of BJP and sharp decline of the political performance of Indian National Congress and BSP, however, Samajwadi Party could maintained its significant presence due to collation with small regional parties. Against this backdrop, present paper attempts to examine the emerging issues and changing political landscape in the state assembly election of Uttar Pradesh.

Introduction:

Uttar Pradesh is a politically powerful state, and politicians believe that the best route to Delhi is through Lucknow, the state capital. In national politics, the state's political participation is unavoidable, whether for coalition purposes or to support the administration from the outside. Aside from political identity, the state has the most people and is known as the centre of "Hindustani culture" and Hindu-Muslim harmony. The state's geography is known for agricultural products, cultural taboos, cultural etiquette, communal and caste politics, in addition to political activity. The state's position in national politics is well-known for either providing the greatest number of Prime Ministers or sending the greatest number of Parliamentarians¹. In a variety of ways, the state election has been regarded as pivotal. The state has a significant influence on Indian politics and is being built as a political "heartland." The development of the political "heartland" began in the early twentieth century and is currently ongoing, as seen by the political construction in the UP state Assembly elections in 2022.

During elections, the general public feels empowered to vote for his or her preferred candidate for good administration. When the election campaigns in the states begin, the political environment becomes more active.

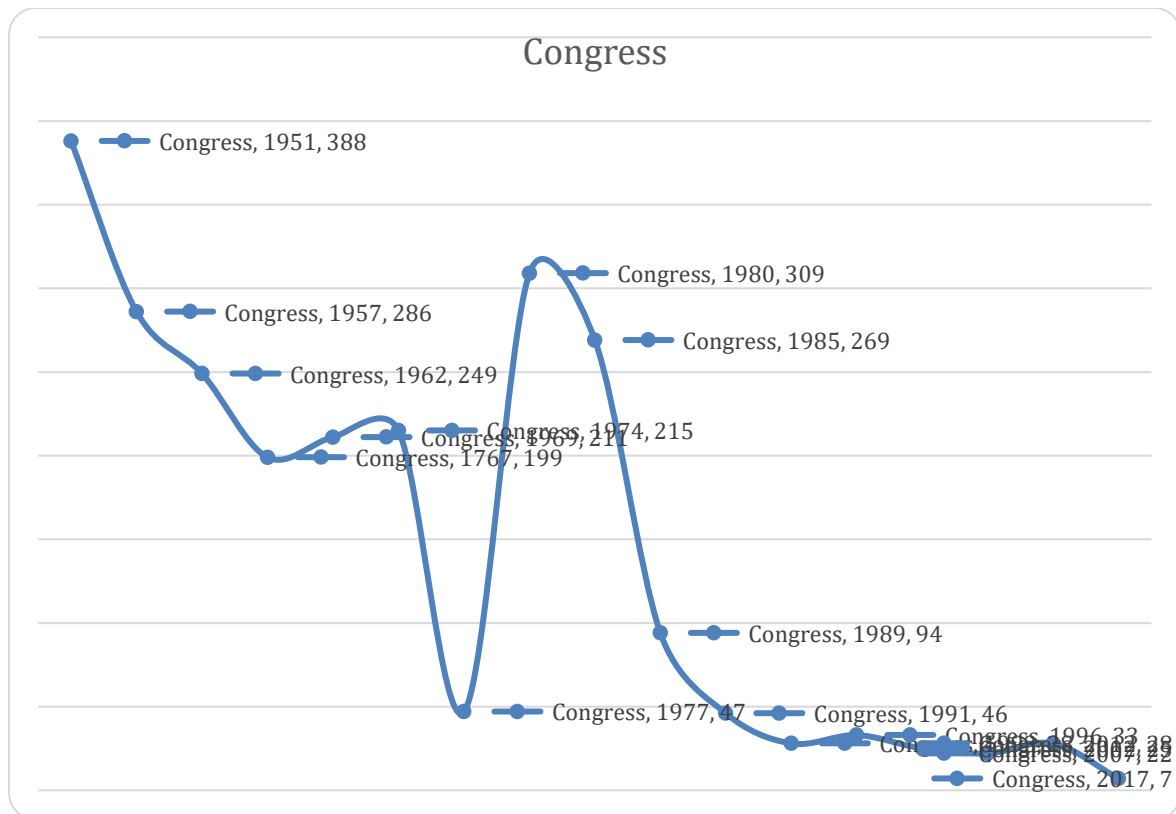
Since independence, the state's political history has a lot in common. Farooqui and Sreedharan (2017)² divided it into four phases: 1950–67, 1967–90, 1990–2007, and 2007 to the present. While the Congress dominated the first phase, the second phase saw the emergence of major opposition to the party in the state, accompanied by the creation of a wide range of groups claiming to defend agrarian concerns and predominantly made up of Other Backward Classes (OBCs). Beginning in 1990, the third phase saw the rise of Hindu nationalism, as seen by the BJP's rise, consolidation, and subsequent decline in the state, as well as the creation and consolidation of backward caste and lower caste parties like as the SP and the Bahujan Samajwadi Party³. The fourth phase began with the two main candidates, the BSP and the SP, consolidating their fundamental social base. The result was a carefully constructed attempt at social engineering, achieved by consolidating their core support base among Dalits, namely Jatavs, and OBCs, primarily Yadavs, and bolstering vote plurality at the constituency level with the addition of Brahmins, Thakurs, non-Yadav OBCs, and Muslims. The result was a carefully constructed attempt at social engineering, achieved by consolidating their core support base among Dalits, namely Jatavs, and OBCs, primarily Yadavs, and bolstering vote plurality at the constituency level with the

addition of Brahmins, Thakurs, non-Yadav OBCs, and Muslims. As a result, both the BSP and the SP formed single-party majority (SPM) governments in the state in 2007 and 2012. This was the pinnacle of caste-based political mobilization in the state, with the BSP and SP becoming synonymous with the multiparty system. The two national parties, the BJP and the Congress were pushed to the background.

There has been fall and decline of Indian National Congress party in State Assembly elections since 1951. In 1951 state Assembly election Congress party gained 388 seats which declined to 309 seats in 1980 and further to 269

seats in 1985. Since then, it is losing politically in the subsequent elections, even though state has been the political centre for the party. In 2017, Congress could gain 7 seats only (Chart 1). On the other hand, BJP improved its position from 11 seats in 1980 to 312 seats in 2017. Even in 1991, seats gained by BJP was reported to be 221 and in 1993 it gained 177 seats. BSP and SP enjoyed political gains 2007 and 2012, respectively. In the State assembly elections of 2022, Congress party could gain 2 seats against 401 contested seats. The party showed very poor performance as it could gain just 2.33 percent votes polled with winning ratio of 0.5 percent.

Chart 1: Down fall of Indian National Congress in Uttar Pradesh

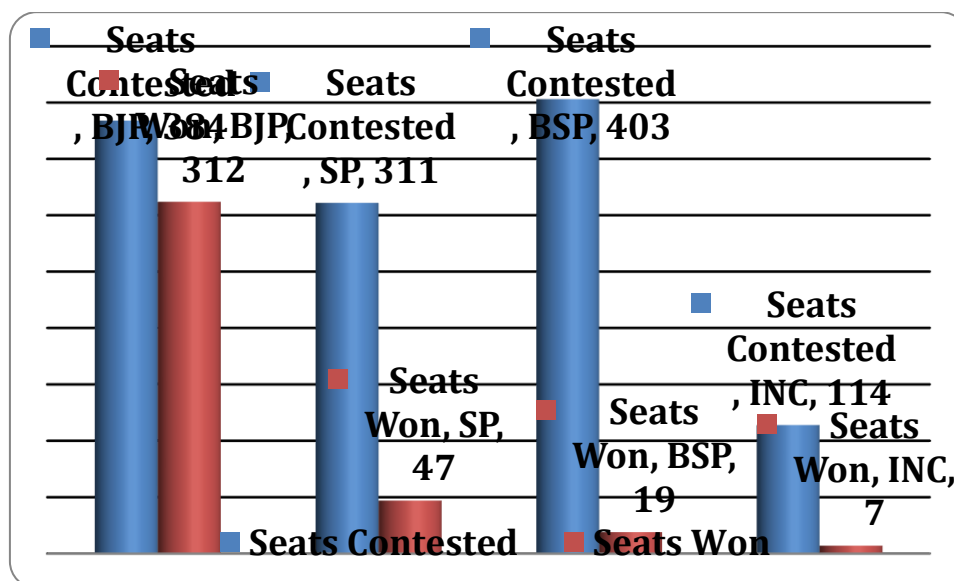


Source: Election Commission of India Statistics

The BJP-led alliance registered a spectacular victory by winning 325 of the total 403 seats contested. The BJP alone won 312 seats of the 384 seats contested with a vote share of 39.65 percent (Chart 2). During the State Assembly

election of 2022, BJP and its alliance parties received 43.62 percent votes polled with winning ratio of 67.74 percent. It got 273 seats against the 403 contested seats.

Chart 2: State Assembly Election in 2017 in Uttar Pradesh

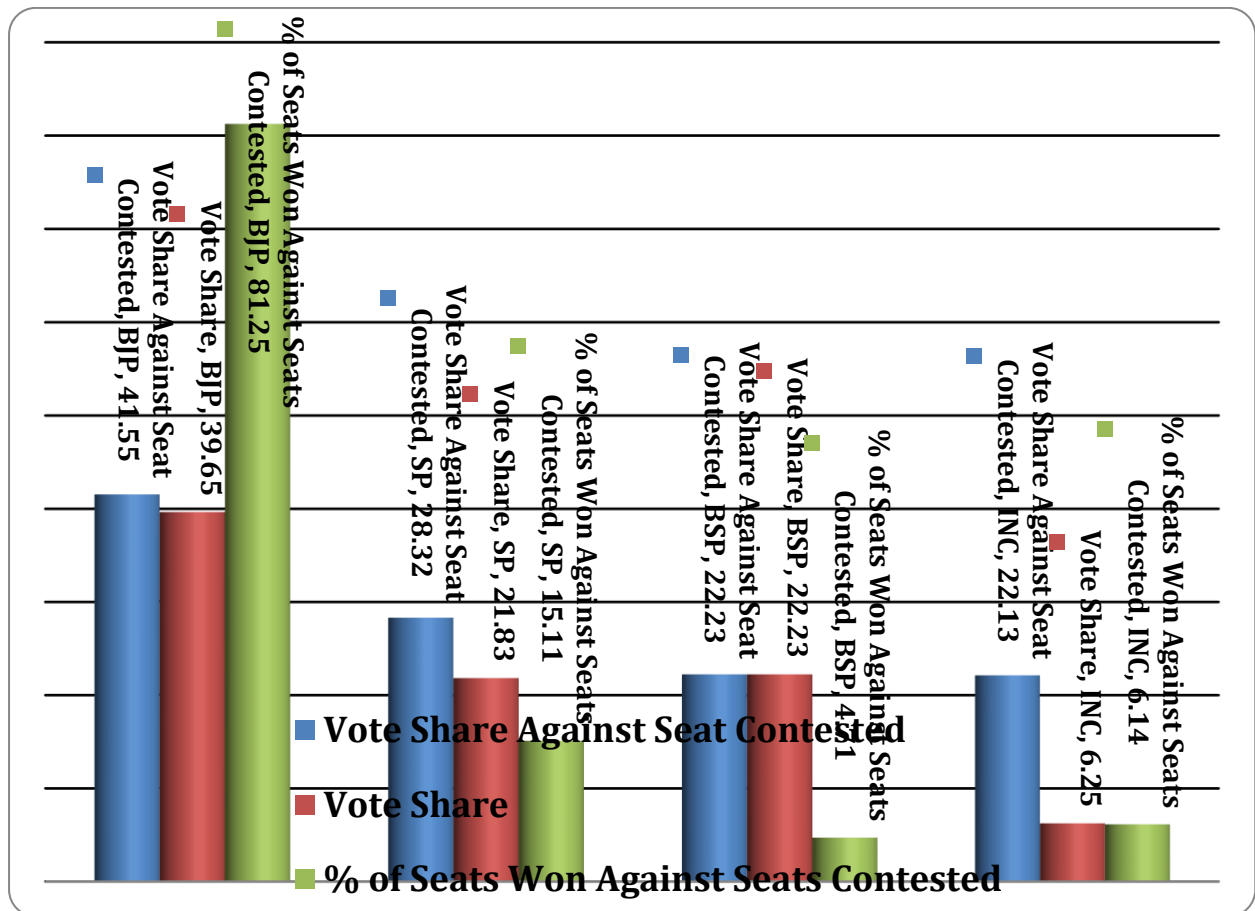


Source: Election Commission of India, Statistics, 2017

The BJP and its allies won 80 percent of the total seats in the Assembly, while the Congress would have been unable to even establish its account. In actuality, the party's overall vote share decreased by 1 percent. With a vote share of 21.8 percent, the SP won 11.7 percent of the seats, or 47 seats. The Congress received only 1.7 percent of the seat share, or seven seats, and 6.25 percent of the vote. The BJP won 21 seats while its ally, the Apna Dal (S), won one seat in the 25 seats where the alliance partners competed against each other. The SP was able to win two seats, while the Congress only managed to win one. In 12 of the 25 seats, the BJP won by more than 40% of the vote, while the SP and Congress combined had a vote percentage that was higher

than the BJP's in only five. The BJP had the highest overall victory ratio (81.25 percent) with a vote share of 39.65 percent, while the BSP had the lowest with a vote share of 22.23 percent. In 2017, Congress's vote share fell to 6.25 percent (Chart 3). The analysis of results of State Assembly elections, 2022 , indicated that votes share of BJP and its alliance parties significantly increased to 43.62 percent while share of votes polled declined sharply in case of Congress and BSP , however, SP and its alliance parties could manage to improve its share.

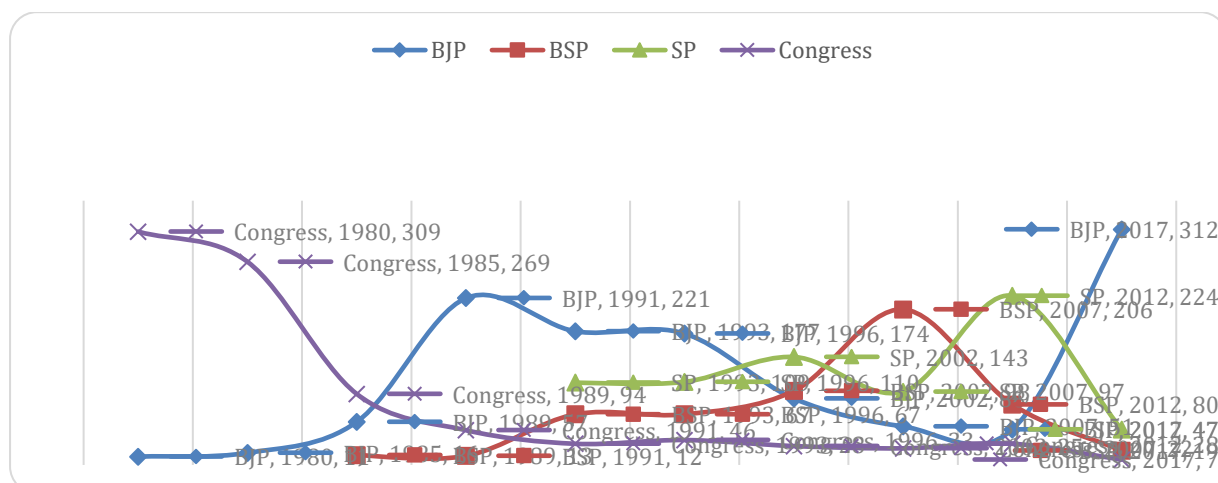
Chart 3: Vote Share and Winning Ratio of Major Political Parties in Assembly Election of 2017 in Uttar Pradesh



Source: Election Commission of India, Statistics, 2017

There has been increase in the seats of BJP and fall and decline in the seats of Congress in the state Assembly elections over the period of 1980 to 2017. The BJP has significantly managed to gain politically while Congress failed to revive the political mileage. The SP and BSP also managed well, during different state Assembly elections over the corresponding period (Chart 4). The results of State Assembly elections in 2022 further indicated very poor performance

of Indian National Congress and BSP, however, SP and its alliance improved its political performance.

Chart 4: Party Position in State Assembly Elections in Uttar Pradesh

Source: Election Commission of India Statistics

The Rise of BJP:

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has seen a significant shift in the previous five years and is now the country's most powerful political force. Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who assumed power in May 2014, led the BJP to a resounding victory in the 2014 general election. The BJP now has control of 20 states, either alone or with allies. This rise can be attributed to a number of factors, including the leadership of the party, organizational abilities, and strong groundwork. The BJP's journey is examined in this brief. The BJP returned to Hindutva in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It has won state elections after state elections and has dominated national debate like no other party in recent memory. In 2013, the BJP was in power in five states: Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh, and Goa, while it shared power in Bihar and Punjab with its allies, the JD (U) and Shiromani Akali Dal. By May 2018, the BJP had taken control of 21 of the 31 states and union territories, either on its alone or with alliance partners, and had expanded into regions and states where it had never previously held power⁴. The BJP has

been able to build its political base in India due to a number of factors, including stronger electoral techniques, preparation, hard work, and a voter outreach programme that outperformed its competitors. While selecting party candidates, Prime Minister Narendra Modi and BJP President Amit Shah crafted electoral plans that took into account micro details of caste, sub-castes, religious makeup, and other constituency features. The BJP's main force under them became electoral triumph at all costs⁵.

Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Manipur, and Goa are all holding state assembly elections. According to data from the Election Commission of India, the BJP received the largest proportion of votes in polls in Uttarakhand (46.5 percent), followed by Uttar Pradesh (39.7 percent) and Punjab (5.4 percent) during the 2017 state Assembly elections (Table 1). In terms of the winning ratio (the proportion of seats won vs seats contested), the BJP won 83.59 percent in Uttar Pradesh, followed by 81.42 percent in Uttarakhand, and the lowest in Punjab (13.04 percent).

Table 1: Performance of BJP in State Assembly Elections in 2017

State	Total Seats	Seats Contested	Candidates Won	Percentage of Winning	Percentage of Votes Polled
Punjab	117	23	3	13.04	5.4
Uttar Pradesh	403	384	312	83.59	39.7
Uttarakhand	70	70	57	81.42	46.5

Manipur	60	60	21	35.0	36.8
Goa	40	36	13	36.11	32.5

Source: Election Commission of India, 2017

State Assembly Election 2022:

The outcome of the next polls will determine whether the saffron party's path to a third consecutive term at the Centre will be bumpy or easy sailing. As the New Year approaches, the BJP finds itself on the verge of the most important cycle of state elections since the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, with the results determining whether the road ahead in its bid for a third consecutive term at the Centre is becoming any bumpier or whether a strong opposition challenge remains elusive. If the Narendra Modi-led government bowed to organised farmer protests in north India against three agriculture reform laws in 2021, and the BJP's enviable election machinery fell short against a popular regional satrap in West Bengal in 2022, political experts believe that Uttar Pradesh Assembly elections will hold the key to determining whether the ripples these developments caused have had an impact beyond their immediate implications. Home Minister Amit Shah, who is known for his deep understanding of state's political dynamics, which are woven around religion, caste identity, regional peculiarities, and local heavyweights in addition to governance issues, has been visiting the state, as the party believes that another resounding victory there will do more than anything else to set the tone for the upcoming Lok Sabha elections. Akhilesh Yadav, the leader of the Samajwadi Party, has undertaken an aggressive challenge, teaming up with regional caste leaders and disputing the state government's development claims to oppose the BJP's Hindutva pitch under Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath. If the Uttar Pradesh elections are considered as a natural barometer for gauging the mood of the country, a strong showing by the BJP-led alliance in Punjab will demonstrate the party's ability to adapt and overcome obstacles. If 2021 was a year of political and governance challenges for the ruling party, with the second wave of COVID-19 wreaking havoc across the country before farmer unions marched to the Delhi border, the results of the 2022 poll will reveal whether people have bought into the opposition's charge of incompetence against the party's governments at the Centre and states in

their handling of the pandemic or agricultural issues, or whether their faith in the party has been restored ⁶.

The Indian Election Commission stated on that elections in five states will be held in seven stages beginning from February 10 and lasting until March 7, 2022. On March 10, 2022 the results of the five states will be announced. This election will be contested by a total of 18.34 crore electors, including 8.55 crore women voters. Akhilesh Yadav, the President of the Samajwadi Party, stated on that if his party is elected to power in Uttar Pradesh, laptops will be provided to the state's youth and students. This comes just days after Yadav promised people 300 free units of energy if his party won the assembly elections. Shri Asim Kumar Arun, a police officer from the 1994 batch, working as Kanpur Police Commissioner (Additional Director General-Rank Police Officer) has requested voluntary retirement and latter on joined BJP for fraying election. The VRS of ED Joint Director, Shri Rajshwar Singh has been approved. He is expected to join the Bhartiya Janta Party.. The Election Commission also raised alarm about the increase of COVID-19 cases, and rallies, road shows, and corner meetings were prohibited until January 15 and it further extended. Meanwhile, the Election Commission of India issued a series of COVID-19 rules for political parties, their staff, and election-related personnel to follow ⁷.

A new politics – a politics of catchy words – is decorating the atmosphere in Uttar Pradesh as election zeal swells. A power struggle has erupted between the two major parties, the BJP and the SP. However, each party's remarks have little to do with the topics they are fighting for. Instead, embody the one-of-a-kind theatrics that have become a staple of every election since 2014. Every politician is aware that their words are being recorded. Preparing a pitch in UP for the grand old party - the Congress – is difficult for several reasons, one of which is that they lack a strong face to play in this debate – and on top of that, the BJP and SP have already accepted the role of each other's opponent ⁸. All eyes are on the Uttar

Pradesh Assembly elections, which are being used as a model for the Lok Sabha elections in 2024. State surveys have always been an inaccurate indicator of the national mood two years later. However, UP could provide answers to intriguing concerns regarding the future shape of things.

In Uttar Pradesh, for the first time, there is a positive vibe surrounding the Congress campaign. With hard effort, Priyanka has defied cruel "silver spoon" criticisms and gained praise for her feisty personality. She will have stemmed her party's inevitable slump if she can improve Congress vote share and/or seat share by a few percentage points. The rank-and-file of Congress, which regards her as a natural-born leader in any case, may then try to force a change at the top. Priyanka has been hesitant to steal the spotlight away from her brother, and will only do so if he refuses. A strong showing in the Assembly elections is vital for the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), which is facing an existential crisis. In view of the growing importance of Muslim vote, and realising the detachment of Muslim voters from SP, BSP fielded about 40 Muslim candidates in election fray while Priyanka Gandhi, announced to give tickets to about 40 percent women. SP shifted its focus from caste politics to youth. The main political agenda of State Assembly elections in 2022 include handling of COVID-19 pandemic; rebuilding Rama Temple in Ayodhya and Kashi Viswanath Corridor in Varanasi; revocation of Article 370 in Kashmir; welfare schemes such as Swachh Bharat Mission, Jal Jeevan Mission, AMRUT, Ujjwala, Prime Minister Housing For All, Pradhan Mantri Gabib Kalyan Yojana, Prime Minister SvaNidhi; corruption free governance; demonetisation; make in India; Ajadi ka Amrut Mahotasva, glorification of Indian culture, etc. The State of Uttar Pradesh also introduced new political and administrative models and initiated state missions such as Rojgar Mission, COVID-19 Control Mission, Mission Shakti, besides implementation of State Commission for Migrant Workers. However, issues such as price rising and inflation; unemployment; farmer's protests and distress; and handling of COVID-19 pandemic during second wave in March–May, 2021 caused political and administrative concerns. The political temperature in Uttar Pradesh has risen as the elections near. The vitriol and factionalism of

the political leaders increased as soon as the candidates' names were released. Despite reports that Aparna Yadav, the younger daughter-in-law of SP Patron Mulayam Singh Yadav, joined BJP, Shivpal Singh Yadav, leader of Pragatisheel Samajwadi Party, persuaded Shri Akhilesh Yadav to stay with the SP. Ms. Aditi Singh, also dropped Congress and joined BJP. However, a jolt was felt in BJP when its two Cabinet Ministers, Shri Swami Prasad Maurya and Shri Dara Singh left party and joined SP. SP is devising a strategy to increase its vote share in this election to the greatest. The party's manifesto will have a special focus on issues affecting youth and farmers as a result of this. The party's strategy is to bring young people together through employment and resource development. The party has begun publicly discussing social justice. Each assembly constituency will receive one vote, according to party strategists. Muslim candidates have been given priority by the BSP and SP-RLD alliance in western Uttar Pradesh. Muslim candidates have run for many seats in the SP and BSP. Owaisi's party has acted responsibly⁹.

Social media, often called social networking sites, are gradually penetrating areas beyond the urban to the peripheral localities in India. Social media, which works through Internet connectivity, has resulted in urban people having an edge over the rural population in terms of usage. In a democracy, elections are considered as being crucial for political parties and people to elect their representative through electoral franchise. However, the SP won the election and Akhilesh Yadav became the youngest Chief Minister of the state in 2012. The Uttar Pradesh election was considered pivotal because along with Uttar Pradesh, four more states had elections held simultaneously but none achieved the status or attracted the media attention which Uttar Pradesh did. During political campaigns, the media becomes a pivotal medium to follow the nature of politics and political debates. The political discussion touches almost all the relevant issues that surfaced in the elections. As the elections inch closer amid COVID-19, most of the parties have moved their rallies online, including Congress and AAP, who are set to address people virtually today. As Election Commission banned political rallies due to COVID-19 pandemic, the role of social media has gained importance in the

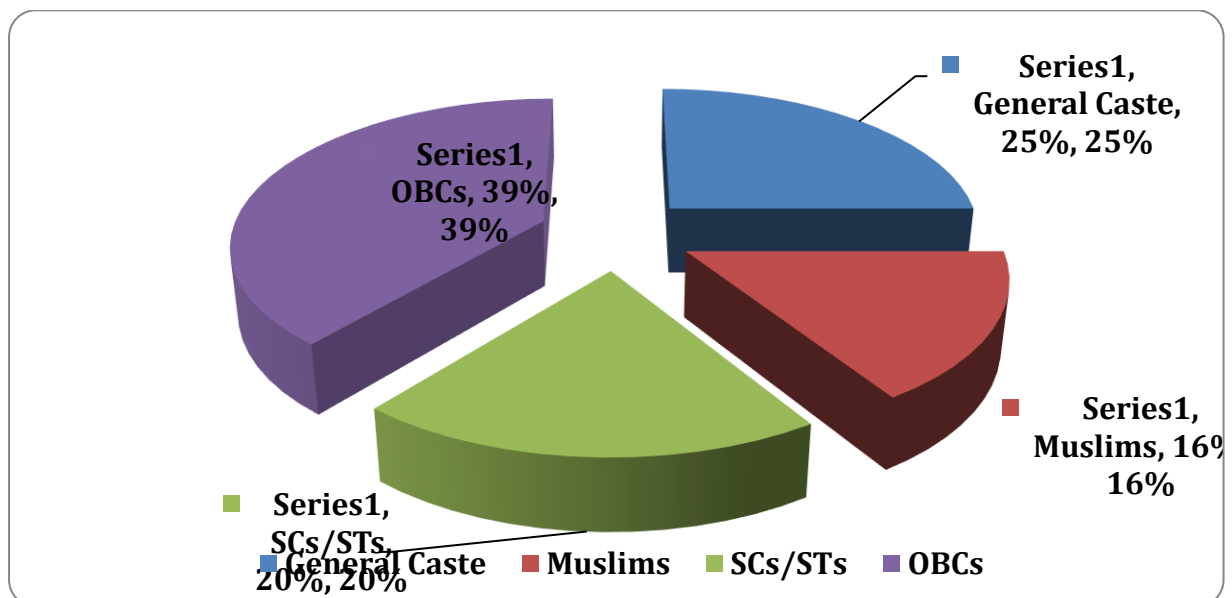
political communication and political convincing in 2022.

Caste Factor:

In Uttar Pradesh, both caste and communal politics are prevalent. The inherited caste factor has shaped the caste politics in the elections. The role of caste in electoral politics is evident as it reflects a caste configuration in the state and therefore caste is considered an important factor in the elections. The emergence of Dalits politics was shaped around the following Dalits ideologue. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, Jyotiba Phule, Narayan Guru, E.V. Ramaswamy Periyar, Savitribai Phule and others laid down the ideological foundations of a Dalits-Bahujan movement in India. While in UP, the Dalits politics shaped around Ambedkar (Baba Saheb), Kanshi Ram (Shaheb) and Mayawati (Behenji), who were treated like deities. Jodhka (2010)¹⁰ highlighted that “the electoral victory of BSP in state in 2007 also pointed to the role of the political leadership, and their ability to build viable cross-caste alliances.” He further adds that “according to some commentators, it is the leaders and media experts who present/analyze electoral politics in caste terms, and make caste appear to be the single determining sociological variable in electoral politics. While the BSP is popularly seen as political party of the Dalits and is led by a Dalits woman, in its electoral

mobilizations ‘it did not pay too much attention to caste arithmetic and it did very well by imaginatively bringing a coalition of interest between different groups.’ The politics of “social engineering” of Mayawati was perhaps the biggest political event of 2007 in state. The “social engineering” of BSP was in fact a political experiment when BSP successfully brought Brahmins and Dalits together for a political cause, which had never happened before in Indian politics. Caste was a dominant political factor in the state while it has been used by everyone either by state or politicians or institutions in various ways¹¹. The BJP believes that it will not fall below 40 percent vote share and will easily establish a government, whilst the SP will not cross the 30 percent vote mark despite its best efforts, and the BSP will remain a factor in 2022 with at least 20 percent vote share. There is centralised decision making in BJP. Even party tickets are decided by top level leaders. Shri Yogi Aditya Nath was shifted to Gorakhpur, though political rumour was to fifth election from Ayodhya or Mathura. The BJP rode to power in Uttar Pradesh in 2017 with a whopping 40 percent vote share and 312 seats, a feat not achieved by any party in over two decades, riding on the Shri Narendra Modi wave, a consolidation of the non-Yadav OBC and non-Jatav Dalit castes alongside its traditional upper-caste vote bank, and a bitter division in the Muslim vote (Chart 5)

Chart 5: Share of Classes in Vote Banks in Uttar Pradesh

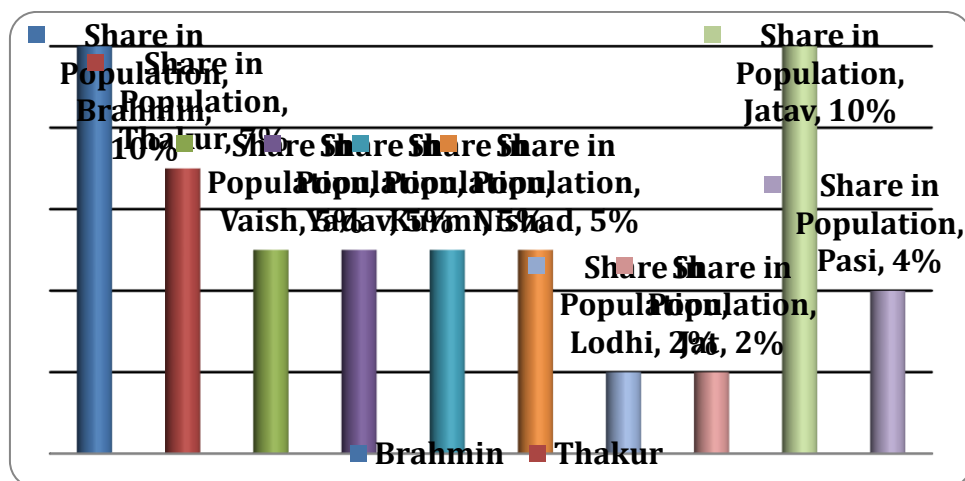


Source: First Post, January 14, 2022

The SP and BSP are running separately in the Uttar Pradesh elections of 2022, but the SP claims it would establish the government on its own with a large caste coalition on its side under the banner of 'Samajik Nyaay' (Social Justice), a word popularised by the party's former chief minister, Akhilesh Yadav ¹². According to political parties, the state's population is roughly divided into 25-27 percent general castes

(including 10 percent Brahmins and 7 percent Thakurs), about 39-40 percent OBCs (including 7-9 percent Yadavs and 4 percent Nishads), around 20 percent SCs and STs (including 10 percent Jatavs), and 16-19 percent Muslims (Chart 6).

Chart 6: Share of Caste wise Votes in Uttar Pradesh

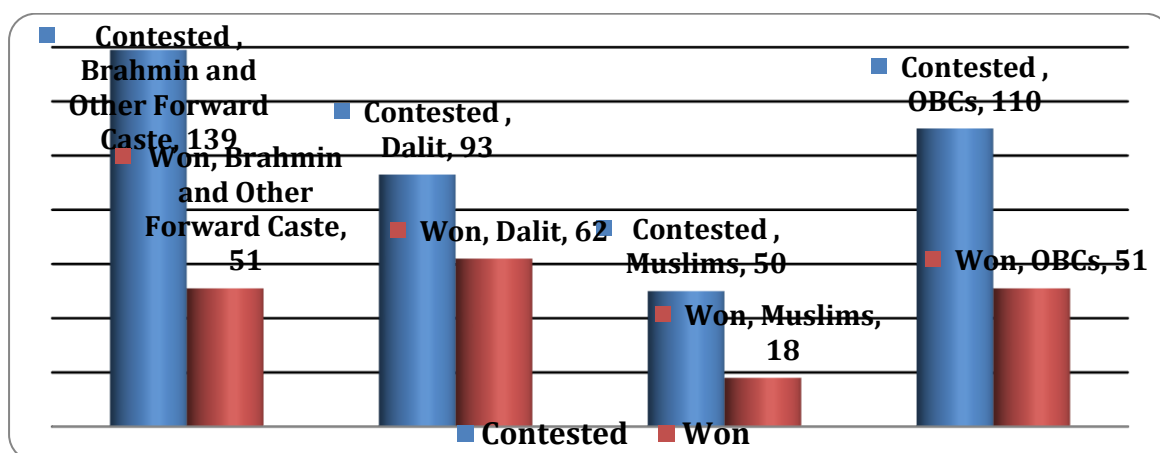


Source: First Post, January 14, 2022

It is to be noted that caste is a major factor in electoral politics in the state. During the state Assembly election in 2012, candidates from Dalits and OBCs had higher winning ratio (Chart 7). In view of the emerging importance

of caste factor in electoral politics of 2022, many political parties made political alliance and provided tickets to candidates, considering their caste, class, and region rather than political experience and political reality.

Chart 7: Caste Wise Candidates Contested and Won in 2012 Assembly Election



Source: <http://sodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bilstream/10603>

The results of State Assembly Elections in 2022 indicated massive victory of BJP and

downfall of Indian National Congress. BJP and its alliance parties gained 67.74 percent seats

against number of seats contested with 43.62 percent of votes polled. The BSP confined to only one seat with 12.88 percent of votes polled while Samajwadi Party and its alliance parties

could gain 125 seats (31.09 percent against seats contested) and 36.32 percent votes polled (Table 2).

Table 2: Party Wise Performance in State Assembly Elections in 2022 in Uttar Pradesh

State	Seats Contested	Candidates Won	Percentage of Winning	Percentage of Votes Polled
BJP and Its Alliance	403	273	67.74	43.62
Samajwadi Party and its Alliance	402	125	31.09	36.32
Indian National Congress	401	2	0.50	2.33
Bahujan Samaj Party	403	1	0.25	12.88

Source: Election Commission of India, 2022

There are 403 constituencies in Uttar Pradesh, 117 in Punjab, 40 in Goa, 60 in Manipur, and 70 in Uttarakhand. BJP and its alliance parties gained massive victory in Uttar Pradesh, and Uttarakhand while it increased its share in Goa and Manipur, however, it could gain only 2 seats in Punjab. The winning ratio was recorded high in Uttar Pradesh followed by Uttarakhand Manipur and Goa while vote percentage polled was recorded high in Uttarakhand followed by Uttar Pradesh, Manipur Goa and least in Punjab. BJP and its alliance parties formed the government in Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Manipur, and Goa however it lost election in Punjab during the state Assembly Elections in 2022 (Table 3). The BJP banked upon the Hindutva and development to win the State Assembly Elections, however, it ignored certain issues such as employment generation and growth of economy, while

Samajwadi Party made alliance strategically to switch together small parties to make big difference.¹³ The ruling party also claimed that Uttar Pradesh has the highest number of COVID vaccination and it has created world class health infrastructure facilities.¹⁴ Samajwadi Party has stitched together a formidable coalition with small, caste based parties, however, it could not gain politically due to dissatisfaction among leaders of its own party and fickle nature of political partners¹⁵. It is also proved that among the 50 seats with the lowest margins, Samajwadi Party lost the most. Thus, it was low margin defeats in the state Assembly elections. With the decline of Indian National Congress, without check, the political opponents have started criticizing the political leadership and continues failure has created great sense of despair and despondency within the party¹⁶.

Table 3: Political Performance of BJP and its Alliance in State Assembly Elections, 2022

State	Votes Polled	Winning Ratio
Uttar Pradesh	43.62	67.74
Uttarakhand	44.30	67.14
Punjab	6.6	1.7
Goa	33.3	50.0
Manipur	37.63	53.33

Source: Source: Election Commission of India, 2022

Conclusion:

It may be concluded that the state assembly election of Uttar Pradesh in 2022 will be decisive in national politics as it the nerve of the country. Though, Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi visited many times and addressed public gatherings. He also provided massive funds for development projects in the state. The top national political leaders of ruling party also attended political meetings and focused on development issues of the state. However, there will be tough political fight as some of the disturbing issues such as farmers' protest and distress, unemployment, shifting of vote banks due to caste factor, failure in management of COVID-19 pandemic during the second wave in 2021, ban on political rallies in order to follow COVID protocols, and revival strategies of Congress and SP may likely to influence political campaign. The election of 2022 will be more interesting in the changing political scenario and policy environment.

References:

- [1] Kudaisya G (2006) Region, nation, "heartland": Uttar Pradesh in India's body politics. Sage Publications, New Delhi
- [2] Farooqui, Adnan E Sridharan (2017) Uttar Pradesh Elections 2017 Failure of Pre-electoral Coalition, Economic & Political Weekly, April 15, Vol. LII No 15
- [3] Jeffrey, R (2014): "Introduction," Development Failure and Identity Politics in Uttar Pradesh, Roger Jeffrey, Craig Jeffrey and Jens Lerch (eds), New Delhi: Sage
- [4] Mishra, Satish (2018) Understanding the Rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party, ORF Issue Brief, 258, September, Observer Research Foundation (ORF),
- [5] The Wire (2017) 'Winning at Any Cost the New Normal in Indian Politics: Election Commissioner', The Wire, 18 August 2017, <https://thewire.in/politics/election-commissioner-new-normal-elections>.
- [6] First Post (2021) Why 2022 Assembly Elections Will Have Far-Reaching Effects For The BJP, First Post, December, 30
- [7] News 18 (2022) Assembly Election 2022 Updates: Incumbent BJP to Face Challenge from Newcomers TMC, AAP as Goa Goes to Polls Next Month, News 18, January 9
- [8] Outlook (2022) UP Elections 2022: The New Found Theatrics In Politics In The Age Of Internet, Outlook, January, 8
- [9] Hindustan News (2022) UP Election 2022: What is the political atmosphere in Uttar Pradesh?, January 17
- [10] Jodhka SS (2010) Caste and politics. In: Jayal NG, Mehta PB (eds) The Oxford companion to politics. Oxford University of Delhi, New Delhi
- [11] Moinuddin, Sheikh (2017) Media scape and The State A Geographical Interpretation of Image Politics in Uttar Pradesh, India, Springer International Publishing, Gewerbestrasse, Switzerland
- [12] First Post (2022) UP Assembly elections: Here's why OBC vote share may hold key to victory in Uttar Pradesh, First Post, January 14
- [13] Awasthi, Puja (2022) Wave to Wavering, The Week, February 27
- [14] Awasthi, Puja (2022) My Purpose of Existence is To serve People, The Week, February 27
- [15] Awasthi, Puja (2022) Ride With The Tide, The Week, March 6
- [16] Mishra, Soni (2022) The Great Old Mess, The Week, March 27