

## ONLINE APPENDIX / DATA

**Table A.1 Key statistics – Indian general elections (*Lok Sabha*)**

Election year	Number of electoral districts	Number of candidates	Electorate (millions)	Turnout (%)	Number of recognised parties
1951	489	1864	173.2	47.0	16
1957	494	1591	193.6	47.0	16
1962	494	1985	216.3	49.0	16
1967	520	2369	249.0	49.0	21
1971	518	2784	274.0	49.0	25
1977	542	2439	321.1	49.0	23
1980	542	4620	355.6	51.0	25
1984	542	5481	399.8	51.0	26
1989	543	6160	498.9	48.0	28
1991	543	8699	514.1	53.0	36
1996	543	13952	592.6	54.0	38
1998	543	4693	605.3	61.8	42
1999	543	4648	619.6	59.9	47
2004	543	5435	671.5	58.1	57
2009	543	8070	716.9	58.2	41
2014	543	8251	834.1	66.4	45

**Note:** Elections to *Lok Sabha* are normally held every five years, and the number of seats allotted to each state is fixed according to its population.

**Source:** Election Commission of India election statistics.

**Table A.2 Detailed 2014 general election results**

<b>Alliance/Party</b>	<b>Votes %</b>	<b>Seats</b>	<b>Votes change</b>	<b>Seat Change</b>
<b><i>National Democratic Alliance (NDA )</i></b>	<b><i>39.0%</i></b>	<b><i>336</i></b>	<b><i>+12.0%</i></b>	<b><i>+195</i></b>
Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	31.0%	282	+12.2%	+166
Shivsena (SS)	1.9%	18	+0.2%	+7
Telugu Desam (TDP)	2.5%	16	+1.0%	+10
Lok Jan Shakti Party (LJP)	0.4%	6	-0.1%	+6
Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD)	0.7%	4	-0.3%	+0
All Other	2.5%	10	-1.1%	+6
<b><i>United Progressive Alliance (UPA)</i></b>	<b><i>23.4%</i></b>	<b><i>59</i></b>	<b><i>-9.8%</i></b>	<b><i>-175</i></b>
Indian National Congress	19.3%	44	-9.3%	-162
Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)	1.6%	6	-0.4%	-3
Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD)	1.3%	4	+0.0%	+0
Indian Union Muslim League (IUML)	0.2%	2	-0.0%	+0
Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM)	0.3%	2	-0.1%	+0
All Other	0.7%	1	-0.0%	-10
<b><i>Other parties and independents</i></b>	<b><i>37.6%</i></b>	<b><i>148</i></b>	<b><i>-2.2%</i></b>	<b><i>-20</i></b>
All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (ADMK)	3.3%	37	+1.5%	+28
All India Trinamool Congress (AITC)	3.8%	34	+0.4%	+15
Biju Janata Dal (BJD)	1.7%	20	+0.3%	+6
Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS)	1.2%	11	+0.6%	+9
Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPM)	3.2%	9	-2.1%	-7
Yuvajana Sramika Rythu Congress Party (YSRC)	2.5%	9	+2.5%	+9
Samajwadi Party (SP)	3.4%	5	+0.0%	-18
Aam Aadmi Party (AAP)	2.0%	4	+2.0%	+4
All India United Democratic Front (AIUDF)	0.4%	3	-0.1%	+2
Jammu & Kashmir Peoples Democratic Party (JKPDP)	0.1%	3	+0.0%	+3
Janata Dal (United) (JDU)	1.1%	2	-0.5%	-18
Janata Dal (Secular) (JDS)	0.7%	2	-0.2%	-1
Indian National Lok Dal (INLD)	0.5%	2	+0.2%	+2
Independents	3.0%	3	-1.2%	-8
All Other/NOTA*	10.7%	4	-5.6%	-46
Total Seats	543			
Total Electorate	34,101,479			
Total Votes	53,801,801			
Number of Contesting Parties	464			
Number of candidates	8251			
Turnout %	66.4			

\* **Note:** In 2014, a new option for voters - NOTA (None of the Above) was introduced, and a total of 1.1% of votes were cast in category.

**Source:** Election Commission of India election statistics, author's calculations.

**Table A.3 BJP's seat and vote share by state – 2014 general election**

State	Total seats	BJP seats	BJP seat share	BJP vote share
Uttar Pradesh	80	71	88.8%	42.6%
Bihar	40	22	55.0%	29.9%
Madhya Pradesh	29	27	93.1%	54.8%
Rajasthan	25	25	100.0%	55.6%
Jharkhand	14	12	85.7%	40.7%
Chhattisgarh	11	10	90.9%	24.8%
Haryana	10	7	70.0%	34.8%
Delhi	7	7	100.0%	46.6%
Uttarakhand	5	5	100.0%	55.9%
Himachal Pradesh	4	4	100.0%	53.9%
Punjab	13	2	15.4%	8.8%
Jammu & Kashmir	6	3	50.0%	32.6%
Chandigarh	1	1	100.0%	42.5%
Maharashtra	48	23	47.9%	27.6%
Gujarat	26	26	100.0%	60.1%
Goa	2	2	100.0%	54.1%
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	1	100.0%	49.8%
Daman & Diu	1	1	100.0%	54.7%
West Bengal	42	2	4.8%	17.0%
Odisha	21	1	4.8%	21.9%
Assam	14	7	50.0%	36.9%
Andaman & Nicobar islands	1	1	100.0%	48.2%
Andhra Pradesh	42	3	7.1%	8.5%
Tamil Nadu	39	1	2.6%	5.6%
Karnataka	28	17	60.7%	43.4%
Kerala	20	0	0.0%	10.5%
Lakshadweep	1	0	0.0%	0.4%
Puducherry	1	0	0.0%	0.0%
Arunachal Pradesh	2	1	50.0%	46.6%
Manipur	2	0	0.0%	12.0%
Meghalaya	2	0	0.0%	9.2%
Tripura	2	0	0.0%	5.8%
Sikkim	1	0	0.0%	2.4%
Manipur	1	0	0.0%	0.0%
Nagaland	1	0	0.0%	0.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>543</b>	<b>282</b>	<b>51.9%</b>	<b>30.7%</b>

**Source:** Election Commission of India election statistics, author's calculations

### Commentary on Table A.3

BJP won all the seats in the states of Gujarat (26 with 60% vote share), Rajasthan (25 with a vote share of 56% vote share), Delhi (7 with 47% vote share) and Uttarakhand (5 with 56% vote share). It won majority of seats in Madhya Pradesh (27 of 29 with 55% vote share), Bihar (22 of 40 with 30% vote share), Jharkhand (12 of 14 with 41% vote share), Chhattisgarh (10 of 11 with 25% vote share), and Haryana (7 of 10 with 35% vote share). It was BJP's performance in Uttar Pradesh (UP), which has the maximum number of seats that proved crucial in it achieving a majority in *Lok Sabha*; it won 71 of 80 seats in UP (based on 43% vote share), compared to just 10 in 2009.<sup>1</sup> In Punjab, AAP won 4 of the 13 seats in its first national election but failed to win seats elsewhere in the country. In Maharashtra, the BJP-*Shivsena* alliance won 42 of the 48 seats, an increase of 21 over its 2009 share.

In Jammu and Kashmir, BJP won 3 of the 6 seats compared to zero in 2009, while the Congress-National Conference alliance failed to win any seat. In Bihar, BJP with its allies *Rashtriya Lok Samta Party* (RLSP) and *Lok Jan Shakti Party* (LJP), won 31 of the 40 seats, which was a gain of 19 seats from the 2009 election. JDU, which had left the NDA just before the 2014 election, suffered a major defeat winning just 2 seats, 18 lower than in the 2009 election. The BJP won a total of 21 seats in the southern states of Karnataka (17), Andhra Pradesh (3), and Tamil Nadu (1) compared to 19 seats it won in 2009 (all in Karnataka).

Table A.4

**BJP's relative share of seats of seats by state/region – 2014 general election**

State/Region	Number of seats		BJP's vote share		BJP's seat share		Seat share / vote share
	Total	% of total	Total	% of Total	Total	% of Total	
Bihar	40	7.4%	1.9%	6.1%	4.1%	7.8%	2.2
Haryana	10	1.8%	0.7%	2.3%	1.3%	2.5%	1.8
Himachal Pradesh	4	0.7%	0.3%	1.0%	0.7%	1.4%	2.5
Madhya Pradesh	29	5.3%	2.9%	9.3%	5.0%	9.6%	1.7
Rajasthan	25	4.6%	2.7%	8.7%	4.6%	8.9%	1.7
Uttar Pradesh	80	14.7%	6.1%	20.0%	13.1%	25.2%	2.1
Chhattisgarh	11	2.0%	1.1%	3.5%	1.8%	3.5%	1.7
Jharkhand	14	2.6%	0.9%	3.0%	2.2%	4.3%	2.4
Uttarakhand	5	0.9%	0.4%	1.4%	0.9%	1.8%	2.1
Delhi	7	1.3%	0.7%	2.2%	1.3%	2.5%	1.9
<b>Sub total Hindi Belt</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>41.4%</b>	<b>17.7%</b>	<b>57.6%</b>	<b>35.0%</b>	<b>67.4%</b>	<b>2.0</b>
Jammu & Kashmir	6	1.1%	0.2%	0.7%	0.6%	1.1%	2.7
Punjab	13	2.4%	0.2%	0.7%	0.4%	0.7%	1.7
Chandigarh	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.1%	0.2%	0.4%	5.4
<b>Sub total North region</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>1.1%</b>	<b>2.1%</b>	<b>2.4</b>
Goa	2	0.4%	0.1%	0.3%	0.4%	0.7%	4.7
Gujarat	26	4.8%	2.7%	8.9%	4.8%	9.2%	1.8
Maharashtra	48	8.8%	2.4%	7.8%	4.2%	8.2%	1.8
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.4%	12.8
Daman & Diu	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.4%	22.0
<b>Sub total West region</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>14.4%</b>	<b>5.2%</b>	<b>17.0%</b>	<b>9.8%</b>	<b>18.8%</b>	<b>1.9</b>
Assam	14	2.6%	1.0%	3.2%	1.3%	2.5%	1.3
Odisha	21	3.9%	0.8%	2.7%	0.2%	0.4%	0.2
West Bengal	42	7.7%	1.6%	5.1%	0.4%	0.7%	0.2
Andaman & Nicobar islands	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.1%	0.2%	0.4%	11.3
<b>Sub total East region</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>14.4%</b>	<b>3.4%</b>	<b>11.0%</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>3.9%</b>	<b>0.60</b>
Andhra Pradesh	42	7.7%	0.7%	2.4%	0.6%	1.1%	0.8
Karnataka	28	5.2%	2.4%	7.8%	3.1%	6.0%	1.3
Kerala	20	3.7%	0.3%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0
Tamil Nadu	39	7.2%	0.4%	1.3%	0.2%	0.4%	0.5
Lakshadweep	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0
Puducherry	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	-
<b>Sub total South region</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>24.1%</b>	<b>3.8%</b>	<b>12.5%</b>	<b>3.9%</b>	<b>7.4%</b>	<b>1.0</b>
Arunachal Pradesh	2	0.4%	0.0%	0.2%	0.2%	0.4%	3.7
Manipur	2	0.4%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0
Meghalaya	2	0.4%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0
Sikkim	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0
Tripura	2	0.4%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0
Manipur	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	-
Nagaland	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	-
<b>Sub total North East region</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>1.6</b>
<b>Grand total</b>	<b>543</b>		<b>30.7%</b>		<b>51.9%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>1.7</b>

**Source:** Election Commission of India election statistics, author's calculations.

**Table A.5 BJP's performance and government formation in state assembly election results 2014 - 2016**

State	Number of Lok Sabha seats	State assembly elections <sup>2</sup> (2014-2016)		Lok Sabha election ( 2014)		Change (State assembly versus Lok Sabha elections)		BJP performance in state elections
		Vote share (%)	Seat share (%)	Vote share (%)	Seat share (%)	Vote share (%)	Seat share (%)	
Haryana (October 2014)	10	33.2	52.2	34.8	70.0	-1.6	-17.8	Formed government
Maharashtra (October 2014)	48	27.8	42.4	27.6	47.9	+0.2	-5.5	Formed a coalition government with <i>Shiv Sena</i>
Jharkhand (December 2014)	14	31.3	45.7	40.7	85.7	-9.4	-40.0	Formed a coalition government
J & K (December 2014)	6	23.0	28.8	32.7	50.0	-9.7	-21.2	Formed a coalition government with the PDP
Delhi (February 2015)	7	32.2	2.9	46.7	100.0	-14.5	-97.1	Lost to AAP
Bihar (October 2015)	40	24.4	21.8	29.9	55.0	-5.5	-33.2	Lost to a 'grand alliance'
Assam (May 2016)	14	29.5	47.6	36.9	50.0	-7.4	-2.4	Formed government <sup>3</sup>
Tamil Nadu (May 2016)	39	2.8	-	5.6	2.6	-2.8	-2.6	Not in contention to form government <sup>4</sup>
West Bengal (May 2016)	42	10.2	1.0	17.0	4.8	-6.8	-3.8	
Kerala (May 2016)	20	10.5	0.7	10.5	-	-	0.7	

**Source:** Election Commission of India election statistics, author's calculations.

**Table A.6 2015 Delhi state election results**

<b>Party</b>	<b>Vote share %</b>	<b>Number of seats</b>
AAP	54.3	67
BJP	32.2	3
Others	13.5	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>70</b>

**Source:** Election Commission of India data.

**Table A.7 2015 Bihar state election results**

<b>Party</b>	<b>Vote share %</b>	<b>Number of seats</b>
Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD)	18.4	80
Janata Dal (United) (JDU)	16.8	71
BJP	24.4	53
Others	40.4	39
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>243</b>

**Source:** Election Commission of India data.

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<sup>1</sup> The Congress just won two seats, while the SP, which currently leads the state government in UP, could only win 5 seats. The BSP, another important party in UP, drew a blank.

<sup>2</sup> After 2014 general election.

<sup>3</sup> For the first time.

<sup>4</sup> Since politics in these states is dominated by regional and left parties.