

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahmed et al. (2006). *Election politics in Assam; Issues, trends and people's mandate*. New Delhi: Akansha publishing House.
- Ahmed, S.U. (1999). *Muslim in Assam (1200–2000)*. Marigold Company.
- Ahmad, A. (1998). Right-Wing Politics, and the Cultures of Cruelty. *Social Scientist*, 26(9/10), 3–25. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3517939>
- Ahmad, I. (1972). Religion in Politics: A Comment. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 7(2), 81–86. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4360930>
- Aiyar, M. S. (2007). Politics and Religion in India. *India International Centre Quarterly*, 34(1), 42–50. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23006045>
- Akhter, Z. & Sheikh, Y.A. (2014). Determinants of Voting Behaviour in India: Theoretical Perspective. *Public Policy and Administration Research*; 4(8), 104–108.
- Alam, A. (March, 2008). The Enemy Within: Madrasa and Muslim Identity in North India. *Modern Asian Studies: Islam in South Asia*. 42(2-3), 605 – 627. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X07003113>
- Anand, A. (26 December, 2020). Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram — How RSS, a Congress stalwart & a Gandhian crystallised the idea, *The Print*. <https://theprint.in/india/vanvasi-kalyan-ashram-how-rss-a-congress-stalwart-a-gandhian-crystallised-the-idea/574407/>
- Anderson, E. & Jaffrelot, C. (2018). Hindu Nationalism and the Saffronisation of the Public Sphere: An interview with Christophe Jaffrelot. *Contemporary South Asia*. 26(4), 468–482.
- Anderson, E., & Longkumer, A. (2018). ‘Neo-Hindutva’: evolving forms, spaces, and expressions of Hindu nationalism. *Contemporary South Asia*, 26(4), 371–377. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09584935.2018.1548576>
- Antunes, R. (2018). Theoretical models of voting behaviour. 1-30. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication>

- Anderson, G. M. (1966). Voting Behaviour and the Ethnic-Religious Variable: A Study of a Federal Election in Hamilton, Ontario. *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 32(1), 27–37. <https://doi.org/10.2307/139946>
- Appleby, P. H. (1949). *Policy and Administration*. University of Alabama Press.
- Archer, R. (1999). American Communalism and Indian Secularism: Religion and Politics in India and the West. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(15), 887–892. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4407843>
- Archer, K. (1987). A Simultaneous Equation Model of Canadian Voting Behaviour. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 20(3), 553–572. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3228857>
- Asnal, Wan, Nor1, Mohd Wan and Zainon,Harun. (2013). Political Attitudes and Voting Behaviour. *International Journal of Humanities and Management Sciences (IJHMS)*,1(1),126-128.
- Asghar, A. E. (2003). *Communal Challenges and Secular Response*. Shipra Publications.
- Assayag, J. (2003). Spectral Secularism Religion, Politics and Democracy in India. *European Journal of Sociology*, 44(3), 325–357. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23999545>
- Austin, D. & Lyon, P. (1993). The Bharatiya Janata Party of India. *Government and Opposition*. 28(1), 36-50.
- Awungashi, M.H. (April, 2019). Land of the Rising Sangh: RSS expansion into North East. *The Caravan*. <https://caravanmagazine.in/reportage/the-rsss-expansion-into-northeast>
- Baishya, P. (2014). *Asomor Songsodiyo Rajnitir Etahas*. Guwahati: Rekha Prakashan.
- Bandyopadhyay, A. (May 13, 2023) What is Bajrang Dal, the organisation at the centre of a row in Karnataka? <https://www.financialexpress.com/india-news/what-is-bajrang-dal-the-organisation-at-the-centre-of-a-row-in-karnataka/3072915/>
- Bannerji, H. (September, 2006). Making India Hindu and Male: Cultural nationalism and the emergence of the ethnic citizen in contemporary India. *Ethnicities: Rethinking Race and Class in a time of Ethnic Nationalism*. 6(3), 362-390.
- Banerjee, M. (2007). Sacred Elections. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(17), 1556–1562. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4419523>

- Banu, Z. (2009). Religion in Indian politics Need to be Value Oriented, Not Power Oriented. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 70(3), 705–718.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/42742753>
- Batelle, A. (2012). *Caste, Class and Power*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Barkataki, M-R. & Andrea L. (2013). Editors' Introduction: Performing Identity Politics and Culture in Northeast India and Beyond. *Asian Ethnology*, 72(2), 189-197.
- Baruah, S. (2005). A New Politics of Race: India and its North-east. *India International Centre Quarterly*, 32(2/3), 163-167.
- Berelson, B, Paul F, L.& N. Mephee W. (1954). Voting. Chicago; *The University of Chicago Press*.
- Bhuyan, A.C., De, S. (Eds.). (2008). *Political History of Assam (Volume II)*. Guwahati: Publication Board Assam.
- Bhuyan, A. C., De, S. (Eds.). (2008). *Political History of Assam (Volume III)*. Guwahati: Publication Board Assam.
- Bhambhri, C. P., & Verma, P. S. (1972). Voting Behaviour of Muslim Community. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 33(2), 167–185.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41854499>
- Bhambhri, C. P., & Verma, P. S. (1971). Candidate's Perception of the Voting Behaviour. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 32(3), 332–348.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41854453>
- Bharucha, K. (February, 2003). Impact of Identity Politics on Differential Voter Outcomes: What Determines India's Voting Behaviour? *Economic and Political Weekly*. 38(6), 550-560.
- Bhattacharya, G. (April, 2022). Trade Unionism in Competitive Politics: The Story of an Arrangement Clerk, *The Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, 57(4), 702-712.
- Bhattacharjee, M. (January 16, 2021). Building a 'Hindu Rashtra' through 'Seva'. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 56(3), 2349-8846.
- Bhattacharjee, R. (2018). Assam: How Divided Speech United Voters Behind Two Poles. *The wire*.

- Bhattacharjee, M. (2016). Tracing the Emergence and Consolidation of Hindutva in Assam. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(16), 80–8  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/44003801>
- Bhattacharya, A. (2007). Tribal Politics of Tripura : A Study in Electoral Behaviour. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 68(3), 577–588.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41856356>
- Bhaumik, S. (2009). *Troubled Periphery: Crisis of India's North East*. Sage Publications India.
- Bhuyan, D. (2010). Election Politics and Voting Behaviour of Odisha : A Study of Fourteenth Assembly Election (2009). *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 71(1), 263–283. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42748386>
- Birch, A. H., & Campbell, P. (1950). Voting Behaviour in a Lancashire Constituency. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 1(3), 197–208. <https://doi.org/10.2307/588114>
- Bornfriend, A. J. (1969). Political Parties and Pressure Groups. *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, 29(4), 55–67. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1173686>
- Brooks, C. (2014). Introduction: Voting Behavior and Elections in Context. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 55(4), 587–595. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24581884>
- Brass, P. R. (2001). *The Politics of India since Independence (Second Edition)*. Cambridge University Press.
- Butler, D. (1955). Voting Behaviour and Its Study in Britain. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 6(2), 93–103. <https://doi.org/10.2307/587476>
- Chakrabarty, B. & Jha, B.K. (2020). *Hindu Nationalism in India: Ideology and Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Chakrabarty, M., & Tamang, R. V. (2006). Kerala — A Study of Electoral Dynamics and Voting Behaviour, 1957 - 2004. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 67(1), 133–142. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41856199>
- Chakraborty, J. (2000). Elections and Casteist Politics. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35(43/44), 3805–3807. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4409883>

- Chandavarkar, R. (2009). *Historians and the nation. History, Culture and the Indian City: Essays*. Cambridge University Press. p. 197. Chatterji A.P. et al. (Eds.) (1 August, 2019). *Majoritarian State: How Hindu Nationalism is Changing India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Choenni, C. E. S. (2014). Ethnicity and Politics: Political Adaption of Hindostanis in Suriname. *Sociological Bulletin*, 63(3), 407–431. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43854982>
- Das, A. (2022). *Grassroots Democracy and Governance in India: Understanding Power, Sociality and Trust*. Springer
- Das Gupta, S. (2019). Imagining the Tribe in colonial and post-Independence India. *Politeja: India and Pakistan: Reflections on politics and culture 70 years after Independence*. 59, 107-121
- Das, R. (2003). Postcolonial (In)Securities, the BJP and the Politics of Hindutva: Broadening the Security Paradigm between the Realist and Anti-Nuclear/Peace Groups in India. *Third World Quarterly*, 24(1), 77–96. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3993631>
- Debroy, B& Desai, K. (2016). Analysis of simultaneous elections:the “what”,“why” and “how”A Discussion Paper’.*Ioss*, 2(12),1-36.
- Deka, K. (May 3, 2021). How the BJP returned to power in Assam. *India Today*. <https://www.indiatoday.in/india-today-insight/story/how-the-bjp-returned-to-power-in-assam-1798192-2021-05-02>
- De Graaf, N. D., & Heath, A. (1992). Husbands’ and Wives’ Voting Behaviour in Britain: Class-Dependent Mutual Influence of Spouses. *Acta Sociological*, 35(4), 311–322. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4194792>
- Demerath, N. J. (2004). The Pitfalls of Pluralism: Talibanization and Saffronization in India. *Harvard International Review*, 25(4), 16–19. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43650141>
- Demerath, N.J. III et. al. (2006). Interrogating Caste and Religion in India's Emerging Middle Class. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 41(35), 3813-3818.

- Dutta, A. (2021). *Hindutva Regime in Assam: Saffron in the Rainbow*. Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd.
- Dutta, A.R. (2017). BJP's Electoral Victory in Assam, 2016: Co-opting the Khilonjiyas. *Social Change*, 47(1),108-124.
- Eldersveld, S. J. (1951). Theory and Method in Voting Behavior Research. *The Journal of Politics*, 13(1), 70–87. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2126123>
- Elkins, D. J. (1975). *Electoral Participation in a South Indian Context*. Vikas.
- Fernandes, W. (1999). Conflict in North-East: A Historical Perspective. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(51), 3579–3582. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4408734>
- Fisher, M. J. (1967). [Review of Indian Voting Behaviour., by M. Weiner & R. Kothari]. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 26(2), 334–335. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2051975>
- Ganguly, B., & Ganguly, M. (1975). *Voting behaviour in a developing society: West Bengal : a case study*. Sterling Publishers.
- Gohain,H. (2008). Religion, Identity and Riots.*Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(48),114.
- Goldman, S. (1975). Voting Behavior on the United States Courts of Appeals Revisited. *The American Political Science Review*, 69(2), 491–506. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1959082>
- Goswami,P. (2012). *A History of Assam: From Yandabu to Partition*. Hyderabad: Orient Black Swan.
- Goswami, S. (2009). Assam a Fractured Verdict. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 44(39) 159-163.
- Goswami, S. (2003). Assam: Multiple realignments and Fragmentation of party system. *Journal of Indian school of political economy*, 15(1&2), 221-247.
- Guha, A. (1977). *Planter Raj to Swaraj: Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam 1826-1947*. New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research.
- Gupta, S. (March 09, 2018). How the RSS grew roots in the North-East? *The Hindu: Business line*. <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/blink/know/how-the-rss-grew-roots-in-the-north-east/article22991950.ece>
- Gupta, S. (1967). Small Thoughts on the Elections: A Comment. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2(27), 1229-1230.

- Hague, R., & Harrop, M. (2007). *An introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hasan, Z. (2010). Gender, Religion and Democratic Politics in India. *Third World Quarterly*, 31(6) 939-954.
- Hazarika, B. (2015). Voting Behaviour in India and Its Determinants. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 20(10-IV), 22-25.
- Hebbar, N. (August 06, 2023) Bajrang Dal: The aggressive arm of Hindutva, *The Hindu*. Retrieved on 2.10.2022 from <https://www.inkl.com/news/bajrang-dal-the-aggressive-arm-of-hindutva>
- Helena, C. (1995). *Voting Behaviour*. Leicester University press.
- Hickman, T.C. (1935). *Voting Behaviour in United States*. University of California Press.
- Jaffrelot, C & Verniers, G. (June, 2020). A new party system or a new political system? *Contemporary South Asia*. 28(2), 141-154  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09584935.2020.1765990>
- Jaffrelot, C. (2019). *Hindu Nationalism: A Reader*. Ranikhet: Permanent black.
- Jaffrelot, C. (June 11, 2016). BJP's Assam win is proof Hindutva has reached areas where it was marginal. *Indian Express*. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2016/06/11/bjp-s-assam-win-is-proof-hindutva-has-reached-areas-where-it-was-marginal-pub-63793>
- Jaffrelot, C. (May 5, 2015). The Modi-centric BJP 2014 election campaign: new techniques and old tactics. *Contemporary South Asia: Special Issues on Indian Elections 2014, Explaining the Landslide*. 23(2) 151-166.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09584935.2015.1027662>
- Jaffrelot, C. (1996). *The Hindu nationalist movement and Indian politics: 1925 to the 1990*. London: C Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd.
- Jeffery, R&Jeffery, P. (2000). Religion and Fertility in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35(35/36), 3253-3259.
- Jha, P. (2017). *How The BJP wins; inside Indias greatest election machine*. Juggernaut Books.

- Jha,S. (2003). Rights versus Representation: Defending Minority Interests in the Constituent Assembly. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38(16), 1579-1583.
- Johnson, M. et al. (1999). Contextual data and the study of Elections and voting behavior: Connecting individuals to environments.
- Jones,A.J. (2011). Who Are We? Producing Group Identity through Everyday Practices of Conflict and Discourse. *Sociological Perspectives*, 54(2-Summer 2011),139-162.
- Jones, W. H. M. (1957). Indian Voting Behaviour. *Pacific Affairs*, 30(3),265-268.
- Joseph,S. & Mahajan,G.(1991). Elections and Democratic Process in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 26(34), 1953-1955.
- Joshi,B.,Ranjan, A. & Nilanjan, Sircar. (2018). Understanding the Election in Assam. *Centre for policy research*, 116-133.
- Judge, P. S., & Kaur, M. (2010). The Politics of Sikh Identity: Understanding Religious Exclusion. *Sociological Bulletin*, 59(3), 345–366.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/23620888>
- Kalbag, C. (2016). The Assam elections: The politics of little change. *The economic times*.
- Kalita, R.S. (2016). The road to saffron: a brief history from Assam. *Riot*.
- Kamat, S. & Mathew, B. (2003). Mapping Political Violence in a Globalized World: The Case of Hindu Nationalism. *Social Justice: The Intersection of Ideologies of Violence*,30, 3(93), 4-16.
- Kanungo, P. (November-December, 2006). Myth of the Monolith: The RSS Wrestles to Discipline, Its Political Progeny. *Social Scientist*, 34(11/12), 51-69.
- Kanungo, P. (2002). *RSS's Tryst with politics: From Hedgewar to Sudarshan*. Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors.
- Kar, M. (1990). *Muslims in Assam Politics*. Omson Publications.
- Karjie, K. B. (2017). Voting behavior in BTAD elections. *International Journal of Creative Research Thoughts (IJCRT)*, 5(4), 770-776.



- Karmakar, S. (March 9, 2021) Assam election will be a conflict of civilization: BJP. *Deccan Herald*. <https://www.deccanherald.com/india/assam-election-will-be-a-conflict-of-civilisation-bjp-959610.html>
- Katju, M. (January 3, 2015). The Politics of ‘Ghar Wapsi’. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 50(1) 21-24.
- Kaur, A. (2012). Issues of Reform in Electoral Politics of India: An Analytical. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*. 73(1) 167-174.
- Kearney, R. N. (1975). [Review of Language, Religion and Politics in North India, by P. R. Brass]. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 419, 153–154. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1041656>
- Kedar, O. (2012). Voter Choice and Parliamentary Politics: An Emerging Research Agenda. *British Journal of Political Science*, 42(3), 537–553. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23274137>
- Kini, N.G.S. (1974). *The City Voters in India: A study of 1967 General Election in Nagpur*. Abhinav Publication.
- Khanna, M. (2009). Political Participation of Women in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 70(1), 55–64. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41856495>
- Kondo, Norio;2007; *Election Studies in India*, Institute of Developing Economics; jetro;Chiba, Japan,
- Kotler-Berkowitz, L. A. (2001). Religion and Voting Behaviour in Great Britain: A Reassessment. *British Journal of Political Science*, 31(3), 523–554. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3593288>
- Kothari, R. (1971). Voting in India: Competitive Politics and Electoral Change: Introduction. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 6(3/5), 229–230. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4381546>
- Kumar, S., & Rai, P. (2013). *Measuring voting behavior in India*; Sage Publication.
- Larson, G. J. (1976). [Review of Language, Religion and Politics in North India, by P. R. Brass]. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 44(1), 174–174. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1462117>

- Lochtefeld, J.G. (Summer, 1994). The Vishva Hindu Parishad and the Roots of Hindu Militancy. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 62 (2), 587-602.
- Longkumer, A. (2022). *The Greater India Experiment: Hindutva and the Northeast*. New Delhi: Navayana Publisher.
- Lokniti Team. (2004). National Election Study 2004: An Introduction. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 39(51), 5373–5382. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4415920>
- Madan, T.N. (November 1987). Secularism in its Place. *The Journal of Asian Studies*. 46 (4), 747-759
- Mahanta, N.G. (August, 2014). Lok sabha Elections in Assam Shifting of Traditional vote bases. to BJP. *Economic & Political weekly*. 49(35), 2349-8846.
- Malik, Y.K & Singh, V.B. (1994). Organization, Decision-Making, and Supportive Groups. *Hindu Nationalists in India: The Rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party*. Boulder: Westview Press. p. 157.
- Mitra, S. K. (1991). Desecularising the State: Religion and Politics in India after Independence. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 33(4), 755–777. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/179089>
- Misra, U. (August 16, 2017). Assam’s Growing Resistance to Saffronisation. *The Wire*. Retrieved on 03.11.2022 from <https://thewire.in/communalism/assam-deendayal-upadhyaya-colleges>
- Misra, U. (2016). Victory for Identity Politics, Not Hindutva in Assam. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(22), 20–23. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44004317>
- MJ, V. (2018). The Ascent of Conservative Civil Society in India. In R. Youngs (Eds.), *The Mobilization of Conservative Civil Society*(pp.19-25). Washington, D: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Mukherjee, A (2016). Tribal votes a key factor in Assam polls. *Ians*.
- Muktiar, P., Nath, P.& Deka. (2018). The communal politics of Eviction drives in Assam. *Economic and Political weekly*, 53(8), page numbers??
- Mohan, R. P. (1971). [Review of Religion, Politics and History in India, by L. Dumont]. *Il Politico*, 36(4), 806–807. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43207439>

- Mondal, P. (2018). Voting Behaviour: Various Approaches and Determinants of Voting Behaviour. <https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/essay>
- Nair, P. (2009). Religious political parties and their welfare work: Relations between the RSS, the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Vidya Bharati Schools in India (PDF). *University of Birmingham*. Retrieved 15 September 2014.
- Narain, I. (1978). *Election Studies in India: An Evaluation*. Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
- Nath, M.K. (2014). *Khilonjiyar Xongsoi, Musalmaanon Aatmoxonmaan*. Guwahati: Banalata Prakashan.
- Nath, M.K. (2015). *Asomor Rajnitit Musalman: Biswas Bastab and Sangghat*. Guwahati: Banlata Prakashan.
- Nath, M.K. (April, 2016). Communal politics of Assam- Growth of AIUDF since 2006. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(16), 88-93.
- Nath, M.K. (2021). *The Muslim question in Assam and North East*. New Delhi: Routledge India.
- Negi, M. M. S. (2005). Theoretic Aspects of Electoral Behaviour. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 66(1), 95–104. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41856114>
- Nieuwbeerta, P. (1996). The Democratic Class Struggle in Postwar Societies: Class Voting in Twenty Countries, 1945-1990. *Acta Sociologica*, 39(4), 345–383. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4194843>
- Noorani, A.G. (Mar 28, 2003). The BJP and the VHP. *Frontline*. <https://frontline.thehindu.com/books/article30216278.ece>
- Ogbogu, C. & Olaoye, A. J. (2017). The Determinants of Voting Behaviour: Evidences from the 2015 Elections in Oyo State, Nigeria. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 7(2). <https://www.academia.edu/51811479>
- Omar, M. (2021). The Muslim ‘Threat’ In Right Wing Narratives: A Critical Discourse Analysis. *SOAS South Asia Institute Working Paper Series, University of London*. <https://www.soas.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2023-05/The%20Muslim%20%E2%80%98Threat%E2%80%99%20In%20Right%20Wing%20Narratives%20-%20A%20Critical%20Discourse%20Analysis.pdf>.

- Oommen, T. K. (September, 1974) Student Politics in India: The Case of Delhi University. *Asian Survey* 14(9),777-794.
- P. Theodore & Jr. Wright. (1976). [Review of Language, Religion and Politics in North India by Paul R. Brass]. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 35 (4), 707-709.
- Pai, S. (1989). Towards A Theoretical Framework for the Study of State Politics in India: Some Observations. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 50(1), 94–109. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41855409>
- Patil, B.B. (1968). Campaign Strategy and Voting Behaviour. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 3(1/2), 157–162. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4358132>
- Perrett, R. W. (1997). Religion and Politics in India: Some Philosophical Perspectives. *Religious Studies*, 33(1), 1–14. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20008068>
- Phukan, A.K. (2019). *Assam elections: 1952-2016*. Guwahati: Rekha Prakashan.
- Puri, G. (February 9, 2008). Hindutva Movement and Politics: The case of Vishwa Hindu Parishad. *Text of Prem Bhasin Memorial Lecture at Gandhi Peace Foundation*. New Delhi. <https://www.encyclopedia.com/politics/legal-and-political-magazines/vishwa-hindu-parishad-vhp>
- Rai, P. (2011). Electoral Participation of Women in India: Key Determinants and Barriers. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(3), 47–55. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27918039>
- Ramachandran, S. K. (Mar 09, 2017) The rise of ABVP and why it attracts the youth *Hindustan Times*. New Delhi. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/the-rise-of-abvp-and-why-it-attracts-the-youth/story-EINVYG4o21aDovqD3f6IcK.html>
- Ramakrishnan, V. (7–20 November, 1998). A spreading network. *Frontline*. Retrieved 16 September 2014.
- Rashid, O. (February, 2023). Will BJP's Electoral Success in the Northeast Enhance RSS' Stature Further? *Outlook*. <https://www.outlookindia.com/national/will-bjp-s-electoral-success-in-the-northeast-enhance-rss-stature-further--magazine-260992>

- Robins, R. S. (1975). [Review of Language, Religion and Politics in North India., by P. R. Brass]. *The Journal of Politics*, 37(4), 1086–1087.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2129205>
- Rose, R., & Harve. M. (1966). *Fiction and Tendencies in Britain*. Macmillan. Behaviour, *ISAS Insights*, 53,1-7.
- Saikia, S. (2020). Saffronizing the periphery: Explaining the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party in contemporary Assam. *Studies in Indian Politics*, 8(1), 69–84.
- Saini, M. K. (1971). Select Bibliography on Elections and Political Parties in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 32(1), 105–123.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41854430>
- Sarma, D.K. (May, 2016). Sangha Parivar the torch bearer of Hindutva in North East India also. *North East Today*. Retrieved on 10.11.2022 from  
<https://hinduexistence.org/2016/06/01/sangha-parivar-the-torch-bearer-of-hindutva-in-north-east-india-also/>
- Sarkar, T. (July 31 - August 6, 1999) Pragmatics of the Hindu Right: Politics of Women's Organizations. *Economic and Political Weekly*.34(31), 2159-2167.
- Sarlvik, B., & Crewe, I. (1983). *Decade of Dealignment: the Conservative victory of 1979 and electoral trends in the 1970s*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sax, W. S. (2000). Conquering the Quarters: Religion and Politics in Hinduism. *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, 4(1), 39–60.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20106680>
- Saxena, K. (July, 1993). The Hindu Trade Union Movement in India: The Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh. *Asian Survey South Asia: Responses to the Ayodhya Crisis*, 33(7), 685-696.
- Sethi, R. & Shubhrastha. (2017). *The last battle of Saraighat: The story of BJP's Rise in North East*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Sharma, D. et.al. (2019). Religion Ethnicity and Politics: Understanding the BJP's rise in Assam. *In Politics and Religion in India*. 64-83, Routledge India.

- Sharma, A. (2020). On the difference between Hinduism and Hindutva. *Asian Philosophies and Religions*, 25(12). <https://www.asianstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/on-the-difference-between-hinduism- and- hindutva.pdf>
- Sharma, J. (2011). Review of Religion, caste and politics in India, by C. Jaffrelot. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, 87(6), 1556–1557. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41307035>
- Sharma, H. (2000). *Communal Angle in Indian Politics*. New Delhi: Rawat Publication
- Shakir, M. (1979). Religion and Politics: Role of Islam in Modern India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 14(7/8), 469–474. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4367365>
- Shah, G. (1972). Voting Behaviour of Adivasi and Harijan Leaders: A Study of The 1971 Elections. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 33(4), 431–442. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41854532>
- Shimray, U.A. (2004). Socio-Political Unrest in the Region Called North-East India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 39(42), 4637–4643. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4415681>
- Shodhan, A. (2014). [Review of The Aga Khan Case: Religion and Identity in Colonial India by T. Purohit]. *Asian Ethnology*, 73(1/2), 314–317. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43150522>
- Siddiqui, F.A. (2018). Politics of identity: Assam voters who can't prove citizenship. *Hindustan Times*.
- Siddiqui, F.A. (December 15, 2014). Target Northeast: How RSS plans to make region saffron. *Hindustan Times*. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/target-northeast-how-rss-plans-to-make-region-saffron/story-YZGPkOBXb6tS301BvpunpJ.html>
- Sikri, S.L. (1989). *Indian Government and Politics*; Kalyani Publishers.
- Singh, D.K. (March 31, 2021). Behind BJP's Rise in Assam, a quiet RSS push that began before Modi, Shah & Sarma were born. *The Print*. <https://theprint.in/politics/behind-bjps-rise-in-assam-a-quiet-rss-push-that-began-before-modi-shah-sarma-were-born/631262/>
- Singh, P. (2005). Hindu Bias in India's "Secular" Constitution: Probing Flaws in the Instruments of Governance. *Third World Quarterly*, 26(6), 909–926. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4017817>

- Singh, B. (1978). Voting behaviour and party identification in parliament: A Case Study of Indian Upper House (1952-1962). *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 39(3), 426-437.
- Snehi, Y. (December, 2003). Hindutva as an ideology of cultural nationalism. *Social Change*. 33, 4 (4), 10-24.
- Srikanth, H. (1999). Communalizing Assam: AGP's Loss Is BJP's Gain. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 34(49), 3412-3414.
- Stills, David L. (ed) 1972 Voting Behaviour International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences. Vol 11 and 12, Macmillan and Company and The Free Press, New York, p. 524.
- Stoetzel, J. (1955). Voting Behaviour in France. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 6(2), 104–122. <https://doi.org/10.2307/58747>
- Swamy, A.R. (March, 2003). Hindu Nationalism: What's Religion got to do with it? *Asia-Pacific centre for security studies*.  
<https://dkiapcss.edu/Publications/Ocasional%20Papers/OPHinduNationalism.pdf>
- Talukdar. (2019). *Post colonial Assam (1947-2021)*. Guwahati: Nanda Talukdar Foundation.
- Tharamangalam, J. (05 Jul 2016). Moditva in India: a threat to inclusive growth and Democracy. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*. 2158-9100. (Routledge Online). Retrieved on 11.05.2022 from  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02255189.2016.1196656>
- Thachil, T. (July, 2011) Embedded Mobilization: Non state Service Provision as Electoral Strategy in India. *World Politics*. 63(3), 434-469.
- Thakurta, P. G. (2009). Indian General Elections 2009 –Key Issues That Could Influence Voting
- Thomas, S. M. (2010). A Globalized God: Religion's Growing Influence in International Politics. *Foreign Affairs*, 89(6), 93–101. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20788720>
- Ursprung, H. W. (1980). Voting Behaviour in a System of Concordant Democracy. *Public Choice*, 35(3), 349–362. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30023812>

- Varshney, A. (2002). *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. London: Yale University Press.
- Varshney, A. (1993). Contested Meanings: India's National Identity, Hindu Nationalism, and the Politics of Anxiety. *Daedalus*, 122(3), 227–261. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20027190>
- Venkatesh, A. (September, 2019). Right-Wing Politics in India. *Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective*. Retrieved on 22.02.2023 from [https://origins.osu.edu/article/right-wing-politics-india-Modi-Kashmir-election?language\\_content\\_entity=en](https://origins.osu.edu/article/right-wing-politics-india-Modi-Kashmir-election?language_content_entity=en)
- Verma, R. (2009). Dalit Voting Patterns. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(39), 95–98. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25663603>
- Virginius Xaxa. (2005). Politics of Language, Religion and Identity: Tribes in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(13), 1363–1370. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4416402>
- Weiner, M & Kothari, R (1965). *Indian Voting Behaviour. Studies of the 1962 General Elections*. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay
- Zahan, S.A. (May, 2022). The Bitter-Sweet Hindutva Experiment: Deep in Tribal-Dominated Northeast India. *Outlook*. <https://www.outlookindia.com/national/the-bitter-sweet-hindutva-experiment-deep-in-tribal-dominated-northeast-india--news-199256>.
- Zamfira, A. (2015). Methodological Limitations in Studying the Effect of (Inter)Ethnicity on Voting Behaviour, with Examples from Bulgaria, Romania, and Slovakia. *Erdkunde*, 69(2), 161–173. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24585789>
- "Assam General Legislative Election 2011". Election Commission of India. Retrieved 27 April 2023.
- Constitution and Rules. (September, 2012). *Bhartiya Janata Party*. Retrieved from <https://www.bjp.org/constitutions>
- Election commission of India, accessed on 24 May, 2022. ([www.eci.gov.in](http://www.eci.gov.in))
- (*Outlook news*, 17 March, 2023)



## ANNEXURE-1

### Semi Structured Interview Schedule for the General Citizen

#### General Citizen:

1. Why and whom did you vote in the last election?
2. Do you think is there any relationship between religion and politics?
3. Does ideology matter to you?
4. What are the considerations for choosing a political party or a candidate?
5. According to you, is there any political party which plays communal politics?
6. What do you think about the role of different communities in relation to elections in Assam?
7. According to you which political regime is the most successful regime?
8. What are the changes you have witnessed in your society after the BJP regime?
9. Have you realize any religious and cultural changes in society? If yes, then what could be the reason?
10. What is your opinion on religious organizations like RSS and Jamiat?
11. Have you seen any religious angle in the speeches of the leaders?
12. What could be the main reason behind BJP's victory in Assam Assembly and Lok Sabha elections?
13. Can you comment briefly regarding people's opinion on BJP, AIUDF and Congress and their relationship with each other in the constituency?
14. Have you witness or heard about any conflict that happen in your place because of politics?
15. Peoples view on the political stand of different religious and ethnic communities?
16. People's view on love jihad?
17. People's view on cow slaughtering?
18. People's opinion on Viswa Hindu parishad?
19. People's opinion on communal activities in the constituency?
20. What is your favorite political party at the centre (Lok Sabha) and why?
21. What are the considerations of people while voting in different elections?
22. What is your opinion on the emerging communal tensions between Hindu and Muslims across the country and what is the main reason behind it?

23. Do you know about the election manifesto of the political parties? What are the main issues of the political parties?
24. What are the issues of the political parties do you like and why?
25. What is your view on Hindu Bangladeshi Issue?
26. What is your take on NRC?
27. Who according to you is the best CM and PM since 2006 and why?
28. Have you witnessed any change in the religious practices in your society?
29. Have you witnessed any changes in the everyday practices of the people?
30. What is your view regarding people's perception on political parties?
31. What is your take on political leaders?
32. How does your panchayat function?
33. Do the schemes of Panchayat get distributed equally and not biased towards different religious and ethnic groups?
34. What is your view on Ram mandir issue?
35. What do you know about population policy? Is it necessary?
36. What is your view on Namami Brahmaputra?
37. What is your opinion on Assam movement and immigrant issue?
38. People's opinion on AASU, NSUI and AAMSU and their role before and after various successive governments, especially the BJP Government?
39. People's view on KMSS and its role before and after the BJP Government?
40. What do you think about immigration in Assam and its role in Assam politics?
41. What is your opinion on Assam movement and its implications?
42. How do you see the ongoing intolerance debate in our country?

## ANNEXURE-2

### **Semi Structured Interview Schedule for the members and leaders of Political Parties/ affiliate organizations.**

1. How cum your present MLA becomes your leader?
2. Why you have chosen your political party over others?
3. Are you a part of any religious organization? If yes then why?
4. Have you witnessed any religious conflict in your locality? If yes then how it had happened?
5. What are the socio- cultural changes you have observed in your constituency?
6. Have you notice any changes in the behavior of other communities? If yes then what is the reason according to you?
7. Dou you know about your party's electoral manifesto? Tell me something which you like the most and you dislike the most?
8. What is priority for you, Assam or India?
9. What is your view about the communal politics in India?
10. What role does the affiliated organization play for your party?
11. Who will win the present Lok Sabha election and why?
12. What is your view on RSS?
13. What is your view on AIUDF?
14. What is your view on AAMSU?
15. What is your view on AASU?
16. Have you notice any changes in your locality as well as in Assam because of political change of power in the state as well as in the centre?
17. How do you see congress's take on immigrant Muslims in Assam?
18. How do you see BJP's take on immigrant Muslims in Assam?
19. How do you see BJP's take on Indigenous Assamese population?
20. How do you see Congress's take on Indigenous Assamese population?
21. How do you see AGP's take on Indigenous Assamese population?
22. How do you see different political party's take on Bengali speaking Muslim population?
23. How do you see different political party's take on Bengali speaking Hindu population?
24. How does your party or organization look at non Assamese Hindu population?

25. What role your organizations play in the overall political mobilization of the affiliated political party?
26. What is your opinion on religion?
27. What is your opinion about other religion?
28. Why you join this religious organization?
29. What is the main reason behind the rapid demographic change in Assam?
30. What kind of religious ideologies preach by your organization?
31. What is your organization's take on other religion?
32. What are the differences have you noticed in the present Lok Sabha election to the last Lok Sabha election?
33. What are the differences you have witnessed from the last panchayat election to the present Lok Sabha election?
34. What are the differences you have witnessed from the last Vidhan Sabha election to the present Lok Sabha election?
35. Have you observed any religious angle in the last panchayat, Lok Sabha and Vidhana Sabha elections?
36. Are there any changes in the electoral campaign of the political parties from the 2006 Vidhan Sabha election?
37. What are the changes you have witnessed in your constituency in terms of performance of the rituals?
38. Have you witnessed any change in the practice of different religions located in your constituency?
39. What is your view on the relationship between religion and politics?
40. What is the present situation of Hindu Muslim relationship in your locality?
41. Have you witnessed any changes in the inter community relations in your constituency
42. What you are taught in the orientation program of your organization and political party?
43. How do your party and organization function?
44. What are the main issues of your party in the Panchayat election?
45. What do you think about peoples' perception about your party or organization?
46. How many members and active members do you have?
47. Do your leaders talk about religious issue?
48. What is your take on different communities and their voting behaviour?

49. What are the changes you have witnessed in your constituency from the previous election?
50. Do you get the opportunity to give feed back to the leaders of your party?
51. Tell me the most positive aspects of your party and the most negative aspect of your party according to you.
52. Why people should vote for your party?
53. Why people should join your organization?
54. Why you joined your political party and not others?
55. Does ideology matter to you?
56. What are the main symbols that you give importance in your organization?
57. What are the symbols you can associate with different political parties?
58. Tell me about the intra party relations in your political party or organization.
59. What kind of relations do you have with other party members?
60. What kind of relations do you have with other community members within your party
61. What kind of relations do you have with other community members in your constituency?



## Digital Receipt

This receipt acknowledges that Turnitin received your paper. Below you will find the receipt information regarding your submission.

The first page of your submissions is displayed below.

Submission author: Hiranku Hazarika  
Assignment title: Sociology  
Submission title: Religion in Electoral Politics: A Study on the Shifting Trends ...  
File name: Hiranku\_Hazarika.pdf  
File size: 2.17M  
Page count: 210  
Word count: 81,969  
Character count: 429,911  
Submission date: 06-Jun-2024 09:48AM (UTC+0530)  
Submission ID: 2396643898

**Thesis Title:** Religion in Electoral Politics: A Study on the Shifting Trends of Voting Behaviour Towards BJP in Assam

**Name:** Hiranku Hazarika, Roll No. SOP17102, Department of Sociology.

**Supervisor:** Prof. Kedilezo Kikhi

### Chapter 1 Introduction

#### 1.1 Introduction

Election constitutes an important element in the democracy that enables citizens to take part directly in the politics by selecting their representatives and to express their policy preferences (Joseph & Mahajan, 1991). Election is the most important and integral part of politics. While in a democracy, politics is the art and practice of dealing with political power, election is the process of legitimization of such political power (Kaur, 2012). Election thus, legitimizes the power exercised by the government and elect government representatives (Joseph & Mahajan, 1991). Results of the election clearly open up the various aspects of human behaviour that help to point out the factors which shape their political character and voting preference. Election is an important factor to be understood in social sciences. It is a proper field of specialization. The study of election is known as psephology (Bashir & Khalid, 2019).

Voting is the medium through which citizens participate in the election process. It is the main form of exercising political participation in democratic states. Voting is an essential process in the democratic setup and plays a pivotal role in the smooth functioning and existence of democracy (Ganguly & Ganguly, 1975). Voting is an action of individual, which involves a definite behavioural act. Hence, it proves valuable for understanding the social and psychological trends. Voting is a process to understand the mood and behaviour of the respondents (Bashir & Khalid, 2019). It is considered as the mechanism of reaching consensus and at the same time an imperative means of institutionalizing conflicts amid various groups. It is one of those focal points of the democracy where political activities reach a high peak (Ganguly & Ganguly, 1975). Voting is defined in Universal Declaration of Human Rights as "A fundamental right of almost all citizens over the age of eighteen and it ensures that the will of the people is preserved" (Bashir & Khalid, 2019). Though, voting appears to be of transient importance apparently, it surely stirs

# Religion in Electoral Politics: A Study on the Shifting Trends of Voting Behaviour Towards BJP in Assam

*by* Hiranku Hazarika

---

**Submission date:** 06-Jun-2024 09:48AM (UTC+0530)

**Submission ID:** 2396643898

**File name:** Hiranku\_Hazarika.pdf (2.17M)

**Word count:** 81969

**Character count:** 429911

# Religion in Electoral Politics: A Study on the Shifting Trends of Voting Behaviour Towards BJP in Assam

## ORIGINALITY REPORT

8%

SIMILARITY INDEX

8%

INTERNET SOURCES

4%

PUBLICATIONS

2%

STUDENT PAPERS

## PRIMARY SOURCES

1	<a href="#">ebin.pub</a> Internet Source	1%
2	Smitana Saikia. "Saffronizing the periphery: Explaining the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party in contemporary Assam", <i>Studies in Indian Politics</i> , 2020 Publication	1%
3	<a href="#">pt.scribd.com</a> Internet Source	1%
4	<a href="#">www.tandfonline.com</a> Internet Source	1%
5	<a href="#">baadalsg.inflibnet.ac.in</a> Internet Source	<1%
6	<a href="#">journals.sagepub.com</a> Internet Source	<1%
7	<a href="#">thewire.in</a> Internet Source	<1%
8	<a href="#">www.ijmra.us</a> Internet Source	



<1 %

64

Akhil Ranjan Dutta. "BJP's Electoral Victory in Assam, 2016: Co-opting the Khilonjiyas", *Social Change*, 2017

Publication

<1 %

65

Bajaj, Shelly Ghai. "Electoral Games, Frames, and Ethnic Party Moderation: the Limited and Selective Moderation of the Bharatiya Janata Party", University of Toronto (Canada), 2022

Publication

<1 %

66

Edward Anderson, Christophe Jaffrelot. "Hindu nationalism and the 'saffronisation of the public sphere': an interview with Christophe Jaffrelot", *Contemporary South Asia*, 2018

Publication

<1 %

Exclude quotes  On

Exclude matches  < 14 words

Exclude bibliography  On