

Ideological Mobilization vis-a-vis Populism: A Case Study of Delhi

Dr. Mangal Deo Singh¹, Ms. Shalini Singh²

Abstract

The nature of democracy is determined by electoral system. Citizens as voters express themselves through elections. Elections are a review of the incumbent government and an opportunity for alternative political parties. It offers accountability and assessment in a political system. Political parties compete for votes and mobilise the masses on basis of charismatic leaders, ideology, issues that govern public policies, primordial identities such as caste, religion, region, culture, and language. This chapter attempts to categorically analyse the role of ideology vis-à-vis populism in mobilizing political mobilization and participation in Delhi by a specific case study of Delhi Assembly Election 2020, comparing with Lok Sabha 2019 and 2014 for a holistic analysis of variables of political mobilization. The study is based on analysis by the Election Commission of India and a psephology exercise with more than eighty-five thousand samples conducted by the Centre for Global Studies, formerly known as Developing Countries Research Centre, University of Delhi.

Keywords: Ideology, Political Mobilization, Participation, New Middle Class, Populism.

Ideology is the foundation of any political system. It is the roots that shape the vision of worldview. It has the potential to alter the nature of the political system. Ideology gives a dimension to the core values that shapes the culture and influences behaviour of people, political parties, and the public order of a nation. However, according to the popular appeal, contemporary electoral landscape can be most closely understood from the vantage point of populism. It has emerged as a strategy that started co-exists with ideology but has the potential to challenge ideology from the mass appeal that it attracts in a short span of time. There has been a precedent rise in narratives of populist leaders and policies. However, populism as a term is not as easy to decipher and needs contextual analysis. This article draws a parallel between ideology and populism by comparing the electoral outcome of elections to understand the power of appeal that both these variables exhibit.

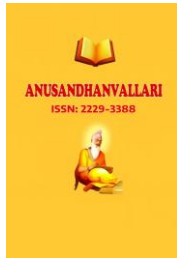
Demystifying Ideology

Before studying the role of ideology in the democratic electoral process, it is necessary to understand the prominent role that ideology has played in political theory. All the political theories developed in the modern era, especially after the Renaissance, are based on a particular ideology. Individualism, liberalism, socialism, Marxism and Gandhism are all principles based on ideology. It is the prime mover that decides the orientation of a political party across the world. It is one of the oldest and influential tools of political mobilisation.

Political participation in India has been a focus of study due to India's large and diverse demography. Diversity is a defining character for India, but is also a potential challenge to the Unity and Integrity as a nation. During the course of elections, democracy achieves its true purpose by highlighting vital issues of governance and development and by giving alternative in terms of political parties by promoting free and fair competition. Citizens as voters are the key stakeholders in democracy and it is during elections that the potential is truly

¹ The author is an assistant professor at PGDAV College, University of Delhi.

² The author is an assistant professor at Janki Devi Memorial College, University of Delhi.



realised. Elections being a fundamental exercise in democracy are organised routinely with a gamut of factors governing the electoral outcomes and the process of elections. The factors are in a constant flux and likely to vary across States along the lines of caste, class, religion and region to ideology, issues, and leadership. Ideology is one of the biggest determinants in the current scenario. It has developed its own following and has its own belief system across globe. Thus, it becomes inevitable to understand ideology as a tool for mobilizing participation.

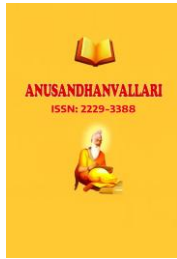
Political ideologies adapt to social changes and are catalysts in bringing about social change. They are historically rooted in change and bring a new perspective in looking at situations. An ideology can be defined as a coherent and comprehensive set of ideas that evaluates social conditions, and in turn provides a plan for social and political action. Ideology is more than just a 'belief system'. Ideology can be seen as an expression of social totality as it has various dimensions deconstructing aspects of social and political life. This idea of ideology as an organic part of the social totality resonates with the Althusserian view of ideology. The concept of ideology was introduced into political terminology in the early 1930s with Gramsci's Prison Notebooks. He himself considered Destut de Tracy as a 'literary propagator of ideology' who puts forward the essence of ideology to deal scientifically with the changing social reality.

In the contemporary times, Ideology has a meta dimension. It is not the sole defining attributes. It has other characteristics that give it a dimension. The class structure and coalition pattern of government are important attributes. Ideology is majorly classified into two factions, namely right wing and left wing. Broadly classifying the two, right-wing emphasizes on free- enterprise, private property and has an inclination towards conservative ideas like tradition, authority and nationalism, whereas left-wing broadly focusses on ideas such as liberty, equality and freedom, it has an inclination towards egalitarianism and advocates pro-people principles. These categorisations have watertight compartments but have overlapping attributes. Being a political party, the party has to be pro-people because the political parties are operating in a democratic space. In the neoliberal market state, the government as benefactor has resorted to a 'welfare state', where they are bound to be pro-people. Thus, the categorisation is difficult to achieve. It is difficult to classify a political party as right-wing or left-wing. There are political parties that have variations in degree. Thus, the degree of inclination gives ideology its bases. However, India's ruling political party at the Centre for two consecutive terms, Bharatiya Janata Party has a right-wing orientation. As a party based on a specific ideology, BJP has gained immense popularity and has become the largest party serving Indian democracy.

The BJP's victory in the 2014 elections is remarkable as it had a clear parliamentary majority. The first political party to capture more than 50 percent of the vote for 137 seats since 1984. It won more than half the total vote in states that have two- party competition, such as Himachal, Uttarakhand, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Chhattisgarh. And it led coalitions in states with multiparty competition. Ideology played the key role in determining the victory of BJP in 2014 general elections. It won 31.1% of all the votes polled. The party managed to garner not only the traditional upper caste votes but also votes from the backward castes, SCs and STs. Its popularity lies in putting together a classic case of good governance. However, it is an important question that does BJP exercise the power of its ideology even at the state level elections? For this paper, Ideological mobilization as a parameter has a direct corollary to BJP's win in 2014 & 2019. A comparison has been established with Delhi Assembly Elections, 2020 and 2015 to assess the two variables Ideology and Populism.

Deconstructing Populism

Populism is a concept that defies a single, clear-cut definition, as it can be understood from multiple perspectives. Its meaning shifts depending on the context in which it is used, spanning political, economic,



social, and rhetorical dimensions with its discursive features³. Rather than fitting a "one size fits all" framework, populism takes on various forms and expressions. It is often viewed as an ideology, a rhetorical style, and a tool for political mobilization. As an ideology, populism revolves around specific ideas and beliefs about the nature of politics and society. Scholar Cas Mudde describes it as a "thin-centered"⁴ ideology, meaning it doesn't offer comprehensive answers to all socio-political questions. Instead, it can coexist with other ideologies like liberalism and socialism. In terms of rhetoric, populism is often framed in terms of a stark divide between "us" and "them." This binary can take the form of common people versus elites, natives versus immigrants, or rich versus poor. By portraying political issues through this lens, populism provides a moral dimension to conflicts, positioning the people as victims of poor governance, economic mismanagement, or corruption. This discourse is employed to unite the public against a common adversary and is used across the political spectrum by both right-wing and left-wing actors. As a political strategy, populism is most visibly applied through policy choices, organizational structures, and methods of mobilizing support. Particularly in regions like Latin America, populist policies often focus on economic redistribution and the nationalization of resources. While these policies can benefit certain groups, they sometimes come at a cost to broader democratic values. Populist movements tend to rally support by emphasizing anti-establishment and anti-system rhetoric, especially during electoral campaigns, portraying themselves as champions of the people's interests against the elite or entrenched powers.

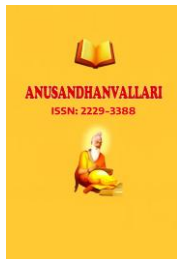
Populism and democracy both focus heavily on 'the people,' with populism aiming to shape new political subjects. These subjects are symbols of mobilization, representing those who actively endorse and support the movement. The centrality of people within populism gives it a fluid, adaptable nature. It challenges liberal democracy by surfacing demands that have been overlooked within constitutional limits, often weakening democratic norms while simultaneously claiming to reflect the people's will. Populists often see institutions as tools to turn the majority's will into political victories. Urbinati characterizes populism as a 'symptom of democracy,' one that can define its boundaries. This interpretation extends beyond institutional procedures, noting that populism and democracy share core features such as mobilization, participation, and the expression of popular will. However, populism can destabilize democracy when mass mobilization undermines institutional safeguards. Populism challenges institutional checks and destabilizes democratic processes. However, populism and democracy are not entirely incompatible. Populism has the tendency to reinforce the democratic process. Populism can be seen as a process of political identification⁵ rather than labelling leaders or parties as purely populist. Exemplified by Ernesto Laclau's idea of 'chain of equivalence'⁶, populism symbolizes grievances and demands through rhetoric and symbolic actions. Those leading this movement become 'empty signifiers' in contrast to the elite, the 'enemy' of society. The people, as 'floating signifiers,' carry shifting demands that evolve with context and circumstances. Political parties in India have thrived by constructing the 'people' as floating signifiers. In modern India, these 'people' may refer to the poor or the emerging middle class, who also form a significant electoral base. These groups are often contrasted with an 'anti-national' liberal elite, perceived as corrupt and monopolistic. Here, 'the people' play a key role as a mobilizing force for state policies. Populism, by emphasizing the demands and voices of the public, taps into vote-bank politics.

³Kurt Weyland (2001). 'Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics', *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 34, Issue No. 1, p. 1-22.

⁴ Mudde, Cas (2004). 'The Populist Zeitgeist', *Government and Opposition*, Vol.39, Issue no. 4, p 542-563.

⁵ Arditi, Benjamin (2005) Populism as an Internal Periphery of Democratic Politics. In Francisco Panizza (Ed.). *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy* (1st ed., pp 50-72). London: Verso.

⁶ Laclau, Ernesto (2005). Populism: What's in a Name? In Francisco Panizza (Ed.). *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy* (1st ed., pp 32-50). London: Verso.



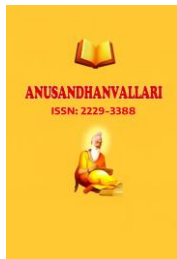
Political Landscape of Delhi

Delhi holds a prominent place in electoral studies of India not only as the national capital but also because of its distinct social, cultural and political profile. Delhi as a metropolis is home to people of different castes, classes, ethnicities and regions. A large part of the population consists of people who have migrated to the National Capital Region from different areas. Delhi's migration figure is around 40 percent, second place after Mumbai. Migration in Delhi has occurred in three phases. The first being the partition, where mostly Punjabi speaking settled in as citizens, followed by the second wave with the Asiad Games in 1982. A huge influx of laborers from Bihar, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh settled in, seeking varied avenues of employment. The third wave of migration came with the liberalization, privatization and globalization reforms in India in 1991 with Delhi becoming a breeding ground for Multi-National Corporation. The population of Delhi is not only diverse but also has varied origins, beliefs and orientation. Consequently, Delhi politics is mainly dominated by Punjabis, Brahmins and Jat's. Gurjar's occupy a large section of the society but are not organized in their vigour and voice, hence their identity is not reflected. There are about 19 percent Dalits here, but they do not exercise any significant influence and role in the political field. The demography if classified into religion components, accounts for 81.68% Hindu, 12.86% Muslim and 3.40% Sikhs. There are some constituencies in Delhi which are Muslim dominated. Therefore, primordial identities seemingly play a secondary role in the political landscape of Delhi as the Union Territory is recognised as one of the metropolitan cities and has a palpable impact of urbanisation and globalisation. There are significant traces of class divide in terms of the wide difference in economic levels, reflected in purchasing power capacity of households. Religion and caste-based voting does not take place prominently here as voting trends show that voting in Delhi is not caste based but class based. According to survey conducted by Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), the economic disparity and development issues are a major point of difference in Delhi. Election trends show that the upper caste i.e. Punjabis, who are generally in business, prefer Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) over other viable options. Whereas, the lower castes had faith in the Indian National Congress (INC). Electoral priorities have changed with changes in the political issues governing Delhi.

Delhi has prominently witnessed two party system, oscillating between Bharatiya Janata Party and the Indian National Congress. The national parties prominent at Centre have ruled Delhi with a sub-central governance model to absorb the local issues of Delhi. However, 1990s witnessed three landmark events that altered political culture of Delhi. Mandal, Mandir and Market had a significant impact on the political landscape of Delhi. It is not only the capital but also an educational hub, with major central universities. It has been an epicentre for major movements like Ram Janmabhoomi and reservation. However, these movements have mobilised the voters in a much deeper manner in other parts of the country. Delhi has a population that has migrated to the capital for better employment and educational aspects. It has a burgeoning middle-class population with a good purchasing power. It has individuals who are empowered and informed voters. Thus, out of the 3Ms⁷, Market has been the most decisive force in its electoral politics. Being a Union territory, Delhi was easily administered under central control. It had a potential to grow manifold as a market and also attract investment as a processing centre. Its dual characteristics gave the metropolis its cosmopolitan nature. It liberalised gradually and channelised investment in a phased manner. The 'welfarism' of Indian State acted as a 'tactical extension of the state'⁸, that accommodated the people, who were not absorbed in the mainstream in its social welfare schemes. The right-based approach came up with a number of public policies to act as a safety valve to protect those who have been marginalised in the development trajectory. The neoliberal market came at a cost of widening the development gap and increasing the economic disparity. The marked resonated with the idea of 'survival of the ablest', resulting in a sub-section of vulnerable and marginalized. These shortcomings have become a mainstay

⁷Yogendra Yadav (1999). 'Electoral Politics in the time of Change: India's Third Electoral System, 1989-99', *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 21-28.

⁸ Chatterjee, Partha (2019). *I am the People: Reflections on Popular Sovereignty Today*. New York: Columbia University Press.



in election manifestos with the poll promises of employment, housing, education, health care. A promise of 'life with dignity' is a promising agenda among the voters. The issue-based politics has become predominant aiding to the development discourse and the inclusivity question.

However, a prominent question arises that where do we place ideology amidst the issue-based political mobilisation. Ideology as a concept can never be bleak. It is always there at the hindsight of elections and voter behaviour. Ideology, in the Indian perspective did seem to take a backseat in the electoral narrative but it had never disappeared. Development has given a new rigour to ideological aspects. The revival of ideology can also be understood as a counter to development issues. Ideology has rooted modernization in the Indian context, taking it away from westernisation. It has offered an alternative by reinvigorating 'knowledge swaraj'⁹ to inculcate what is compatible with Indian culture and ethos. Ideology has revitalised culture that was subdued, and given it a global dimension by revisiting the local ideas. Amidst the multicultural aspect of citizenship and assimilating global boundaries, ideology has revived the nationalist sentiment. It has become a counterweight to the prevailing forces of globalization. Ideology has a strong cadre of ardent voters upholding the roots of culture, palpable in resounding electoral victory of Bharatiya Janata Party in two consecutive national elections. It is not only variable that defines BJP as a political party but since the scope of this paper pertains to ideology as a component of voter mobilisation, let us understand it with the help of a specific case.

Delhi as a case of Populist Rhetoric

Aam Aadmi Party exhibits all the characteristics of populism, owing to its origin from the emergence of an anti-corruption movement, having an appeal to the common masses through primarily its name *Aam Aadmi* and through its logo of a broom symbolizing 'dignity of labour'. It also symbolizes eradication of corruption, communalism and criminalization, offering a fresh alternative to the mainstream parties by offering a fresh agenda to the table. Policy played a crucial role in shaping the Aam Aadmi Party's populist discourse. It started with the Jan Lokpal Bill and expanded to focus on entitlements, including the Swaraj Bill, establishing a women's security force, ensuring dignity for *safai karmacharis*, regularizing and upgrading unauthorized colonies, and recognizing slum dwellings with plans for their development. AAP also prioritized fundamental needs like opening new government schools, improving healthcare, and introducing a higher education guarantee scheme. However, the most prominent policies that captured attention were the promotion of water as a basic right and the significant reduction in electricity bills. It has built its political platform largely on providing services through subsidies and freebies, with less emphasis on other democratic elements. Its focus is on improving access to goods and services for the marginalized and disadvantaged, offering an alternative political approach that transcends divisions based on language, caste, and religion. Yet, AAP overlooks deeper identity-based politics, which are central to Indian political dynamics, and lacks a strong ideological foundation to fully define its populist approach. Citizens have a tendency to behave like a consumer in the electoral market. Populist policies in India are often seen as 'crisis of modernity'¹⁰. They cater to the flip side of economic liberalization. It offers protectionism to people by way its freebies to sustain their livelihood. It addresses the development disparity by providing for the relatively marginalised section in the society. Policies like farm loan waiver, poverty alleviation schemes, free distribution have been used as election gimmicks. AAP has emerged as a face of populist politics in its home ground, i.e. Delhi. AAP has garnered a sizeable consumer base because of its free electricity, free conveyance, affordable healthcare and water as a basic right campaign.

⁹ Knowledge Swaraj: An Indian Manifesto on Science and Technology, *Knowledge in Civil Society*, Secunderabad (2009).

¹⁰ Lasch, C. (1995). *The Revolt of Elites and betrayal of Democracy*. W.W. Norton & Company.

The question that this paper is trying to demystify is the role played by ideology amidst a market led model of governance. What is the role of Ideology in deciding voter's preference in Delhi. Ideology gives rise to a cadre formation and has certain principles that its voters believe in and follow. The shift from mobilization to participation has seen ideology become a stronger force. To what extent ideology is responsible for mobilizing participation vis-a-vis populism is what we will examine in the next part of the paper.

Delhi Assembly Elections: An Analysis

An attempt has been made to understand how much importance voters have given to ideology in the 2020 Delhi Assembly elections. It will be analysed with the help of 85000 samples from the survey of the Centre for Research on Developing Countries, University of Delhi. For a more nuanced analysis, we have conducted a comparative analysis by constituency to understand the role played by principles and ideology in governing voting preferences. The methodology adopted in selecting constituencies is based on the percentage share of educated voters. Thus, the voter base taken into account are with higher education. They will have a working knowledge of ideology and tactics of voter mobilisation. The choice of constituency to be compared is decided based on maximum and minimum percentage of higher education and above. This will offer a broader lens to analyse the role played by ideology in shaping voter behaviour and voter preference. It will also elaborate on the relationship between education and voting preferences. We will further assess if there is any direct connection between the two.

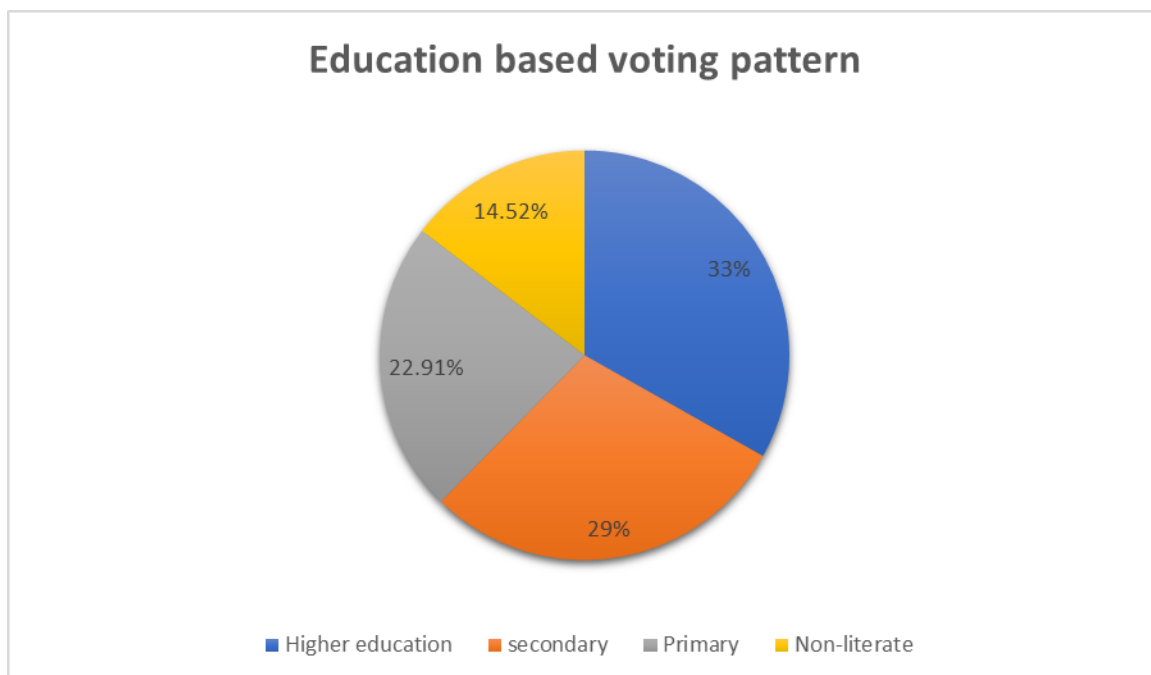


Figure 1: Education profile of Delhi voters in 2020 assembly elections

The first figure shows the percentage-wise distribution of voters of Delhi in the Delhi Assembly election 2020, based on over 85000 samples collected by the Centre for Global Studies. According to this data, 14.52% of the total sample size are of non-literates, followed by 22.91% of citizens who have completed only their primary education. A large section of the population i.e. 29% has completed their secondary education, followed by the highest 33% of the citizens who have completed their higher education. Delhi being educational hub, is likely to have a high number of people completing higher education, followed by an equal percentage of voters

completing secondary education. The percentage variation is not much between citizens with secondary qualifications and those with higher education.

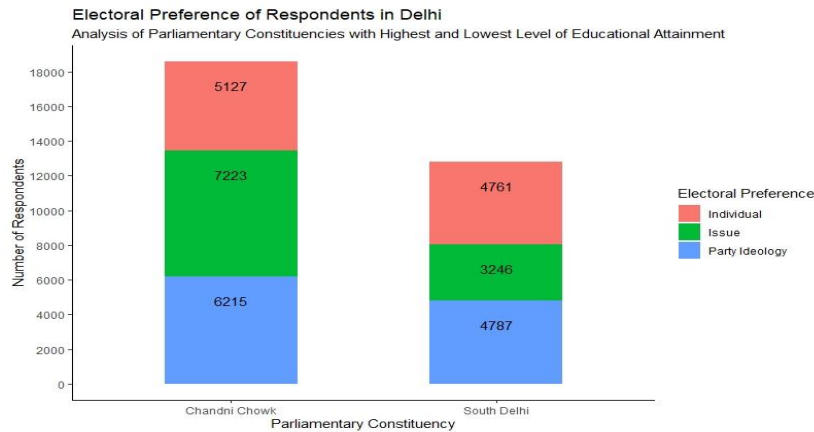


Figure 2: Voting priority of Chandni Chowk and South Delhi

Figure 3 shows the breakdown of voting preferences in Chandni Chowk and South Delhi. The rationale behind considering these two constituencies is the sum of higher secondary and higher education. The attempt is to look at education only as a parameter in to deduce the constituencies, for a holistic assessment of role of ideology in mobilizing the population for political participation. The three parameters that this survey had considered were Individual, Issue and Ideology. As shown in the figure, ideology is given more priority as a parameter than Individual and Issues. In Chandni Chowk constituency, issue dominates the voting priority, followed by ideology. In contrast, in constituencies with the lowest sum of higher secondary and post-graduation, ideology-based votes have the highest priority, followed by individual i.e. leadership as a factor. However, considering the socioeconomic status of both the constituencies, it is an obvious factor that issue based voting will attract the least votes due to the higher development index of South Delhi. Issue as a factor is closer to less developed sections in the society. Also, it is clear why issue-based voting takes place in Chandni Chowk as this constituency faces various developmental issues in everyday life.

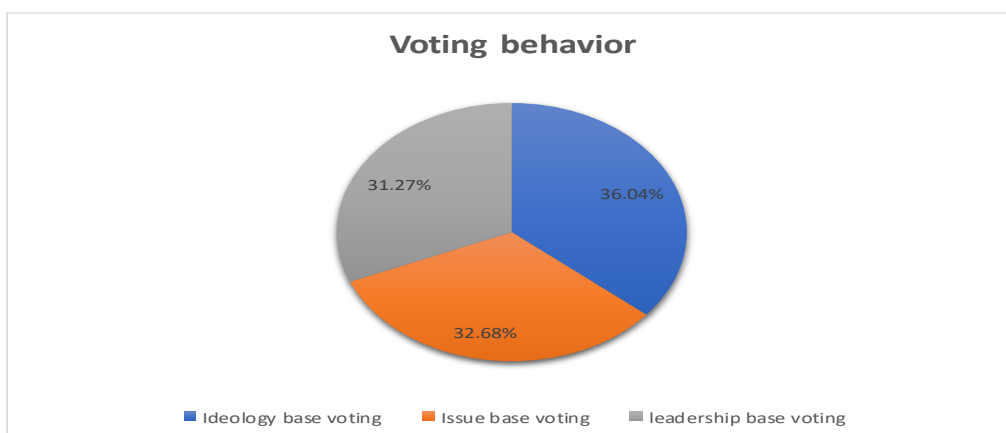
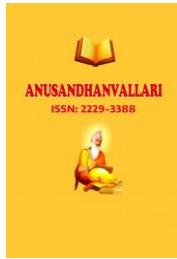


Figure 3: Voting based on preference in Delhi Assembly election.



The figure presents voting preference based on individual candidate, i.e., leadership of promising political leaders, issues like infrastructure, education, health etc. governing the electoral politics of Delhi or preference based on a particular ideology. Compared to the earlier figure, this shows a panoptic vision of the whole of Delhi. As we can see, Delhi has overall prioritized ideology as a parameter over personal and issues, unlike the constituency with the highest number of higher secondary and graduate voters.

Comparative Analysis with Lok Sabha

Party	Lok Sabha		Assembly	
	2014	2019	2015	2020
BJP	46.40%	56.86%	32.3%	38.51%
AAP	32.90%	18.11%	54.3%	53.57%
INC	15.10%	22.51%	9.7%	4.26%

Figure 4: Voting Percentage (Source- <https://eci.gov.in>)

By comparing the data of 2020 Delhi Assembly election with the Lok Sabha, it is evident that there is a stark variation in the voting percentage. BJP has the maximum vote percentage in Lok Sabha Elections followed by Aam Aadmi Party in 2015 Assembly Elections. On comparing the two, we can conclude that the voter base that is affiliated to ideology is stagnant. BJP's least voting percentage, even in cases where it could not register substantial win has not gone below 32.90%. Ideology as a factor might not be a criteria for win but it does assure a base of voters. The win of a political party can be influenced by immediate issues-based agendas or a charismatic leadership. For instance, in-case of BJP, the politics of recognition¹¹ and politics of statism¹² were the determinants of its grand electoral success in 2014 but it expanded its reach to the rural areas, poor households and lower caste in 2019, catering to the demand side of the political culture. BJP has transformed its social base, however despite the shift, the traditional voting base is stagnant and highest among other aspects.

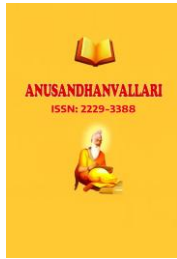
However, AAP if taken into account, has a voting percentage as low as 18 %, signalling to the fact that the voter-base is not a cadre-based supporter but is likely to sway with the policies being rolled out as freebies or issue-based governance. At the assembly level, AAP has attracted significant voter-base because of its policy led governance model but has not attracted a larger population as its client at the Lok Sabha level.

Concluding Remarks

AAP promotes an idea of alternative politics, based on issue-based model of governance, which is not new to Indian politics. This concept first emerged in the post-Emergency era when the political landscape demanded fresh perspectives to restore people's faith in governance. At that time, mainstream political parties struggled to drive meaningful social transformation. The period also saw the rise of non-party political movements, as explored by scholars Rajni Kothari and Dhirubai Seth. The notion of alternative politics aims to create a new platform for electoral competition, yet for this platform to endure, it requires a strong foundational base. Populism, as a "thin-centered" ideology, lacks depth unless it is grounded in a more substantial ideological framework. Without this foundation, populism struggles to offer a vision that can truly transform governance. For AAP's alternative politics to be effective, it needs a more inclusive and comprehensive vision that goes beyond the surface and reshapes the paradigm of governance.

¹¹ Chhibber, Pradeep. K, Rahul Verma (2018). *Ideology and Identity* Oxford University Press: New York.

¹² *ibid*



Ideology as a factor has been an influencing factor for mobilizing political participation in India. However, it has been predominant at the national level, in the Lok Sabha Election because the identity of Ideology as a factor has been tied to a particular political party, namely BJP. As a factor, it does not play a central role at the level of the Delhi Assembly elections. Delhi as the capital faces many challenges in terms of development issues. The demography as voters can be better understood if classified on the basis of economic patterns. It is a class-led community competing for a better standard of living with affordable goods and services. Ideology is not completely missing from the electoral landscape, but it is not a priority for a large section of people residing in Delhi. It plays a major role in motivating citizens for electoral participation. It also has a cadre of ardent and loyal vote bank. But Delhi's electoral dynamics are different from the national level electoral politics. Notwithstanding the impact of development politics at the assembly level, ideology as factor has a fond imprint with a long-lasting impact, even at the Assembly level. It has an ardent following of traditional voters with a strong affiliation. The majoritarian voter-base of BJP has a lobby even when it emerges as the second largest political party at the Delhi Assembly level.

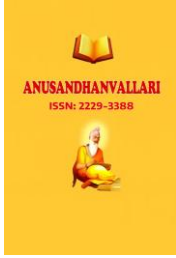
References

Books:

- [1] Ball, T., & Dagger, R., & O'Neill, D. (2014). *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*. USA: Pearson.
- [2] Chatterjee, A.P., & Hansen, T.B., & Christophe Jaffrelot, C. (Ed.) (2013). *Majoritarian State: How Hindu Nationalism is Changing India*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- [3] Chatterjee, P. (2019). *I am the People: Reflections on Popular Sovereignty Today*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- [4] Chhibber, P.K., & Verma, R. (2018). *Ideology and Identity: The Changing Party System of India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press
- [5] Choudhary, Sunil K. (2024). *India @ 75: A Changing Electoral Democracy*. New Delhi: Aakar Books.
- [6] Jaffrelot, C. (Ed.). (2010). *Religion, Caste & Politics in India*. New Delhi: Rakesh Press.
- [7] Kohli, A. (Ed.). (2001) *The Success of India's Democracy*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
- [8] Kothari, R. (2009). *Politics in India*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- [9] Kumar, S. (2013). *Changing Electoral Politics in Delhi: From Caste to Class*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- [10] Laclau, E. (2005). *On Populist Reason*. London: Verso.
- [11] Panizza, F. (2005). *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy* (1st ed., pp 1-32). London: Verso.

Articles/Research Papers:

- [12] Banerjee, A., & Gethin, A., & Piketty, T. (2016). Growing Cleavages in India? Evidence from changing structures of electorates, 1962-2014. *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol IV (11), 34-44
- [13] Gupta, S.D. (2019). Political Parties and Populist Policies in Contemporary India: Some Reflections on AAP. *Populism 2: States and Political Parties* (107), 15-29.



-
- [14] Kaltwasser, C.R. (2012). 'The Ambivalence of Populism: Threat and Corrective for Democracy'. Democratization, Vol 9, Issue No. 2, p 184-208.
- [15] Mudde, Cas (2004). 'The Populist Zeitgeist', Government and Opposition, Vol.39(4), pp 542-563.
- [16] Pradeep Chibber and Rahul Verma (2019) 'The Rise of Second Dominant Party System in India: BJP's New Social Coalition in 2019', Studies in Politics, Vol. 7, No. 2, Pp. 131-148.
- [17] Weyland Kurt. (2001). 'Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics', Comparative Politics, Vol. 34 (1), pp. 1-22.