

AB KI BAAR, COALITION SARKAR: Exit polls had given NDA a huge majority, almost in line with Modi's 400-paar forecast – though ground reports suggested a much tighter race. With BJP on its own falling short of the magic mark, Modi – for the first time since he became Gujarat CM in 2001 – will have to depend on allies to form govt. Nitish Kumar and Chandrababu Naidu, who returned to NDA's fold just before the elections, have a track record of being fickle allies. For Rahul Gandhi and INDIA, the results brought back memories of 2004, when Sonia helmed Cong to an unexpected win over Vajpayee-led NDA, which was seen to be coasting to victory on the back of its 'India Shining' campaign

Hat-Tricky: NDA 272 Paar, INDIA Raises Bar

WINNERS



RAHUL GANDHI | In the toughest election of his career, Gandhi emerged as a major winner and the biggest player within the INDIA bloc. His strategy, approach and campaign helped Congress mount a comeback that will establish him as the chief opposition to Modi. He backed a national alliance, plumped for big compromises in seat-sharing, and alongside Mallikarjun Kharge, formed a duo that ensured coordination with allies. His two Bharat Jodo Yatras took the party back to the people. His return as an MP from UP is likely to further help Congress in its bid to shore up its presence in the north

AKHILESH YADAV | Finally ends his losing streak, which began with a rout in 2017. SP's strong showing – it's now the 3rd largest party in LS after BJP & Cong – restores his status as a powerful satrap with a national role. The fact that this success was made possible by support from non-Yadav OBCs and Dalits means he will be a strong challenger in the country's most politically important state

N CHANDRABABU NAIDU | The TDP chief is living proof of the folly of writing a politician's epitaph. Almost consigned to history after he left NDA in 2019, when he was roundly defeated by Jagan Reddy, Naidu, jailed by his bitter rival, is now back as CM of a state where he first earned his reputation as a good administrator and reformer. With BJP falling short of a majority in LS, Naidu can marshal his numbers to try to secure disproportionate returns on issues such as a special package for Andhra Pradesh and good portfolios. May also combine with Nitish to restrain the Hindutva agenda

NITISH KUMAR | The political gymnast has landed on his feet yet again. Bihar's results have validated his much-mocked decision to switch sides before the elections. Not only did the defection not cost him votes, it may have also helped thwart the formation of a larger social coalition that embarrassed NDA in neighbouring UP. A ruthless practitioner of realpolitik, he is likely to leverage his numbers to push demands like special category status for Bihar, even a caste census. BJP is unlikely to ask for leadership of the Bihar coalition in 2025 when state polls are due

MAMATA BANERJEE | Many said this was her toughest challenge yet, with her back to the wall following repeated raids by central agencies and the Modi-Shah duo's focus on Bengal's 42 seats. But, as in the 2021 assembly polls, she has once again proved the prophecies of her decline to be vastly exaggerated. Contrary to exit poll predictions, she actually raised her LS tally from 22 to 29. A weaker BJP in the centre could also mean less aggressive central agencies in Bengal

M K STALIN | A staunch ally of Rahul Gandhi through good times and bad, he has led DMK and its allies to a clean sweep in Tamil Nadu. His success in thwarting PM Modi's determined bid to expand BJP's presence in TN has bolstered his political standing. AIADMK seems to be in decline, another plus for him

UDDHAV THACKERAY | He has emerged as inheritor of Balasaheb Thackeray's political legacy. Success outside the stronghold of Mumbai without BJP's support has established his as the 'real Sena' – which could help lure back those who'd left him for Shinde. It will also strengthen his claim to be MVA's CM-face in state polls

TEJASHWI YADAV | Braving scorching sun and recurring back pain, Tejashwi spearheaded the opposition campaign single-handedly against an array of senior BJP functionaries like PM Modi, Amit Shah and JP Nadda. With the Congress brass, including Rahul Gandhi and Mallikarjun Kharge busy elsewhere, it was left to Tejashwi to lead the show and eventually help RJD raise its Lok Sabha tally to 4 from zero in 2019. Addressing 251 rallies and hundreds of roadshows, he has set the stage for the 2025 assembly election in Bihar, where he will seek to further improve on RJD's impressive performance in the 2020 polls

LOSERS



YS JAGAN MOHAN REDDY | This rout in both LS and assembly is his biggest setback since he rebelled against Congress and charted his independent path. It must have come as a shocker after the freebies he dispensed. The pafty numbers leave him vulnerable to a resurgent Naidu, whom he had jailed, and without any leverage with the Centre

NAVEEN PATNAIK | That he could not better P K Chamlings record as India's longest-serving CM will hurt. But it will pale before the agony caused by the double defeat on Tuesday. The loss of office in Bhubaneswar, and of the leverage he had with Delhi before the LS rout, come at a time when he is not in the best condition to mount a fightback. BJPs determination to consolidate its hard-fought gains can only cause more trouble for the veteran, who was once considered unbeatable in Odisha

ARVIND KEJRIWAL | The SC decision to grant bail to Delhi's CM was a major reprieve for AAP and the INDIA bloc. But the script began to unravel with the assault on RS MP Swati Malaviy by Kejriwal's assistant generating unwanted headlines. The cases against him and senior AAP members dominated elections in the capital. The party's failure to win a single seat in Delhi for the third time running is a big setback for Kejriwal, who turned the polls into a virtual referendum on his incarceration with his "jai ka jawab vote se" campaign. AAP's poor performance in Punjab in the LS elections soon after its landslide in the 2022 state polls could spell more trouble for the party and its chief

MAYAWATI | The BSP chief has been an enigma this election. After keeping away from any anti-BJP coalition, she bet big on the Muslim vote, giving 30% of her party tickets to the community. Yet, the BSP campaign floundered, with the SP-Congress combine garnering the bulk of the Muslim vote by virtue of being the stronger anti-BJP force. The non-Yadav OBCs and non-Jatav Dalits who were part of BSP's base have already drifted away, largely towards BJP. Now there are signs that even the Jatavs are dispirited by the party's waning prospects and Mayawati's erratic functioning, manifested in the dramatic sacking of her nephew midway through the campaign

YOGI ADITYANATH | Expected to deliver a handsome tally in UP on the plank of improved law & order and construction of the Ram Temple, the UP CM was unable to maintain the momentum the party had gained since 2014, when it won 71 seats. It is a personal setback for him as the saffron party suffered the maximum damage in eastern UP, his own turf. One of BJP's star campaigners, he will face a formidable star from a rejuvenated Akhilesh Yadav-led SP

Short Of Majority, BJP Has To Rely On Ambitious Allies

TEAM TOI

T Narendra Modi is set to take over as PM for the third time in a row, but suffered a setback as an unexpectedly strong show by Congress, Samajwadi Party and Trinamool Congress denied him a Lok Sabha majority. BJP managed to dodge a debacle because of its victory in Odisha, the sweep of Andhra Pradesh by its ally TDP and by saving its strongholds of Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh from being breached. It also performed well in Assam, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and, along with ally JD(U), retained its dominance in Bihar.

The failure to secure an absolute majority dampened celebrations of Modi's success in becoming the first PM to secure three consecutive terms since Nehru in 1962. BJP's score of 240, while distinctly underwhelming when viewed through the prism of the previous two single-party majorities and the 400+ target Modi had set for himself, is still a credible performance for a govt facing 10-year incumbency.

The loss of majority leaves BJP dependent on allies – both bigger like TDP (16) and JD-U (12) as well as smaller ones like Chirag Paswan's LJP. All three promptly pledged support to Modi.

But both Chandrababu Naidu and Nitish Kumar are known for their transactional outlook and maximalist approach. The possibility of them using their leverage, encouraged further by feelers from Congress and others in the opposition, is going to be a constant worry for BJP.

► Continued on P 18

With 8 seats each, Cong, BJP share LS poll honours in T

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Hyderabad: In a tight contest in Telangana, both the ruling Congress and BJP bagged eight seats each of the total 17 Lok Sabha constituencies in the state. BRS drew a blank, while the AIMIM retained its bastion of Hyderabad.

The BRS' rout can be gauged from the fact that except for two seats, it stood third in the rest. Also, in a boost for the Congress, the party wrested

In the last general elections in 2019, BJP had won four seats and Congress three. The fierce competition this time saw the BJP double its tally from 2019, while Congress attributed its success to the implementation of five out of six key guarantees. The BJP's rise was apparently at the expense of the

► Continued on P 15

Sensex suffers loss of 4,390 pts, ₹31L cr investor wealth wiped out

Team TOI



► Sensex loses 4,390 points, its biggest plunge ever. Previous record was 3,935-pt loss on Mar 23, 2020 (COVID crash)
► Biggest fall in % terms since COVID crash in Mar '20: At 5.7%, sensex dives most in over 4 years in % terms

expect that the new govt will not be able to take some of the bold policy decisions to push the economy along the strong economic growth path that it's already on. As the initial

poll results trickled in, sensex opened 200 points down but then heavy selling pulled it down by over 6,000 points.

► Continued on P 21

SWING STATUS

6 CHANGES FROM 2019 TO 2024

1 In 2019, Cong had won just 15 of 190 seats, or barely 8%, where it was in direct contest with BJP. This time, it won 61 or over 28% of 214 such direct contests

2 In 2019, BJP had 303 of NDA's 352 seats, a share of 86% in the alliance and majority on its own. Now, it has 241 of 290 – slightly reduced 83% – and no majority by itself

3 Four of the 5 states with most LS seats failed to deliver for BJP. Its tally in UP

(total seats 80) almost halved from 62 to 33, fell from 23 to 10 in Maharashtra (48), from 18 to 12 in Bengal (42) and in TN (39) it failed to open its account. The 5th, Bihar, saw it shed 5 seats from its tally of 17, though NDA won 30 of the state's 40 seats

4 The northeast, where BJP had expanded massively in recent years, also dealt it a bit of a blow with both seats in Manipur going to Cong, as did the lone seat in Nagaland 1 of 2 seats in Meghalaya. But BJP retained 9 seats in Assam and 2 each in Arunachal & Tripura

5 BJP had won 77 of 131 SC/ST seats across the country last time, while Cong had won just 11. This time, BJP's tally fell to 53, while Cong upped its tally to 33

6 BJP will form a govt in Odisha for the 1st time, ending the 24-year tenure of Naveen Patnaik, India's 2nd-longest serving CM

“ People have placed their faith in NDA for a 3rd consecutive time! This is a historic feat... | PM NARENDRA MODI'S POST ON X

“ The people of India have saved the Constitution and democracy | RAHUL GANDHI'S POST ON X

'Bold decisions' to define third term, says Modi, vows war against graft

TEAM TOI

Shrugging off celebrations in the opposition camp over BJP's loss of majority, PM Narendra Modi Tuesday declared his third term would be defined by bold decisions, signalled the likelihood of fresh initiatives specifically aimed at women, the poor and SCs/STs and declared his intent to press on with his drive against corruption.

"All Indians will walk together and make the country progress... the third term will be used to write new chapters of bold decisions and it is a guarantee of Modi," the PM

said in his address to BJP cadres who had gathered to applaud the verdict that will lead to the third consecutive Modi-led regime.

If he was feeling disappointed over the results, Modi did not show it. Nor was there any indication that the reduced numbers would act as a restraint with the PM saying that his drive against corruption would continue.

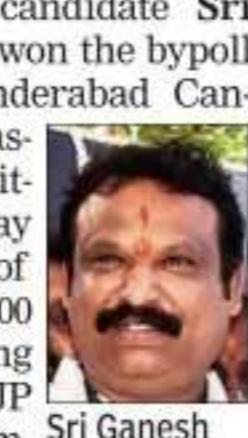
"If the country has to progress in the 21st century, then we will have to wage a war against corruption," Modiaserted.

► Continued on P 18

Congress wins Cantt bypoll, gets first seat in Greater Hyd

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Congress candidate Sri Ganesh won the bypoll to the Secunderabad Cantonment assembly constituency Tuesday by a margin of over 13,000 votes, defeating his nearest BJP rival Dr Vamshi Tilak. With this, the Congress registered its first win in the Greater Hyderabad limits. The party couldn't win a single seat in the 2023 assembly polls. The bypoll was necessitated due to the death of BRS MLA G Lasya Nanditha. P15



TDP storms back to power in Andhra, decimates YSRCP

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Vijayawada: TDP on Tuesday scored a resounding victory in the Andhra Pradesh assembly polls by winning a record 135 seats out of 144 the party contested. Its allies, Jana Sena won all 21 assembly segments that the party contested, while the BJP won 8 out of 11 seats it was in the fray. The ruling YSR Congress was reduced to just 11 seats in the 175-member House, eight seats short of getting

opposition party status.

The TDP also put up a good show in the Lok Sabha polls, winning or leading in 16 of the total 25 seats in the sta-

to the people with its 'Super Six' manifesto. People were attracted to the promise of Rs 4,000 monthly pension. The pension guarantee proved to be a clincher with party president N Chandrababu Naidu promising to roll out with retrospective effect from April. In April, May and June, pensioners were paid Rs 3,000 and Naidu said he would pay Rs 1,000 balance for three months along with the July pension disbursal.

Amaravati and Polavaram project are the two other issues that have helped the TDP to storm back to power. The TDP was able to reach

► Continued on P 16

With 16 LS seats, Naidu emerges key player in govt formation

TOI

TDP president N Chandrababu Naidu, who helmed his party to a landslide victory in Andhra Pradesh, is poised to play a key role again in national politics after two decades. With the BJP falling short of magic number to form the govt on its own, the support of TDP has become crucial for National Democratic Alliance (NDA). Naidu will visit Delhi on Wednesday to meet Prime Minister Narendra Modi. With 16 MPs, TDP has become the second largest partner in NDA alliance followed by JD (U) which has 14 seats. The support of TDP and JD (U) is essential for the BJP to retain power for third time, reports Srikanth Aluri.

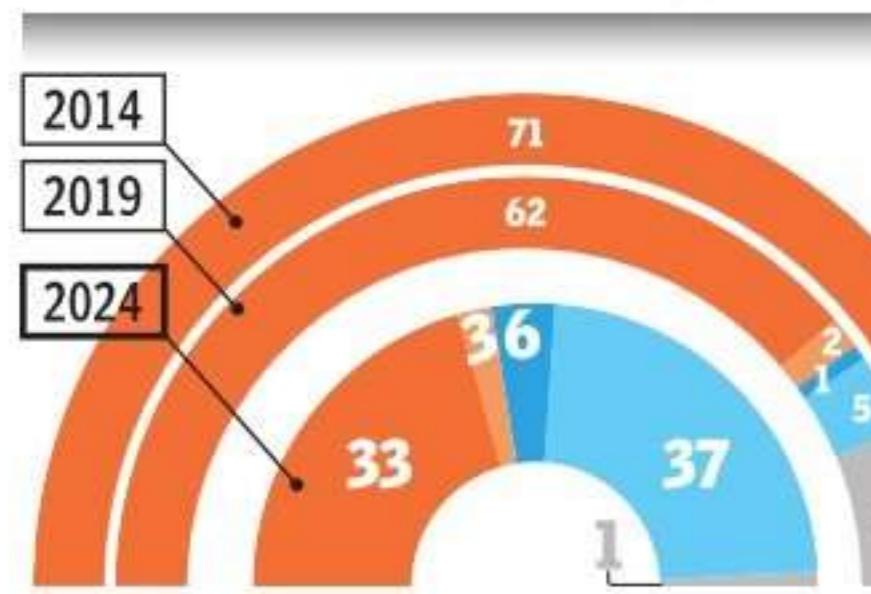
Sources said several INDIA bloc leaders including some of the senior functionaries of Congress are trying to reach out to Naidu. However, sources said Naidu is reluctant to hold any kind of talks with Congress and he also turned down the offer of other INDIA bloc partners with whom Naidu is having personal relationship. P7



Chandrababu Naidu greets supporters in Amaravati on Tuesday

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UTTAR PRADESH | 80 SEATS

Samajwadi surge India's largest state gave BJP its biggest shock of the polls, the saffron double engine of Modi and Yogi derailing before the INDIA bloc pairing of Akhilesh Yadav and Rahul Gandhi. With 37 seats, Samajwadi Party emerged as the star performer of the Congress-led alliance, putting it in its best Lok Sabha performance. Seen as overwhelming favourite, BJP fell to 33 seats (also losing Ayodhya) and NDA to 34 from 64 (BJP 62) in 2019. Its vote share fell from nearly 50% to around 43% while SP's jumped from 18% in 2019 to 33.5%. Congress won six seats (its vote share rising from 6.5% to nearly 10%), giving INDIA bloc a total of 43.

MADHYA PRADESH | 29

Saffron fortress intact After this bruising victory, as the saffron camp gets into damage-assessment mode, this is one state it needn't worry about. Building on the momentum of the 2023 Assembly polls, BJP swept all 29 seats, finally breaching the Congress citadel of Chhindwara. The Nath family's political fortunes were at stake in what was their impregnable stronghold for four decades. The 29-0 scoreline was also a boost for CM Mohan Yadav, who was propelled from the back benches of state BJP to the top post.

GUJARAT | 26

BJP clean sweep denied

Year	BJP	INDIA	Others
2014	26	0	0
2019	26	0	0
2024	25	1	0

Congress's sole win, ending its decade-long losing streak – in Banaskantha – denied BJP a hat-trick of clean sweeps, but the rest of the state reposed unwavering faith in Modi, with BJP bagging 25 of 26 seats. Union home minister Amit Shah rewrote his 2019 electoral victory margin record of 5.6 lakh by posting a thumping win in Gandhinagar, this time with a 7.4 lakh-plus margin. In Navsari, state BJP chief C R Paatil bettered his 2019 record.

RAJASTHAN | 25

Cong sees revival

Year	BJP	INDIA	Others
2014	25	0	0
2019	24	0	1
2024	14	8	3

Congress ended its decade-long Lok Sabha seat drought with an impressive performance as it wrested 11 seats in a state where BJP had made two clean sweeps in 2014 and 2019 and recently won assembly elections. Its experiment of forming its first alliance in the state with parties like RLP, BAP and CPM paid off – in fact, BAP's Raj Kumar Raut won by more than 2 lakh votes in Banswara, the place where the PM delivered the 'mangalsutra' speech after the first phase of polling. The absence of strong state-level leadership and party veteran Vasundhara Raje from the scene hurt BJP.

JHARKHAND | 14

NDA leads, INDIA gains NDA got nine seats out of 14 in Jharkhand, of which BJP won eight and its alliance partner, Ajsu P. one. INDIA improved its performance by increasing the size of its kitty from two to five. All tribal-reserved seats went with INDIA, in a show of resentment over ED action against former CM Hemant Soren. JMM successfully tapped into tribal sentiment against central govt refusing a separate Sarna code in the Census register.

PUNJAB | 13

Fractured verdict Multi-cornered contests in all 13 seats of Punjab threw up a fractured verdict as governing party AAP upped its tally to 3, Congress won 7 seats. Congress and AAP were not in alliance here. Jailed pro-Khalistan Sikh preacher Amritpal Singh (Ind), won Khadoor Sahib by nearly 2 lakh votes, the state's highest margin. Sarabjit Singh, son of PM Indira Gandhi's assassin Beant Singh, won Faridkot by over 70,000 votes.

CHHATTISGARH | 11

Saffron sweep again BJP's Lok Sabha dominance in Chhattisgarh remains intact. In 2019, when Congress was flush from its assembly poll victory, BJP had bagged 9 seats. This time, it's done better with 10, a win that was significant to its national numbers. The result also puts first-time CM Vishnu Deo Sai, the first tribal to hold the position, on a stronger footing.

All results based on wins & leads at 11pm. Source: EC



MAHARASHTRA | 48

Cong, Uddhav & Pawar play The real Sena, real NCP question has been settled by the people. Uddhav Thackeray and Sharad Pawar have emerged on top of the bruising political slugfest that saw their parties split. Thackeray unseated as CM and Pawar dislodged from NCP by nephew Ajit. With Maha Vikas Aghadi (MVA) bagging 29 of the state's 48 seats, not only have Pawar and Uddhav reasserted themselves as mass leaders, they have also gained an advantage before the assembly polls this Oct. It's Congress that's the biggest gainer, though, having risen from one seat in 2019 to 13 and emerging as the single-largest party.



WEST BENGAL | 42

Didi No. 1 again With just 12 seats for BJP, Bengal's voters dealt a blow to the saffron party as well as pollsters. The LS poll script was similar to the 2021 Assembly elections. BJP's loss was Trinamool's gain. As it fell from its 2019 mark of 18 seats, Mamata Banerjee's party raised its tally from 22 in 2019 to 29. Women, minority and tribal voters seem to have contributed to the Trinamool show even as the party retained its urban base. BJP's Sandeshkhali pitch didn't work, neither did CAA make an impact.



BIHAR | 40

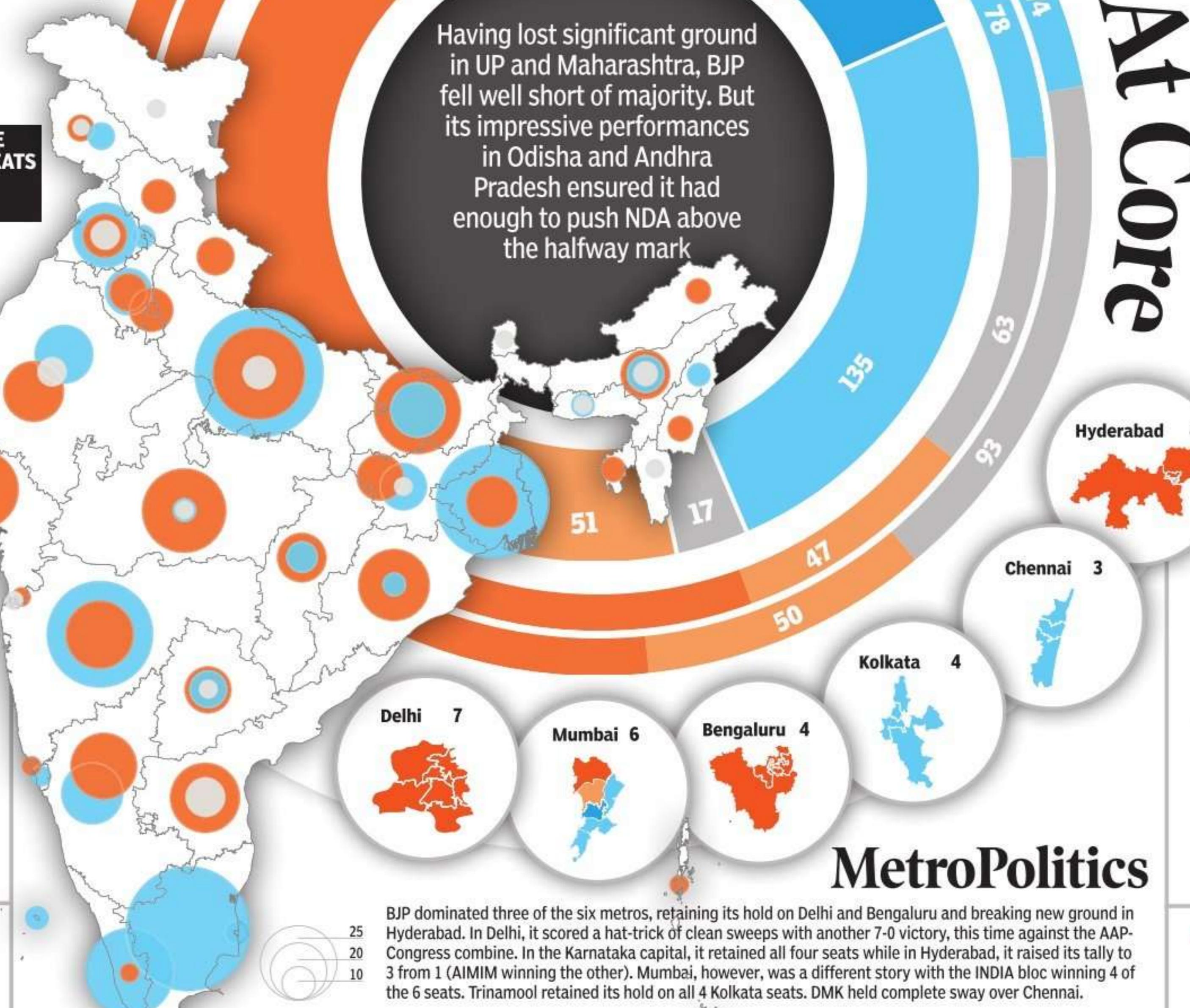
Nitish, Chirag light up NDA NDA put up another good show, with the governing coalition winning 30 seats. CM Nitish Kumar's JD(U) led from the front, winning 12 seats. BJP won 12 and LJP (RV) of Chirag Paswan five, while Jitan Ram Manjhi won from Gaya. NDA had swept in 2019, bagging 39 seats. INDIA bloc made inroads but the massive crowds seen at Tejaswi Yadav's rallies didn't quite translate into votes for RJD, which won just 4 seats. Congress, its alliance partner, won 3. What seems to have worked is Modi's repeated reminders about RJD's "Jungle Raj".



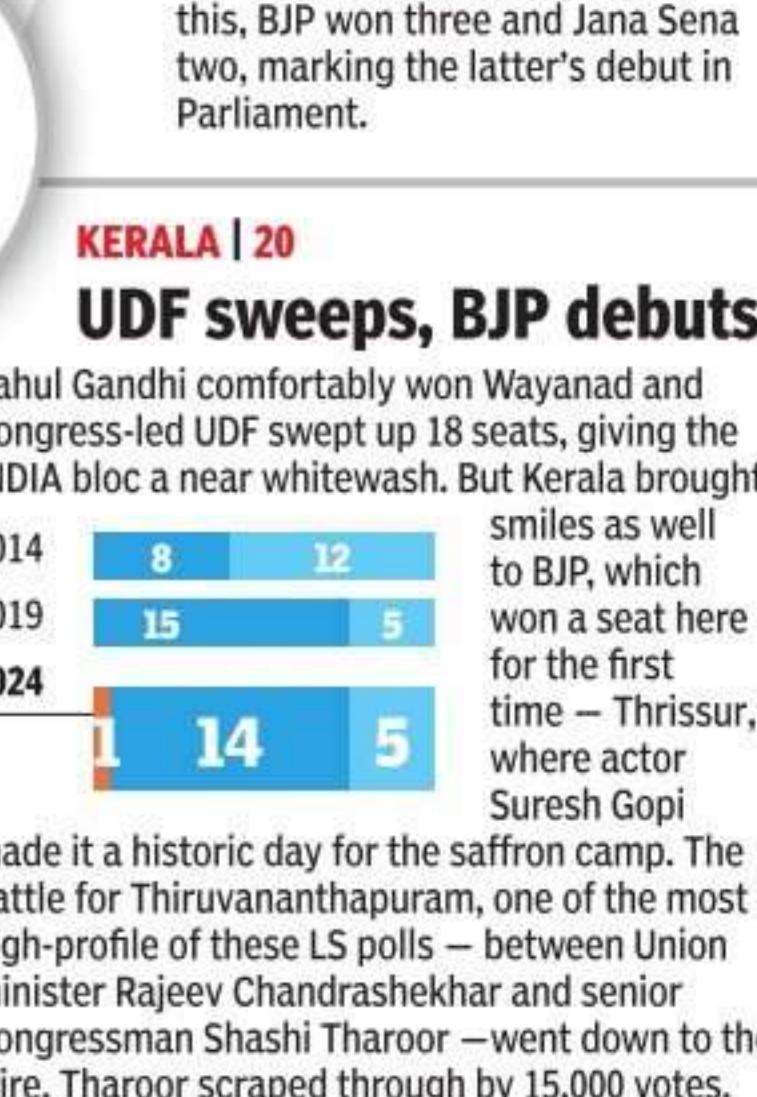
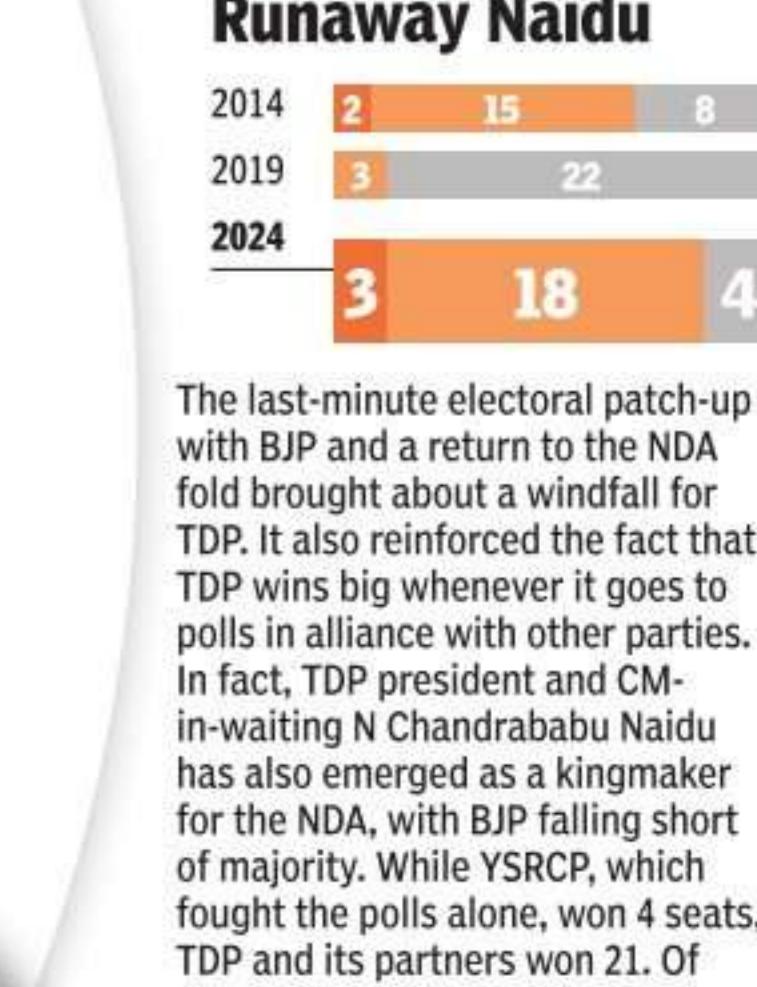
TAMIL NADU | 39

DMK wins it all MK Stalin's stock rose in national politics as he led the INDIA bloc to a clean sweep, doing better than the impressive 38 out of 39 the DMK alliance won in 2019. The alliance's regional and caste dynamics and DMK govt's big welfare push blew the opposition – regional rival ADMK and BJP – away. For ADMK, which was a BJP ally, and especially Edappadi K Palaniswami, the defeat of state BJP chief K Annamalai was the high point. A conversation gaining momentum now is whether ADMK and BJP will continue to contest future polls as rivals.

BJP Gains New Turf, But UPset At Core



Having lost significant ground in UP and Maharashtra, BJP fell well short of majority. But its impressive performances in Odisha and Andhra Pradesh ensured it had enough to push NDA above the halfway mark



NORTH-EAST STATES

Cong trips NDA In this bloc,

NDA's tally fell below that of 2019 by 3 seats, a sharp contrast to predictions of every exit poll. Individually, BJP lost four of the 17 seats it contested – 2 in Assam and one each in Manipur and Mizoram. NDA's tally fell from 18 in 2019 to 15. Congress surpassed its 2019 tally of 4, winning 7, including 3 in Assam. BJP's biggest dent was in conflict-hit Manipur, where it was rejected in the Meitei-dominated Imphal valley.

	2014	2019	2024
Arunachal Pradesh	2	2	2
Manipur	2	2	2
Meghalaya	2	2	2
Tripura	2	2	2
Mizoram	1	1	1
Nagaland	1	1	1
Sikkim	1	1	1

UNION TERRORIES

	2014	2019	2024

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Why 1977 & 2019 LS Polls Stand Out

Victory margins needn't be big in a first-past-the-post system. But the picture can change in case of a wave. Average win margins are a barometer of the political mood in the country. They shot up in 1977, when there was an overwhelming mandate against Emergency, and breached 1.5 lakh in the Modi wave election of 2014. They peaked at nearly 2 lakh in 2019, when Modi won a second term



MIND THE GAP: The average win margin in each seat underlines how narrow or wide Lok Sabha victories are. In 2019, when there were about 11 lakh votes cast on average in each seat, the mean difference between the winner and the second-best was 17% of votes

RIDING THEIR LAKH: Amid mostly bipolar contests between the NDA and INDIA alliances, the average margin in 2024 LS polls touched 1.6 lakh but the average per cent margin dipped from 2019

How small drop in BJP vote share led to big dent in tally

TEAM TOI

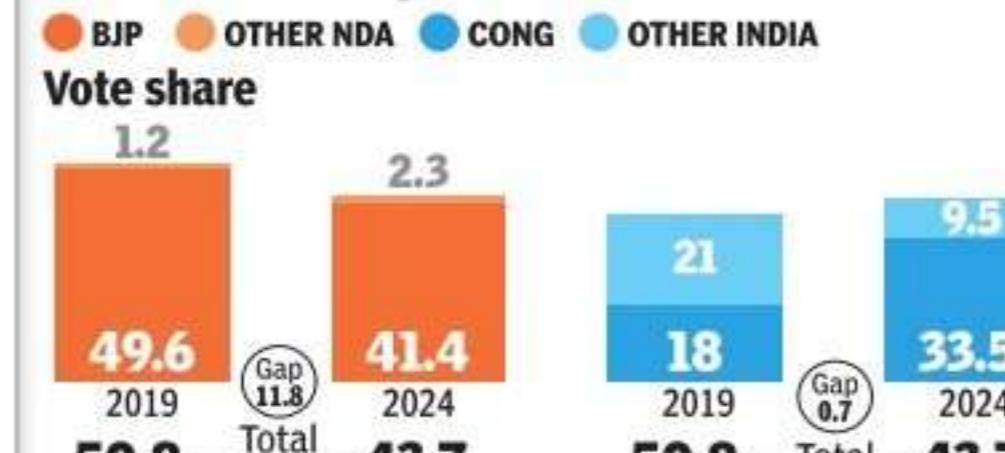
BJP saw its national vote share fall marginally from 37.3% in 2019 to 36.6% in 2024, but its seat tally dropped by 63 from 303 to 240, putting it well below the halfway mark. In contrast, Congress raised its vote share a bit from 19.5% last time to 21.2%, but that was enough to nearly double its seat tally from 52 to 99.

How could such minor changes in vote share have caused such a large variation in seat tallies? That's because the national vote share is an aggregation of states, and a party may gain vote share in a state where it is starting from such a low base that adding votes doesn't translate into winning seats while losing the same amount in a highly competitive state could cost many seats.

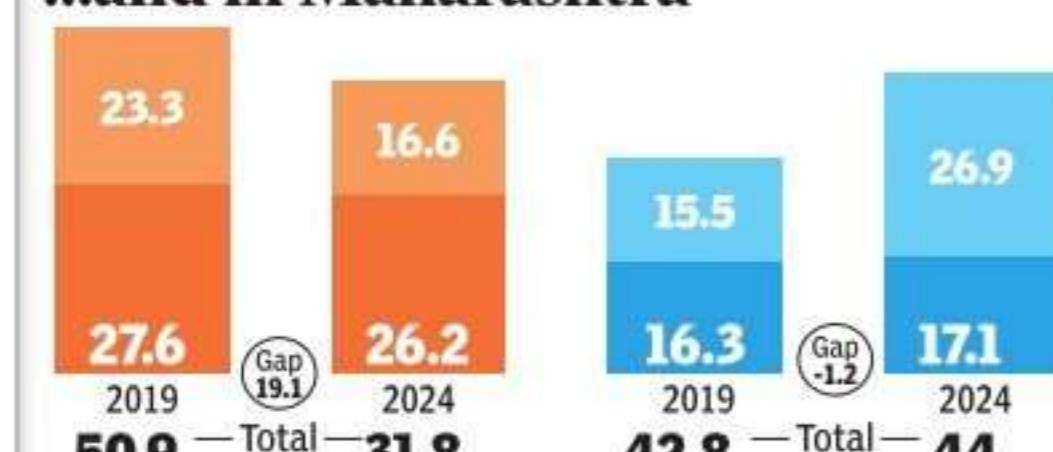
That is precisely what happened to BJP this time. For instance, its vote share in Tamil Nadu rose from 3.6% in 2019 to 11.2% this time, but that added nothing to its seat tally. Similarly, it went from 9.6% to 18.6% in Punjab, but in the absence of any alliance, that was not enough to win any seats, so it ended up losing the two it had.

On the other hand, a drop of about three percentage points in Bihar, from 23.6% to 20.5%, cost it five seats, while a drop of a mere 1.6 percentage points in West Bengal meant it dropped six seats.

What Changed The Game In UP...



...and in Maharashtra



The most dramatic instance, however, was in Maharashtra, where BJP's share dropped by just 1.4 percentage points from 27.6% to 26.2%, but that led to its winning less than half the seats it had last time (10 versus 23).

Congress presented almost a mirror image of this. In Maharashtra, a rise in vote share of less than one percentage point, from 16.3% to 17.1%, saw its seat tally jump from one to 13. In Rajasthan, it upset its vote share from 34.2% to 37.9%, and that meant winning eight seats instead of none. In UP, a rise in vote

share from 6.3% to 9.5% saw its seat tally go from one to six. The third largest party, SP, achieved its highest tally of 37 in the Lok Sabha by significantly raising its vote share from 18% to 33.5%. Combined with Congress' 9.5%, the INDIA bloc in the state had a 43% vote share, making it a neck-and-neck battle with the NDA. Last time, the SP-BSP combine's 37.3% was a far cry from the NDA's 50%-plus vote share. It's this dramatic closing of the gap, which few had anticipated in the absence of BSP from the opposition alliance, that was the game changer in UP.

Odisha was an interesting

outlier. While the seat tally would indicate that it was a one-way street with BJP winning 20 of the 21 seats, the average margin was a little over a lakh, on the lower side among the larger states, suggesting that the contests were closer than the seat tallies would make us believe.

The highest margin was in Dhubri in Assam, where Rakibul Hussain of the Congress polled nearly 14.7 lakh votes and beat Mohammed Badrudin Ajmal of the AIUDF by over 10 lakh votes, a new record.

The lowest margin of a mere 48 votes was in Mumbai North West where a battle between the two Sena factions saw the Shinde group's candidate Ravindra Waikar just pip the UBT group's Amol Kirtikar at the post.

At the other end of the spectrum, Punjab had an average margin of just about 70,500. In UP, which saw a fierce battle between NDA and INDIA alliance, margins were on average under a lakh while Bihar and Maharashtra too were just over a lakh.

BJP's strategy of targeting OBCs and Dalits paid off in Bihar, where it won 10 more seats than last time.

Meanwhile, DMK in Tamil Nadu emphasised social justice and countered BJP's Hindutva narrative, framing the contest as a battle between caste and communalism. In Bihar, despite BJP's alliance with JD(U), which focuses on

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60 Years Later, Another Triple

Jawaharlal Nehru
PM | 15 Aug 1947 to 27 May 1964Narendra Modi
PM | Since 26 May 2014

1ST TERM
Allahabad cum Jaunpur (2-member seat)
Cong 364 seats 45% votes

2ND TERM
Phulpur (2-member seat Cong's Masuriya Din second again)
371 seats 47.8% votes

3RD TERM
Phulpur (1 member seat)
361 seats 44.7% votes

6

Despite a far tighter election than expected, Modi is set to head a govt for the third time. What's different this time for the former three-time Gujarat chief minister is managing mercurial allies, and a belligerent opposition in Parliament

1ST TERM IN LS
Vadodara 72.8% votes 56.4% Varanasi

2ND TERM
Varanasi 63.6% votes

3RD TERM
Varanasi 0.0% votes

3-time PM

BJP 282 seats 31.3% votes

303 seats

000 seats

0.0% votes

LONGEST-SERVING HEADS OF ELECTED GOVT	
Narendra Modi	8,277 days
Jawaharlal Nehru	6,130
Indira Gandhi	5,829
Manmohan Singh	3,656
Morarji Desai	2,511
AB Vajpayee	2,272
Narasimha Rao	2,229
Rajiv Gandhi	1,857

Number of days served as Prime Minister as well as chief minister
As on June 4

Man With Modified Mandate

In a waveless election, 400-paar proved to be an unrealistic target. But while the Teesri Manzil has many challenges ahead such as fickle allies, Modi is no stranger to pressure

Team TOI

In their post-results comments, opposition leaders — from Rahul Gandhi to Mamata Banerjee — described BJP's failure to score a majority of its own as PM Narendra Modi's defeat. This was to be expected, considering that the entire NDA's campaign (TDP being a partial exception), was framed around him. His energetic campaign only served to enhance his personal liability. But while results clearly suggest that the law of politics has caught up with him, he has still pulled off a feat which most incumbents in democracy can only dream of.

Modi is going to be only the second PM after Jawaharlal Nehru to have secured a third term. In fact, his achievement may be considered even bigger because it comes in a political milieu that is polarised, fragmented and far more competitive than the one Nehru had to reckon with. Moreover, Nehru also had the advantage of having been blessed by none other than Mahatma Gandhi, and being leader of a party that basked in the glow of being the vanguard of the freedom movement. In contrast, Modi arrived as dissent; a challenger to the mainstream.

Coming back to 2024, while the tally of 243 looks like a nosedive both from the standards of the 400-paar campaign as well as the widely held perception of the polls being a no-contest, this is the best to have been posted by any non-BJP party since 1984 when Congress rode the massive sympathy wave generated by Indira Gandhi's assassination.

However, the setback has brought to fore issues like price rise and unemployment which emerged as warning signs during the campaign but were seen as minor irritants because of the assumption, wrong and smug as it turned out to be, that an absolute majority was already in the bag. Although Modi did a good job of containing inflation, the assumption that voters would go only by the sincerity of intent, while also taking into account the international pattern of runaway inflation, turned out to be wrong.



Modi is not alien to struggle. He has negotiated several obstacles and despite the apparent diminution, he will be tackling a third term with strengths few others can boast of

Modi pushed for expansion of public infrastructure and generation of employment in the informal sector. The calculation that this, along with the post-Covid push for filling up vacancies in central govt jobs, would help assuage the concern about jobs did not come to be wrong.

The retention of sitting BJP MPs, despite internal surveys and cadre feedback flagging their unpopularity, was another big and avoidable mistake.

The 400+ target, which was supposed to convey strength and self-assuredness, also boomeranged, with the opposition saying this was part of a design to change the Constitution and scrap quotas.

The counter-maneuvre by Modi in the form of an aggressive pitch against Muslim quota did not work as Hindus voted along caste lines. If anything, it gave an opening to his opponents to renew the charge that he was divisive and desperate. This may have caused consternation to the moderates among his supporters.

The resultant reduction in seats has turned the third term into a challenge. Apart from a stronger opposition which is going to be more aggressive, Modi also has to contend with allies like N Chandra

drababu Naidu and Nitish Kumar, who are not in sync with the themes on BJP's agenda and may act as restraint. At the same time, RSS will also be keeping a wary eye on how he deals with pressure from allies.

But Modi is not alien to struggles. His career is essentially that of negotiating challenges and taking them on at the opportune moment. And, despite the apparent diminution, he will be approaching one with strengths that few can boast of. BJP's numbers, although reduced, are also a testimony to the goodwill and credibility he enjoys in an age when loyalties are short-lived and fleeting, and goodwill evaporates in the heat of ever-escalating expectations. This is the main reason why BJP could survive the 'caste' and 'consolidation' card played so adroitly by the opposition. His credentials as a 'staunch nationalist' are considered beyond reproach, and the massive upgrade of public infrastructure that happened under his leadership is a lived and real experience that may be appreciated again now that resentments have been vented. The robust exchequer is going to be a strength. Addressing the concerns of Dalits and OBCs cannot be beyond a leader and a party which has been more sensitive to caste sentiments than the older BJP.

The third term is going to be his legacy term, and Modi will leave no stone unturned to ensure it is remembered for accomplishments rather than as a weak arrangement. Going by his track record, he may not like to let the challenges become an alibi for non-performance, and a stint which dwarfs the memory of his achievements in the first two terms. Conclusions about decline may yet turn out to be premature.

Not so 'Upayogi'? Results reversal comes as reality check for UP CM

Team TOI

The setback that BJP has received in UP, has come as a stunning reality check for Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath. The Yogi factor — a combination of strong law and order, development and aggressive Hindutva — which was a strong pitch used by BJP in addition to the Modi factor appeared to find resonance on the ground during the campaign. But the 'double engine' faltered this time around and SP chief Akhilesh Yadav's catchphrase 'PDA' targeting Picchade (backwards), Dalits and Alpsankhyak (minorities) had a deeper connect with voters, especially Dalits and backwards.

Yogi has spearheaded BJP's consecutive victories in five back-to-back elections in the state — 2017 and 2022 state polls, 2019 Lok Sabha elections and two local body polls before the reversal of the trend. "Since Yogi had been credited with wins, he will have to take the responsibility for the dismal show also," says a political observer, adding "but he cannot be made a scapegoat."



TARNISHED HALO? Though he had little say in candidate selection, the lack of trust of minorities in his govt played a role in the loss

To his credit, he was one of the most sought-after campaigners for the party, having addressed nearly 170 rallies — not only in UP but also outside. Before that, he had already visited all 75 districts. But it clearly was not enough and his position in the party's top echelon will take a beating. The extent could be a matter of debate.

Since Yogi had been credited with the wins, he will have to take the responsibility for the dismal show. But he cannot be made a scapegoat

— POLITICAL OBSERVER

"Although he was playing on Yogi's popularity, giving a message to the latter's admirers and voters that if you vote for the saffron party, your 'favourite' CM would be dispensed with, BJP came out with a rebuttal. However, with BJP losing ground in these polls, this narrative is bound to return to haunt the party," says a BJP insider.

His name also came up during discussions around Thakur protests during the election. The hype around the protests likely affected the party's prospects, especially in the first two rounds. "But he was not alone. UP BJP's inability to assess the intensity of the protest will also be discussed in the same breath," the analyst says and adds it was because of Yogi that the extent of damage was curtailed. Seats won by BJP do reflect the same, he further says.

While Yogi is in the third year of his second tenure and his welfare measures have reached the last strata of the society, his govt is yet to earn the trust of the minority community, as apparent from the voting pattern. "This would be a task cut out for his govt to bridge that gap," says a political analyst.

However, while making the governance more robust, the Yogi govt must be wary of its image as being "over-dependent" on bureaucracy. "Ignoring party workers and people's representatives was a reason quoted for the lack of enthusiasm among party cadre," he adds.

Himanta: Will N-E star campaigner lose sheen?

Prabin Kalita@timesgroup.com

Lok Sabha election results present a complex picture for Himanta Biswa Sarma, Assam chief minister and key architect of BJP's vision in the North-East.

Despite his significant role in BJP's national campaigns, the party's and NDA's performance in the North-East, especially in Manipur, raise questions about his future trajectory. In his home state of Assam, the party retained the same tally as 2019 but failed to improve its performance.

While Sarma wasn't directly involved in campaigning in the North-East, except Assam, the region's electoral outcomes now raise questions about his ability to deliver in his own backyard.

BJP's decision to deploy Sarma outside the region, leaving the regional leadership to manage their own campaigns, can be interpreted as a strategic move to utilise his skills on a national platform, potentially grooming him for a larger role within the party. Conversely, it could also suggest a deliberate distancing from the complexities of the North-East, especially given the sensitive political climate and BJP's mixed record in the region.

This can be a crucial juncture in Sarma's political future. While his national profile within BJP has undoubtedly risen, the party's setbacks, especially in Manipur, might lead to a reassessment of his influence and standing within the party. Whether the central leadership continues to repose the same level of trust in him, and how they choose to utilize his political capital in the future, remains to be seen.

Sarma's political journey started with the Congress party. However, he lost his first assembly election in 1996. But that did not obstruct his

FUTURE TENSE?
Setbacks in his backyard raise questions

quick rise through the ranks, holding important ministerial portfolios in the Assam government. Recognising the shifting political winds, he made a decisive move to the BJP in 2015, a decision that proved instrumental in the party's historic victory in the following year.

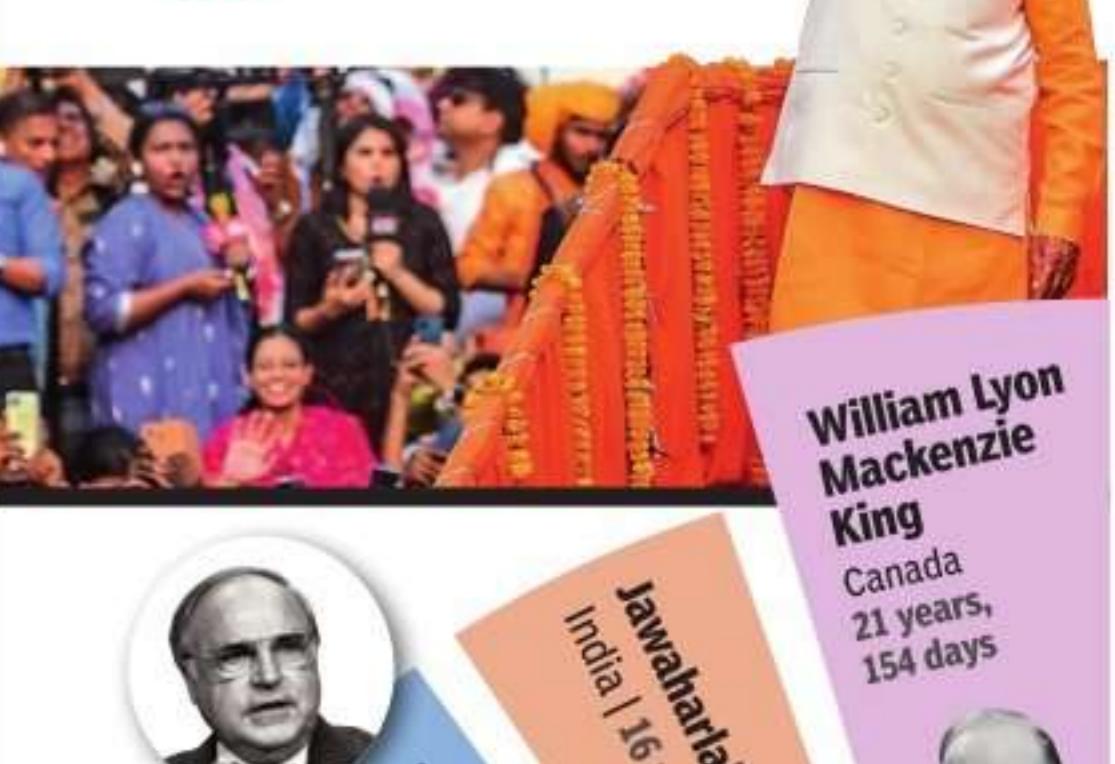
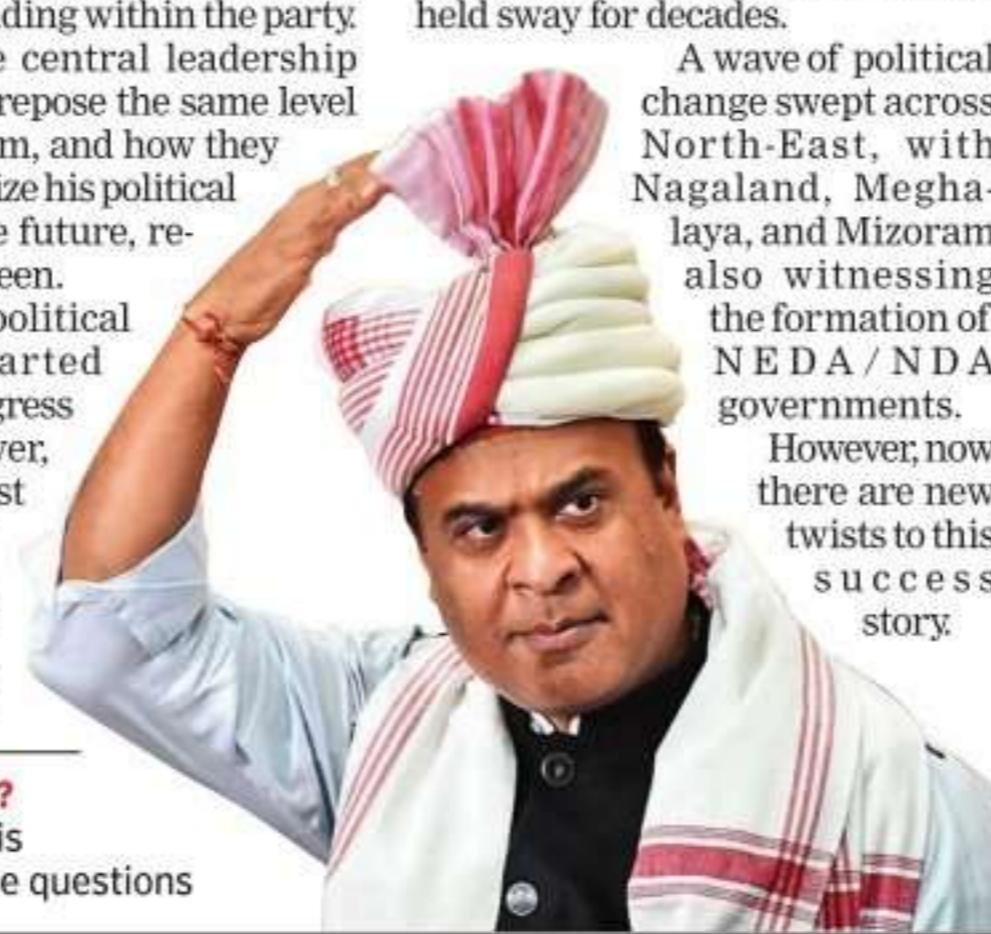
In the run-up to the 2016 Assam assembly elections, Sarma proved his mettle as BJP's most dependable backroom strategist. His deft maneuvering facilitated the defection of nine Congress MLAs to BJP, providing a significant boost to the party's prospects. This strategic move paid dividends, as BJP tasted its first electoral victory in Assam, a state long considered a Congress bastion.

Recognising Sarma's contributions, then BJP president Amit Shah entrusted him with the pivotal role of convenor of the newly formed North East Democratic Alliance (NEDA). This miniature version of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) brought together almost all the regional parties of the North-East under a unified umbrella, solidifying the BJP's foothold in the region.

Sarma's strategic prowess continued to bear fruit as BJP secured the defection of 43 Congress MLAs in Arunachal Pradesh, paving way for formation of the party's government in the state. This remarkable feat was followed by BJP's first government in Manipur and historic ousting of the formidable Left Front in Tripura, a state where they had held sway for decades.

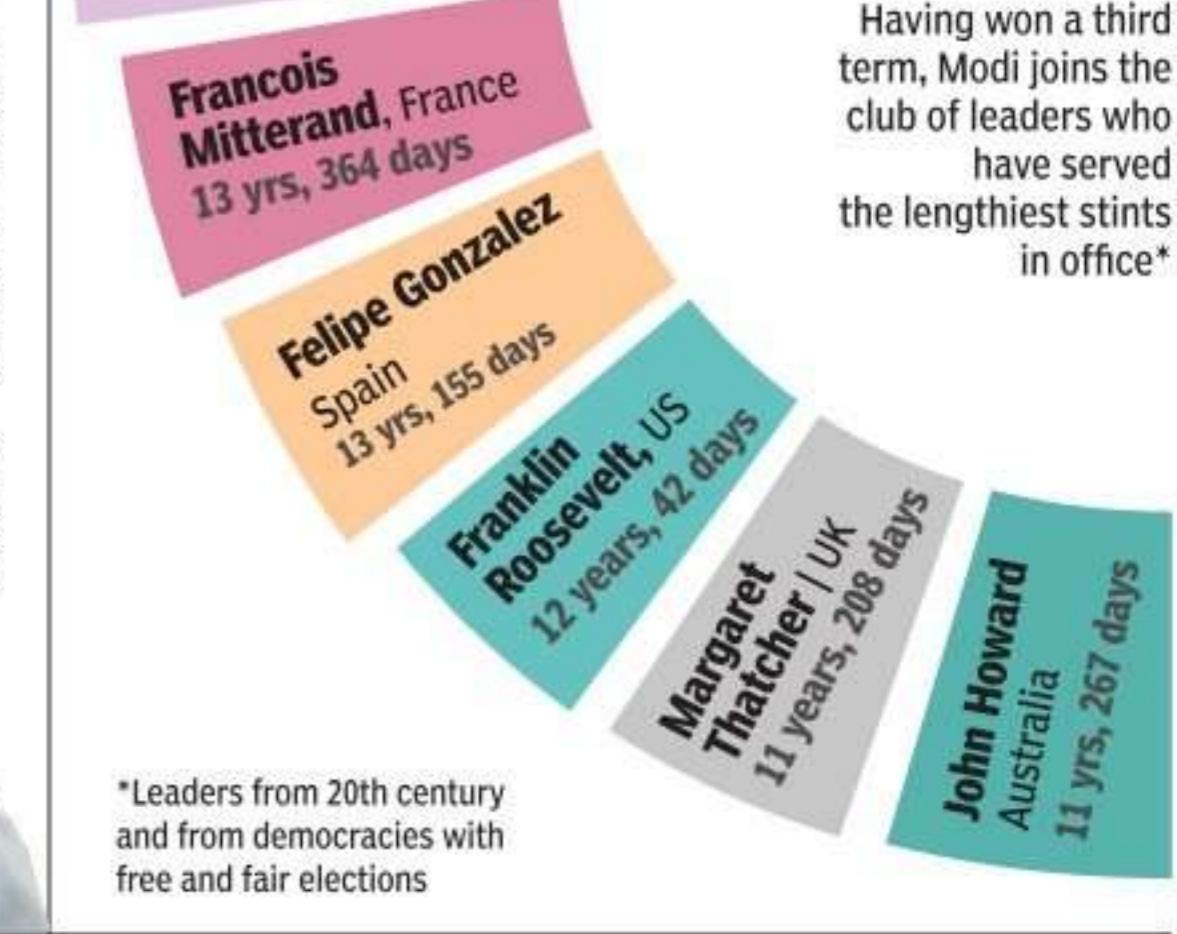
A wave of political change swept across North-East, with Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Mizoram also witnessing the formation of NEDA / NDA governments.

However, now there are new twists to this success story.

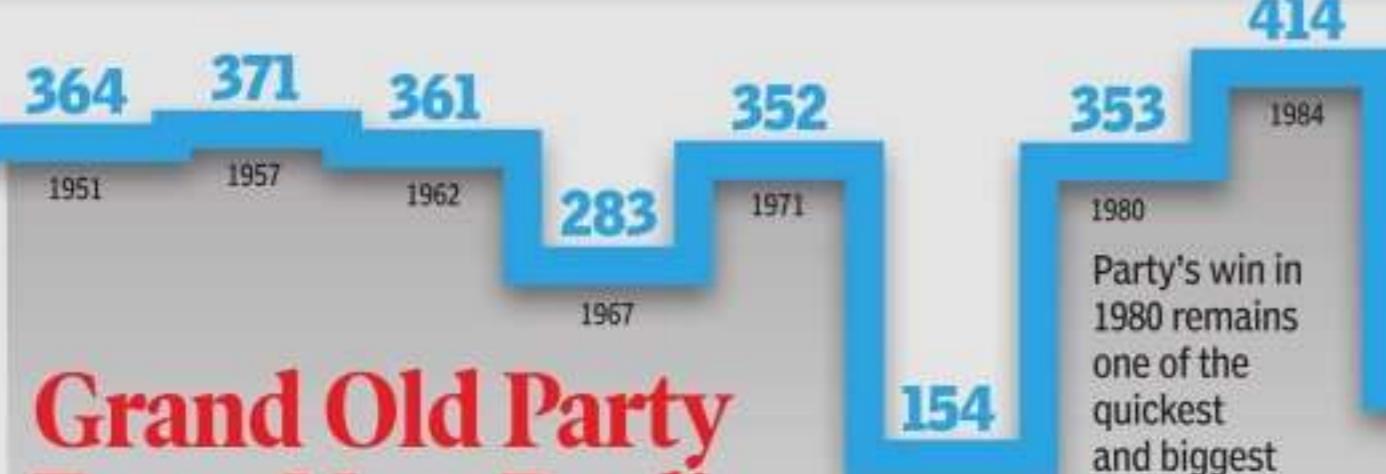


Some of the world's longest-serving leaders

Having won a third term, Modi joins the club of leaders who have served the lengthiest stints in office*



*Leaders from 20th century and from democracies with free and fair elections



Grand Old Party Faces New Reality

After winning five straight terms, Congress was voted out of office by a united opposition in 1977. It had two more phases of decline with the longest one starting in 2014, though it would count 2024 as a turnaround in its fortunes

Despite 197 seats and a 40% vote share, Congress sat in the opposition in 1989. Aided by a sympathy vote following Rajiv Gandhi's assassination in 1991, it returned to office in 1991 in a minority govt and launched ambitious economic reforms

United Front and NDA coalitions kept Congress out of office for nearly a decade starting mid-90s. Then came UPA's 10-year stint that ended with BJP returning with a majority and reducing Congress to its lowest tally ever in 2014



11 to 3 in 15 years
In 2009, Congress was in office in 11 states and its UPA allies in 3. By 2019, battered electorally, the party was left in control of only a handful of states



Spunky RaGa Gives Cong A Comeback Tune

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When, contrary to many pundits' and its own expectations, Congress lost late-2023 assembly polls in the heartland, two things didn't happen. One, Rahul Gandhi didn't lose his temper. Two, he disagreed with party veterans like Ashok Gehlot who said BJP won by polarising voters. He had pointed out that in Rajasthan, for example, Congress vote share (40%) was just 2 percentage points behind BJP's (42%). That's not a sign of polarisation, Gandhi had said, that's a sign of poor communication.

Four months later, that cold-headed analysis seems to have paid off. Gandhi had told Congress seniors that an Ayodhya-focussed BJP can be confronted, with a good agenda backed by better campaign.

The 2024 general elections did see Congress run a far better campaign – fronted by a calm, collected Rahul Gandhi. The change seems to have happened as he walked those miles, crisscrossing India during his Bharat Jodo Yatra.

The 2024 Congress story is a story of Rahul Gandhi's evolution. The new Gandhi didn't let Congress's poor Lok Sabha numbers in 2014 and 2019 demoralise him. He didn't let December 2023's heartland losses break his heart. He didn't let an aggressive Narendra Modi intimidate him. His party was in blue funk in December 2023. Congress's 2024 strategy was predicated on wins in MP and Chhattisgarh and a close fight in Rajasthan. Anticipation of good results had even led to Congress deferring the orga-

nisation restructuring by a year, and the defeats saddled it with serious holes in management of states close to polls.

But Rahul rallied his troops, ordered fresh strategising, and worked on a manifesto that went into the heart of the Congress' UPA-era agenda of welfare-jobs-growth. If the manifesto struck a chord with voters, Congress owes much to Gandhi. He has been at the forefront of "guarantees" based welfare policy and caste outreach, repeatedly arguing this was the only way to take on a no-holds-barred campaign of polarisation by BJP.

For Gandhi and the party, the stakes were clear: The Modi machine billed this general election as the ticket to Modi's place in history. There was huge asymmetry in resources between Congress and BJP, blanket media coverage of Modi, arrests of opposition leaders, and income-tax action on Congress bank accounts. Post Ayodhya consecration, it looked like a one-party election.

Then came the poll schedule. A two-month, seven phase election seemed to favour Modi, who could campaign across the country, backed by a party flush with funds.

For Congress, the much talked about existential crisis seemed finally here.

Except for Rahul Gandhi.

He persevered, held strategy sessions, and sharpened his ideas. The key idea: maximise gains in south, pick up seats in the north, and try breaking new ground in states that had gone barren after the advent of Modi. Seats Congress has won in the North – UP, Rajasthan, Haryana, Punjab – are a testament to a resilience that none but Gandhi believed in.

It was a methodical approach



WINNING LINES

“Khata khat, khata khat, khata khat”

“Haath ne jhaadu pakad liya hai (‘Hand’ has picked up the ‘broom’)

“It’s a revolutionary manifesto”

“You must’ve seen that the PM has panicked, he is shaken, worried”

Addressed 107 rallies and conventions

Dress | Trademark casual trousers, white T-shirt and joggers

ach. Few in the party wanted a East-West Bharat Jodo Yatra after the December state defeats, but the Gandhi scion had a plan. Strategists picked 100-plus districts and seats where they thought Congress stood a decent chance in general elections. Gandhi covered 110 districts across 15 states in 62 days. The joint shows with INDIA allies became a forerunner for a campaign of unity.

The approach was pragmatic. At the high table of Congress planning, Kharge and Gandhi were unanimous that the party had to strike compromises and ensure that the anti-BJP alliance held firm. Congress contested 326 seats, the lowest in LS election history. This was premised on one belief Rahul Gandhi had – that Modi had to be opposed and

that the opposition can't be a passive player or an occasional right-wing drumbeater out of fear of popular backlash, or stay on right side of what Congress sees as a vindictive prosecution machinery.

This was Gandhi's strategy from Day 1 of the first Modi sarkar: He took a 55-day sabbatical to force Congress to toe his line. That led to public agitations against amendments to the Land Acquisition Act. That also made him one of the key players in getting Lalu Prasad to accept his nemesis Nitish as the face of the "magha-bandhan" that humbled BJP in Bihar in late 2015. There were a string of disappointments, especially the Pulwama-influenced 2019 elections. But later, working as the backroom strategist after Kharge's

elevation as party chief, he unfurled the Yatras and the agenda of pro-poor outreach and "mohabbat ki dukaan". In the se polls, Gandhi's sharply ideological line paid dividends. Broken up opposition parties like Uddhav Sena and Sharad Pawar NCP, parties targeted by probe agencies, RJD, AAP and JMM, agreed to take Gandhi's line – that standing for secularism, civil rights and the Constitution was the only counter in a Modi-dominated, Hindutva-laden political atmosphere. And INDIA's campaign had the unmistakable imprint of Rahul Gandhi.

Caste census emerged from this thinking as a stick to beat BJP with, and Opposition targeted votes of three pan-India groups – Dalits, Muslims and OBCs. Inside his own par-

ty, Gandhi's "radical" positioning on secularism and reservations was doubted by many old timers schooled in centrist politics. But he pressed on.

He made mistakes. It was no surprise that when his "chowkidar chor hai" campaign backfired in 2019, he was the only one surprised in Congress. Others had foreseen the disaster the shrill pitch was inviting, given Pulwama and Balakot. His other mistakes: Rafale fizzled out during the 2019 campaign, and Pegasus petered out during Modi's second term. Many asked him to be pragmatic. Not all govt transgressions and scandals, no matter how serious, resonated with the public, especially when BJP had systemic hegemony under a popular leader.

Reassessing, this time he

From 'stop-gap chief' to Cong's Dalit face, Kharge gains heft

For the octogenarian Mallikarjun Kharge, who took over Congress presidency amid crisis and was widely viewed as a place-holder, the 2024 performance endows him with gravitas that removes doubts about his efficacy. The veteran addressed 100 rallies and brought credibility to Congress's social justice platform as a Dalit. His cool approach in defusing crises in state factions ensured a united campaign. Another plus was his clout in his home state, as the party swept Hyderabad-Karnataka region largely because of him. With his experience and stature, Kharge ensured easy coordination with allies. Kharge is the man to watch out for in coming months and years. TN

– short videos, wit over anger and outrage, targeting Modi on manifesto issues. They reminded many of the 2004 "amaadmi" campaign. Door knocks, press conferences, nukkad sabhas were used for targeting voters at block and sub-district level. Gandhi's own YouTube channel notched 35 crore views in 28 days till mid-May.

2024 will go down as a rare election in contemporary times when a party fought an election on its manifesto, even delivering it to every household in a constituency.

It showed that voters can reward simple promises targeting basic needs even in times of polarisation and cult-style campaigns.

It showed this time Rahul Gandhi, fighting an aggressive right, had got it right.

Congress ticks right boxes, finds mojo for upcoming battles

TEAM TOI

For Congress foraging in the 50s in Lok Sabha over the last decade, the doubling of tally is a psychological victory. The decent score for the crisis-ridden party is seen as its revival, as it comes with appreciable performance in the north and the northeast.

The geographical advance was not anticipated in the election that came against the backdrop of the Ayodhya temple inauguration and the party's woes of resource crunch and defections. The turnaround points to what it has managed to get-right – policy, communication and leadership. These are the three fronts on which Congress would feel confident going forward.

It has cemented the leadership of the triumvirate of Mallikarjun Kharge-Rahul Gandhi-Priyanka Gandhi Vadra. In 2024 polls, they addressed 315 seats, communicating with voters and taking on BJP.

Marginalised among the urban and upper caste demographics, Congress lurches towards a Mandalite reinvention, espousing causes like "caste census-50% ceiling removal", along with an aggressive welfarist and secular outreach. Its decimation in the Dec assembly polls had raised doubts about the policy maker-over's efficacy. But LS results have restored its credibility, and Congress may have shed



TEAM TOI

Its policy confusion for good.

Also, the effective campaign, physical and virtual, has resolved another handicap.

The party has been in search of the strategy to counter Modi's hyper communication.

The decision of Sonia Gandhi, Kharge and Rahul to address the media early after the results showed the party is buoyed by its performance. The facts on the ground pointed to a crisis to be overcome, and not a war to be won.

Its biggest advantage has been the coming together of regional parties under INDIA last July as the banding of the "corrupt" against Modi, little did it realise that the 16 disparate and volatile strata could forge a seamless coordination that would give NDA a run for its money.

Mandate2024, billed as Modi's ticket to history, ended up becoming a challenge that stopped BJP short of majority and NDA of a big majority.

The SP-Congress tie-up in UP delivered a jolt bordering on embarrassment, while the MVA gave BJP a major shock.

The JMM-Congress-CPI(ML)-RJD combo put up a good fight in Jharkhand despite its mascot, Hemant Soren, in prison.

The same was true about NC-Congress in J&K-Ladakh. If the list is long, it only under-

Together they rose: INDIA proves bigger than sum of its parts

scores the wide social net that INDIA weaved.

The pooling of bases with a joint campaign worked in ways best seen in contrast with 2022 UP assembly polls when Akhilesh had spurned Congress. SP fell way short as BJP romped home despite evidence of voter resentment. Forward to 2024. SP-Congress alliance fashioned a formidable social base. Rahul's presence as the ideological bulwark against Modi ensured consolidation of anti-BJP forces – backwards on social justice, Muslims on communalism and Dalits over "threat to Constitution". The overlap of disparate agendas, helped by Congress's own shift towards Mandalite politics, produced a social churn that BJP was not ready for.

Just how the word "gathbandhan" spread across the heartland, ensuring vote transfer among allies, is nothing short of a miracle. The big glue was Congress's willingness to cede seats to allies that it would not have otherwise.

Even discordant notes helped. Congress and AAP refused to join hands in Punjab, realising that the top two players aligning would open space for BJP. In the end, BJP drew a crippler. Congress and Left stayed as traditional poles in Kerala, limiting a belligerent BJP. The only friction was in Bengal, where TMC refused to partner Congress despite entreaties. But the net big loser was BJP.

It has cemented the leadership of the triumvirate of Mallikarjun Kharge-Rahul Gandhi-Priyanka Gandhi Vadra. In 2024 polls, they addressed 315 seats, communicating with voters and taking on BJP.

Marginalised among the urban and upper caste demographics, Congress lurches towards a Mandalite reinvention, espousing causes like "caste census-50% ceiling removal", along with an aggressive welfarist and secular outreach.

Its decimation in the Dec assembly polls had raised doubts about the policy maker-over's efficacy. But LS results have restored its credibility, and Congress may have shed

YouTubers earn eyeballs, give oppn a leg up

TEAM TOI

New Delhi: In previous national elections, BJP lorded over the social media space. In LS 2024, YouTubers played a significant role in snatching that space out of the saffron party's grip, thereby improving Congress-led INDIA's position. Anti-govt influencers earned eyeballs and shaped opinion, even attracting the attention of British The Economist. As per statista.com, India has 476m YouTube viewers. Statistics shows Dhruv Rathee is the most viewed You-

tuber during this election. Rathee's Modi: The Real Story alone garnered 27m views. Media commentator Sevanti Ninan describes him as "the big new phenomenon" of these elections". Media commentator and columnist Madhavan Narayanan says that YouTubers like him are often playing the role of what mainstream media ought to do: check facts, question self-contradictions and supply meaningful context and background.

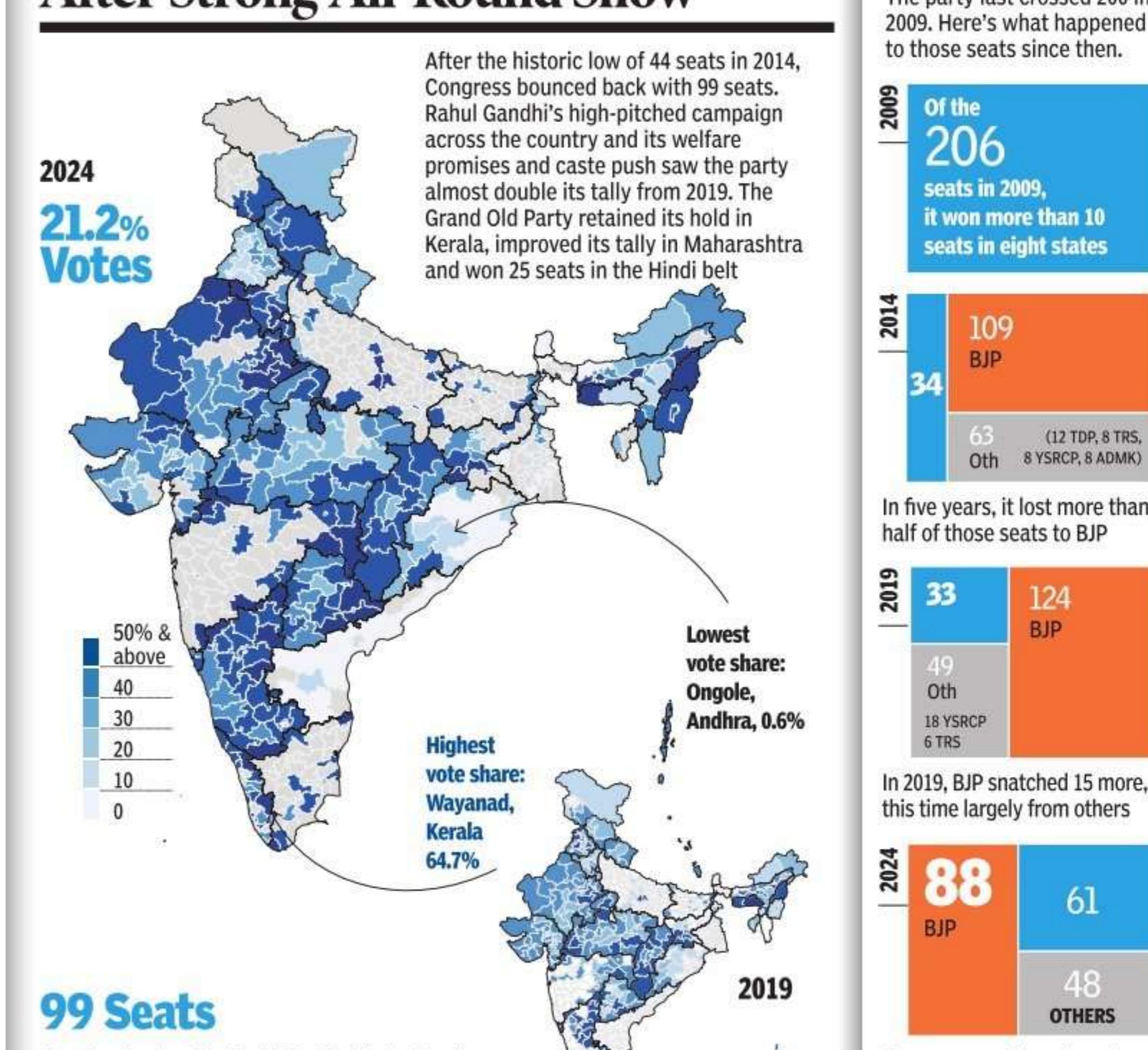
"People seem to like them for their passion, informality and storytelling styles. News-

related YouTubers are knowledge jockeys who have replaced staid or shrill TV anchors. I've no doubt this has reshaped opinion and media consumption among educated youths and middle classes," he says.

Media commentator Vanita Kohli-Khandekar says national TV grifters this audience and wonders why no news channel caters to all Indians or to a large section. "There is a information gap. And nature abhors a vacuum. WhatsApp, YouTube, Facebook, Reels and dozens of short video apps fill this gap. Some do a better job

The impact is noticeable. The govt aims to bring broadcast services, including OTT channels, within its ambit through the proposed Broadcast Services (Regulation) Bill, she says.

Congress Falls One Shy Of Century After Strong All-Round Show



	2009	2014	2019	2024
Andhra Pradesh	21	0	0	0
Uttar Pradesh	21	2	1	6
Rajasthan	20	0	0	8
Maharashtra	17	2	1	13
Kerala	13	8	15	14
Madhya Pradesh	12	2	1	0
Telangana	12	2	3	8
Gujarat	11	0	0	1
Haryana	9	1	0	5
Punjab	8	3	8	7
Tamil Nadu	8	0	8	9
Assam	7	3	3	3
NCT of Delhi	7	0	0	0
Karnataka	6	9	1	9
Odisha	6	0	1	1
West Bengal</				



DUMKA, JHARKHAND

Sita Soren

From JMM to BJP

LOST TO

Nalin Soren

JMM

BY

22,527

VOTES

:(



CUTTACK, ODISHA

Bhartruhari Mahtab

From BJD to BJP

WON AGAINST

Sanjuprat

Misra

BJD

BY

57,077

VOTES

:(



PATIALA, PUNJAB

Preneet Kaur

From Cong to BJP

LOST TO

Dharamvir Gandhi

Cong

BY

16,618

VOTES

:(



BARRACKPUR, WB

Arjun Singh

From TMC to BJP

LOST TO

Partha Bhattacharya

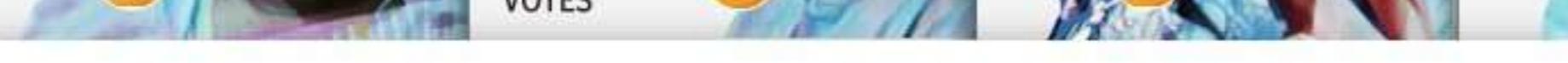
TMC

BY

64,438

VOTES

:(



RAJAMPET, ANDHRA

Kiran Reddy

From Cong to BJP

LOST TO

PV Midhun

Reddy

YSRCP

BY

76,071

VOTES

:(



PATHANAMTHITTA, KERALA

Anil Antony

From Cong to BJP

LOST TO

Anto Antony

Cong

BY

1,33,217

VOTES

:(



LUDHIANA, PUNJAB

Ravneet Singh Bittu

From Cong to BJP

LOST TO

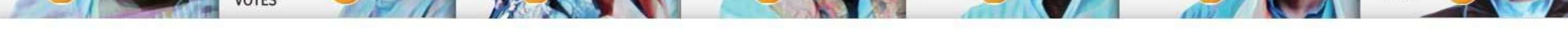
AS Raja Warring Cong

BY

20,942

VOTES

:(



Didi's Gambit To Ditch INDIA In WB Splits Votes In Favour

Saibal.Sen@timesgroup.com

■ Dec 1984: A young greenhorn Congress worker from Kalighat — wearing a sari and hawai chappals — has just done the unbelievable, defeating CPM veteran Somnath Chatterjee from Jadavpur, the reddest of red citadels. Mamata Banerjee herself seems surprised and pundits attribute her victory to the sympathy wave that Congress benefited from after Indira Gandhi's assassination.

■ May 2024: Mamata Banerjee is canvassing for votes at Jadavpur's Baro Bhooter Math (translated as the "ground belonging to a dozen ghosts"). She can work up the crowd to her will and asks for this seat once more so that she can help INDIA bloc in Lok Sabha, never mind that the alliance is not on in Bengal.



TMC's tally gives Mamata Banerjee more elbow room in INDIA bloc

Leading the party with 108 public rallies and multiple road shows, one of which saw her walk 12km at a stretch on her south Kolkata home turf, Banerjee, 69, criss-crossed from Coochbehar in the northernmost extreme to South 24 Parganas, where Bengal meets the Bay of Bengal. She went to Nandigram, where she lost in 2021 (a legal battle is still on over BJP's alleged electoral malpractices). And Sandeshkhali, where her partymen have been accused of rape and land-grab, before stinging videos threw up a counter-narrative of allegations being "BJP-engineered".

This journey, where PM Modi's campaign has tried to

shift the burden of anti-incumbency to the state govt, was to reach the hearts of Bengal's women (through schemes like Lakshmir Bhandar) and its minorities (with about a quarter of the state's votes), even trying to establish Trinamool as a nativist party of the Bengali-Hindu majority through references to Durga Puja (now a Unesco-recognised "intangible cultural heritage") and the legacy of Swami Vivekananda.

Questioned for her decision to go solo, which had the potential to split traditional minority votes, Banerjee has been proven right — the community stood rock solid behind her. By splitting the

BJP's tally gives Mamata Banerjee more elbow room in INDIA bloc

Bengal battle into a three-way contest, Trinamool's gains outweigh its losses. In the close contests which went its way, Congress-Left vote shares were higher than Trinamool's victory margins, indicating a split in anti-Trinamool votes. Difference in vote share in 2024 between Trinamool and BJP has widened to 10%.

With a final tally of 29 seats — third highest among opposition parties in India (after Congress and SP) — it gains more elbow room in INDIA bloc. That Left-Congress barely scraped through with one seat in Bengal also vindicates a pre-poll offer by Banerjee for 2-3 seats. The results may settle the unease in the Congress-Trinamool relationship. Banerjee has already said she disapproves of the way CPM "monitors" Congress in INDIA bloc.

Finally, the Trinamool win sets up a lot of expectations. Most importantly, Banerjee has promised to ease the central fund flow into MGNREGA in Bengal. Her social schemes have been a defining factor: A weakened BJP at the Centre, and a stronger INDIA bloc, allows her to go beyond the anti-Centre pitch and get work done.

"It's a vote for change. An entire generation of people in their early 40s or younger in Odisha has never seen a second CM. Young voters clearly wanted change," said R.K. Satapathy, a retired professor of political science.

BJP's landmark victory thwarted Naveen's ambition of becoming the longest-serving CM in India, a milestone he would have reached by Aug this year: Naveen had never lost since he first fought the assembly polls in 2000.

Modi and Union home minister Amit Shah campaigned extensively in Odisha, emphasizing on local concerns such as the missing keys of the Ratna Bhandar; the sacred treasure trove of Lord Jagannath at the iconic Puri temple, the increasing influence of Tamil Nadu-born IAS officer-turned-BJP strategist VK Pandian in Naveen's govt, and the CM's declining health and advanced age.

Asking people if they were ready for a CM from Tamil Nadu in Pandian, BJP promised a young and native Odia to occupy the position.

Sensing that public sentiments were turning against his confidante, just ahead of the final phase of the elections on June 1, Naveen announced

that Pandian was not his successor. Naveen also tried to convince people that he is healthy enough to lead the state. But it was too late as voters had made up their minds.

In the polls being held against the backdrop of failed coalition talks between BJP and BJD, the latter was in a weak position in terms of people's perception. This is because

Whether he will choose to become opposition leader or assign the responsibility to a party colleague will be interesting to watch.

BJP Goes All Out In TN But No Cracks In Stalin's DMK Citadel

TEAM TOI

L eading INDIA bloc's campaign in Tamil Nadu, DMK president and chief minister M K Stalin played two roles: one, as the last sentinel against a saffron surge in the South; two, as a victim of the Centre's partisanship in funding states. He has emerged victorious, his alliance winning all the 40 seats in Tamil Nadu and Puducherry.

Keeping his coalition flock — Congress, CPM, CPI, VCK and IUML — together, Stalin has retained national prominence.

The DMK president may not have prime ministerial ambitions but his stature as an entrenched regional satrap gives him a centrality like his father M Karunanidhi enjoyed for decades. The Lok Sabha victory may even be seen as vindication after bruising corruption charges against at least two of his ministers.

A post-Covid outreach in healthcare and education along with proactive administrative measures by his govt has held anti-incumbency in check. Going forward, a friendly relationship with the Centre would help

DMK benefited from a divided opposition. If its rivals (PMK included) choose to join hands, 2026 could be harder than 2021, when DMK won 133 of 234 assembly seats. The TN chief minister has his work cut out, especially with BJP gaining in vote share. BJP state president K Annamalai was able to set a narrative that the battle — in terms of optics and decibel levels — was between DMK and BJP. The Stalin-Annamalai war of words was so shrill that AIADMK general secretary Edappadi K Palaniswami's criticism of Stalin — and at times BJP — was barely audible.

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Shard Pawar shows his nephew who's the real NCP

Sharad Pawar shows his nephew who's the real NCP

Anurag.Bende@timesgroup.com

Pune: Sharad Pawar's challengers will have to wait. The 83-year-old, who was ridiculed as a 'bhakta astma' by Prime Minister Narendra Modi during the campaign, has just licked them again in the toughest match of his career. Going into the 2024 Lok Sabha polls, Pawar was fighting with one hand tied. His nephew Ajit had engineered a split in NCP, and walked away with the party's name, symbol and leading lights. With Ajit joining the BJP-led Mahayati grouping, each seat had become a contest between Pawar's candidates and Prime Minister莫迪.

Despite the headwinds, Pawar's NCP (SP) is set to win 8 of the 10 Lok Sabha seats it contested as part of the MVA alliance with Congress and Shiv Sena (UBT). This will be Pawar's best strike rate in an LS poll. His NCP wins span the Mumbai region (Bhiwandi), western and central Maharashtra (Baramati, Madha and Shirur), Vidarbha (Wardha) and north Maharashtra (Dindori and Ahmednagar).

He faced backlash from voters as his policies did not benefit them directly. As new CM, he will have two challenges — find ways to generate revenues to fund the numerous welfare schemes that Janata started during his term, together worth around Rs 2.7 lakh crore. He has promised to enhance the amounts on all schemes and add new ones. He will also have to raise resources and encourage investors to return to Amaravati.

The former Union minister and four-time CM was fighting the election simultaneously on different fronts, including in Baramati, where Ajit had challenged his supremacy by fielding his wife against Pawar's daughter Supriya Sule.



CAKEWALK: N Chandrababu Naidu celebrates with son and TDP national general secretary Nara Lokesh and family members

youngest CM of united AP at 45 and won bouquets and brickbats. The concepts of good governance by integrating technology stood as a role model for many states and at national level. He is often considered as one of the pioneers of IT in India on the administrative side by bringing industry-friendly policies. Hyderabad has developed into an IT hub and the most attractive destination for investments after his policies changed its face.

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Just like former president Pranab Mukherjee, considered by some to be the best prime minister India never had, Naidu is one of the best tech-savvy PMs India never had. Mukherjee aspired to be PM,

With BJD securing majority to form its first govt in Odisha, Union education minister Pradhan has emerged as the top contender for the CM's job.

Pradhan, 54, a postgraduate from Utkal University, has been a key lieutenant of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Shah in the past decade and is BJP's most prominent face in the eastern coastal state.

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D uring one of his poll rallies in Odisha, Union home minister Amit Shah credited his cabinet colleague Dharmendra Pradhan for leading the team that formed the manifesto for the Odisha assembly elections this time. A few days later, Union defence minister Rajnath Singh indicated a bigger role for Pradhan.

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The manifesto that Shah credited Pradhan with, is one of the key factors that swung the result BJP's way, with its promise of buying paddy at Rs 3,100 per quintal, cash voucher of Rs 50,000 to women under Subhadra Yojana and fight for Odisha asmita.

And, it's not just the manifesto. Pradhan joined forces with Modi and Shah to highlight two other issues that provided ammunition in BJP's fight — attack on IAS-turned-politician VK Pandian, 'booked' from Bhubaneswar to Tamil Nadu on the fictitious 'BJDGo' airlines for June 4.

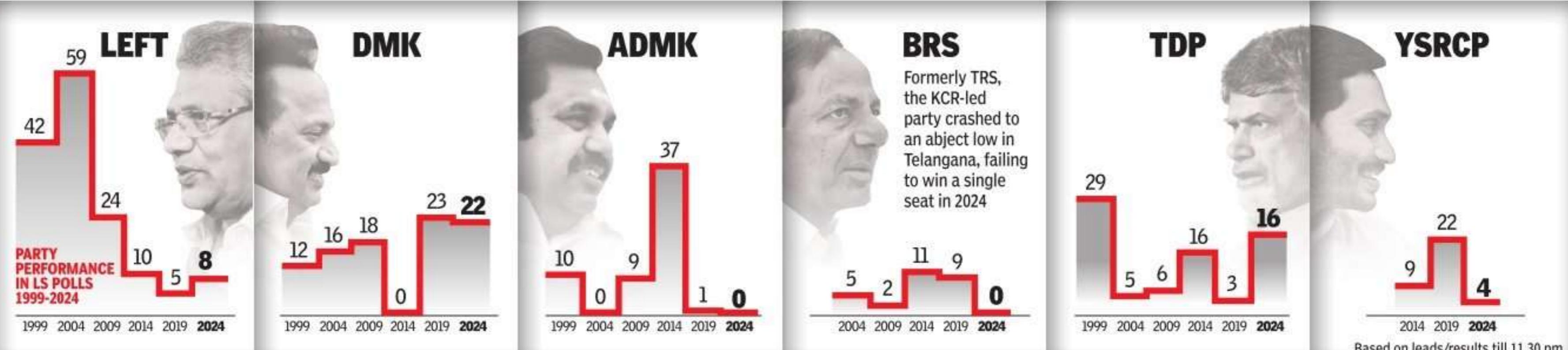
While the Tamil Nadu born IAS-turned-politician may not leave his 'karmabhoomi' Odisha, he definitely finds himself at a political crossroads following BJD's massive poll debacle — both in the Lok Sabha and assembly polls — in Odisha.

Pandian's much-touted position as a key figure within the BJD has come under scrutiny. The party's disappointing showing has led to speculation about his political trajectory and the impact it may have on his influence within the organization.

Pandian had announced he would quit politics if BJD failed to return to power with a three-fourth majority. He had dared Union minister Dharmendra Pradhan to adopt a similar stand if he lost. If Pandian does that, his political career would span just six months since he joined BJD in Nov last year after taking voluntary retirement from the services. Pandian drew his strength from Naveen

Beyond Big Two, Power Players

Twelve major players outside of BJP and Congress, particularly those in south India, together won 138 of the 543 seats in 2019 LS polls. Most of these parties threw in their lot with either NDA or the INDIA bloc this time. Jagan Mohan Reddy's YSRCP, Naveen Patnaik's BJD and Mayawati's BSP were notable exceptions



Akhilesh Takes A Step 'Backward' To Move Forward And Beyond MY

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Lucknow: Samajwadi Party chief Akhilesh Yadav had got off to a good start. His early emphasis on 'Pichde (backward), Dalit, Alpasaankhyak (minorities)' was combined with a sharp focus on farmer issues, joblessness, paper leaks and rising prices. It turned out to be one of his best election strategies, backed by intelligent candidate selection.

The Samajwadi Party has impressively led the INDIA bloc charge in UP winning 37 of the 62 seats it contested, its best showing in the state in a general election. The PDA formulation, in particular, became a unifying force. The highlight of this newfound 'social engineering' was that the party managed to win over Dalits in general and Jatavs in particular who were, till now, seen as traditional BSP voters.

This election has also shattered the hypothesis that Dalits and Yadavs can never unite in UP. As per caste assessments based on exit polls, 65% of Scheduled Caste votes polled went to the SP — an increase of 21% as compared to 2019 polls. Of these, 32% of Jatav votes polled went to SP though they have traditionally been committed voters of BSP. The shift was not only from the BSP to SP.

SP strategists insist that the jump in Dalit voters was more than what was visible in 2019 Lok Sabha polls. "In 2019, SP had contested elections in alliance with the BSP. So it was no surprise that Dalits voted for our party. This time we contested against BSP and got an overwhelming response from the Dalit community."



EXPANSION MODE: Akhilesh's new-found 'social engineering' managed to win over Dalits in general and Jatavs in particular who were, till now, seen as traditional BSP voters

said a senior SP functionary.

Apart from the PDA pitch, Akhilesh succeeded in turning 'Abki baar 400 paar' into a 'Save the Constitution' narrative. He was among the first to say that the BJP wanted 400-plus seats to change the Constitution and end reservation for Dalits and backwards. This worked to bind together jobless youths and families from Dalit and backward segments.

Wooing Dalits & non-Yadav OBCs

After the 2019 LS alliance between SP and BSP, when Mayawati had walked away with 10 seats and Akhilesh was left with 5, it was evident that vote transfer between SP and its ally was a one-way street. The SP leadership felt cheated. Party strate-

gists then shifted their focus to Dalit leaders with whom the party was already in touch.

Former BSP minister Ghuram, a founding member, was the first big dalit leader to switch loyalties to SP. Soon after, more joined Akhilesh. The SP did not only pick senior leaders. Regional coordinators, former ministers and other office-bearers of BSP joined the exodus. Akhilesh made it a point to ensure that in press meets he was accompanied by Dalit leaders.

He decided to rope in non-Yadav OBCs as well. By Oct 2021, prominent backward BSP leaders like sitting MLAs Lalji Verma and Ramachal Rajbhar were with SP. The focus on non-Yadav OBCs was aptly reflected

in the appointment of his party's national executive in 2023. Of 62 members in the committee, around 40% were 'non-Yadav' OBCs and hailed from electorally influential communities like Kurmi, Rajbhar and Nishads. The list also included six members who were Dalits.

The blowback

As expected, the focus on Dalits and Non-Yadav OBCs left upper caste, Yadav and Muslim functionaries uncomfortable. Those eyeing tickets for 2024 Lok Sabha polls and those offered better deals by BJP were the first ones to snap. But that did not deter Akhilesh from giving tickets as per his PDA formula to all castes and communities.

At least 14 candidates were ex-BSP. In fact, Akhilesh shed the image of the SP being an M-Y party by giving the least number of tickets to Muslims and Yadavs in the party's history. "Of course, it was all done after taking community leaders into confidence, explaining to them how a large number of Muslim and Yadav candidates help BJP's bid for counter-polarisation," said an analyst.

For SP strategists, the final highlight was a bunch of victories from unlikely quarters like Faizabad, which it had last won in 1998. "The victory of Awadesh Prasad and the tough fight that Sunita Verma put up against BJP is important as it exposes BJP's attempt to use religion for political gains," said a senior SP functionary. Two other important victories for SP came from Rampur and Moradabad — seats which have the maximum Muslim population.

Allies May Change, But Nitish Remains Axis Of Bihar Politics

Madan Kumar & Manoj Chaurasia | TNN

Patna: Politics is a game of possibilities, and no one knows this better than Bihar CM Nitish Kumar who has ditched enough allies over the years. His spectacular performance in the Lok Sabha polls has once again ensured he remains the alliance's face in Bihar till next year's assembly polls. More so, because former deputy CM Sushil Kumar Modi's untimely death has left BJP without a stalwart in the state.

BJP can, of course, campaign using PM Modi's name, as it did in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh, but given Nitish's considerable support base among the Extremely Backward Classes (EBCs) and women — JD(U) has won 12 of the 16 seats it was allotted under the seat-sharing arrangement — it would not want to distance him.

The EBC category comprising 130 small caste groups like Dhanukas, Kumhars, Katheras, Nonyas, Kewatis, Nais, Mallahs, Telis and Tatmas, makes up 36% of Bihar's electorate, as per the recent caste survey. Along with this group, Nitish was backed by support from his Kurmi-Koeri (Kushwaha) community. Kurmis are 2.9% of Bihar's electorate and Koeris 4.2%. The CM also benefitted from the Mahadalit category comprising 21 castes that he helped create. Mahadalits account for some



SABKE SAATH: Nitish's flip-flops had no impact on voters

10% of the state's total vote. Women form another pillar of support: Nitish reserved 50% of slots in panchayat raj institutions, urban local bodies and teaching jobs for them. He gave 35% reservation to women in all govt jobs and 33% quota to girl students in medical, engineering and sports institutions. And the blanket ban on liquor in Bihar reduced domestic violence. It's not surprising that he's popular among the state's 3.6 crore women voters.

Also, vote transfer between BJP and JD(U) has never been an issue. NDA comprising BJP, JD(U), LJP (Ram Vilas), Hindustani Awami Morcha (Secular), Rashtriya Lok Morcha (Secular) appeared to be winning as many as 32 seats in the state and one of the main reasons is smooth transfer of votes among allies. Nitish, who has been Bihar CM for more than 17 years and

a Union minister for more than six years, is known to nurse ambitions of holding a top national-level post: PM, prez or vice-prez. Last time he was in NDA (July 2017 to August 2022), he had wanted to succeed M Venkaiah Naidu as VP. The late Sushil Modi had revealed this and insiders say BJP's denial of Nitish's demand had precipitated his turn towards Mahagathbandhan. Again, in Mahagathbandhan, Nitish tried to bring the opposition together to oust PM Modi in 2024, hoping he would be appointed IN-DIA bloc's convenor, and PM if the bloc succeeded. But when Congress disappointed him, he rushed into NDA's embrace.

Given these facts, Nitish remains the "axis" of state politics. Strangely, his flip-flops has had no impact on voters this time. JD(U) has got 18.50% votes in Bihar, only 2% less than BJP's 20.53%.

Maya caught in her own jaal as Jatav voters shift loyalty

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2014 REDUX: BSP failed to score any Lok Sabha seat wins

Lucknow: A disastrous performance by Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) is a sign that the party has lost its core Jatav voters, the subcaste its chief Mayawati belongs to.

Her strategy to have a post-poll role in search of a "satta ki master chaabi (master key to power)" has been hit as much as her own image of being an influential Dalit leader — Jatavs, who form 55% of the Dalit population and 11% of the total population, had rallied behind her till now. Chandrashekhar Azad, the man who has presented himself before Dalits as a viable alternative, has won from Nagina on the banner of his Azad Samaj Party.

Being out of office for long in UP is one reason to drive core voters away, apart from BJP making inroads with its welfare schemes. BSP is now back to its position in 2014 when it had zilch. It has not only failed to open its account, but its vote share has dipped from over 19% in 2019 to around 9%. It had won 10 seats in 2019 LS polls when it contested in alliance with Samajwadi Party and Rashtriya Lok Dal.

This time, the campaign was marked by missteps. Firstly, the decision to contest

alone was perceived as a 'suicidal move'. There were voices of dissent even from within. Prominent Muslim leaders like Imran Masood and Amroha MP Danish Ali were expelled after they reached out to Rahul Gandhi. Masood won from Saharanpur on a Congress ticket. Knowing that BSP would not make it alone, MPs Sangeeta Azad, Ritesh Pandey and Malook Nagar also quit.

Mayawati stuck to her party's foundational ideology to distribute tickets based on 'Jiski Jitni Hissedar, Uski Utne Bhagidari'. She fielded 20 Muslims, 18 Dalits, 16 OBCs and 15 Brahmins, but this included several BJP turncoats. They supplanted candidates who were the party's first choice. In all, BSP re-

KCR, man seeking national flight, crashlands where it all began

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@timesgroup.com

Hyderabad: Telangana celebrated 10 years of its formation on June 2 this year, but K Chandrasekhar Rao (KCR) and his Bharat Rashtriya Samithi (BRS), which led the movement to carve out India's youngest state, are back where they were over 20 years ago.

The party in its original avatar as TRS, was formed in 2001 and contested its first Lok Sabha election in 2004 winning five seats as part of the UPA alliance. It won two in 2009 in alliance with TDP. In 2014, Telangana was formed and KCR became the undisputed leader of the state. Not winning a single seat at this time leaves KCR with no role at the

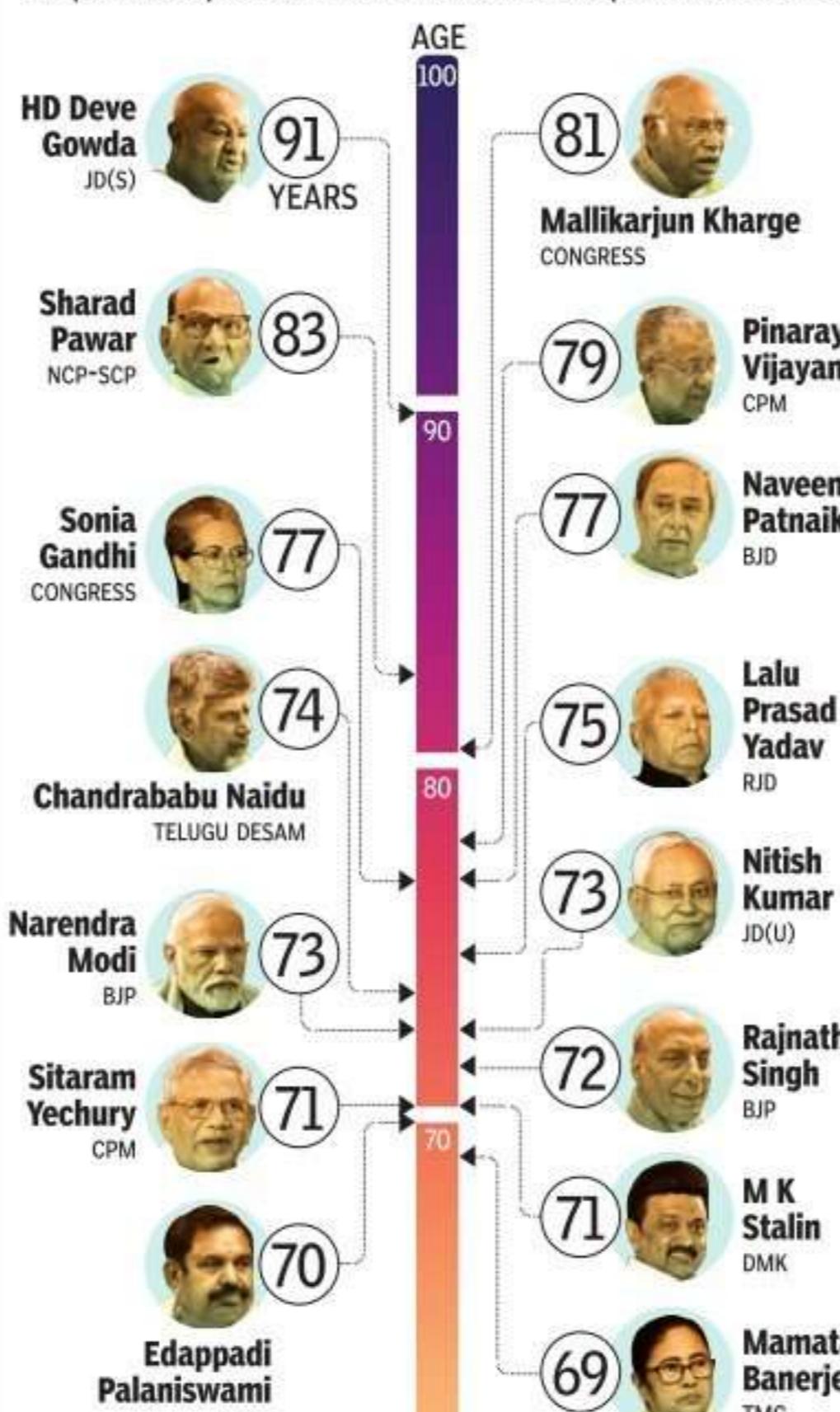


BRS, formerly TRS, fought its first LS election in 2004, winning 5 seats

Centre. "Knowing that the LS polls were crucial for his party's survival, he had embarked on a bus yatra despite undergoing hip replacement. He addressed meetings on is-

Venerable Veterans Far From Done

Delhi CM Arvind Kejriwal referred to BJP's 'retire-at-75' policy for netas to wonder if PM Modi would also follow suit. Seasoned campaigners are a presence to reckon with across the political spectrum. Here's a look at the prominent names



Tejashwi leads charge on road to 2025 assembly polls

Jainarain.Pandey
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Patna: There was much at stake for the family of RJD chief Lalu Prasad in the Lok Sabha elections. His two daughters — Misa Bharti and Rohini Acharya — were contesting from Patliputra and Saran respectively, while younger son and political heir Tejashwi Prasad Yadav was leading the combined Opposition for the first time in a general election.

After drawing a blank in the 2019 LS polls, RJD has managed to claw back lost ground by winning 4 of the 26 seats it fought, including Patliputra where Misa contested. Tejashwi has now set the tone for the assembly elections due next year; the verdict makes it clear that he will be the opposition's face for Bihar CM against Nitish Kumar or a BJP candidate. In all, the RJD member and his allies (Congress and CPI-ML) have won 9 of the total 40 seats.

Tejashwi has already had his share of ups and downs. After the 2015 state polls which RJD contested with JD(U), he became deputy CM. By sticking to an agenda of jobs, employment, education, and health, the 34-year-old Tejashwi generated a following among the youth. He largely succeeded



KEEPES LANTERN BURNING: Nitish's about-turns have given Tejashwi an opportunity to emerge from the shadow of his father Lalu Prasad

in conveying the message that it was he who facilitated "5 lakh jobs in 17 months" as deputy CM of Bihar. Tejashwi did not resort to personal attacks on Nitish when he lost his job after the JD(U) veteran parted ways with RJD in Jan this year. Instead, by refusing to needle Nitish, Tejashwi kept observers guessing. He picked a Dalit candidate in a constituency meant for the general category. And he fielded Kushwaha candidates — who belong to Nitish's caste — to dent the NDA vote bank. His ability to look beyond Lalu's M-Y (Muslim-Yadav) formulation is expected to yield rich dividends in the long run.

Out of Kejriwal shadow, lone ranger Mann brings AAP consolation prize

Vibhor.Mohan@timesgroup.com

Chandigarh: The turmoil in Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) ahead of the Lok Sabha election turned the contest into a high-stakes personal battle for Punjab chief minister Bhagwant Mann — he was leading a campaign in the absence of Arvind Kejriwal and Raghubir Chaddha with his own govt's two-year performance as a key issue.

AAP's victory in three of the 13 seats in Punjab — Sangrur, Anandpur Sahib and Hoshiarpur — provides the party consolation in the light of the washout in Delhi and is a morale-booster to Mann. AAP has reclaimed Sangrur, represented twice by the chief minister himself in the past. Overall performance must be gauged vis-à-vis numbers notched up by rival parties as well as AAP's tally in Delhi. Mann would want to assess the performance of four cabinet colleagues who lost and why the par-



LAST MAN STANDING

vement in Punjab affairs and multi-cornered contests against Congress, SAD and BJP made his role crucial. Unlike the Punjab Congress unit, where no single leader hogged the limelight, AAP's campaign revolved around the CM. Though results fall far short of any intended target, the score would give AAP visibility in Parliament and national presence amid the troubles that beset its leadership in Delhi. Kejriwal had put Mann in the spotlight with the slogan 'Sansad mein bhi Bhagwant Mann...' (Mann in Parliament too), seeking votes to "strengthen" the chief minister's position to take on the Centre and the governor.

Satish Singh, a political analyst and former I-PAC member, said, "Mann was the commander-in-chief of AAP's campaign in Punjab. Had he faltered, there could have been murmurs of dissent. It was Mann's show and he had to ensure a decent performance."



MANDI, HIMACHAL

MEERUT, UP

MATHURA, UP

GORAKHPUR, UP

ASANSOL, WB

THRISSUR, KERALA

BAHARAMPUR, WB

Kangana Ranaut

BJP

WON AGAINST

Vikramaditya Singh

Cong

BY 74,755 VOTES

Arun Govil

BJP

WON AGAINST

Sunita Verma

SP

BY 10,585 VOTES

Hema Malini

BJP

WON AGAINST

Mukesh Dhangar

Cong

BY 2,93,407 VOTES

Ravi Kishan

BJP

WON AGAINST

Kajal Nishad

SP

BY 1,03,526 VOTES

Shatrughan Sinha

TMC

WON AGAINST

SS Ahluwalia

BJP

BY 59,564 VOTES

Suresh Gopi

BJP

WON AGAINST

VS Sunilkumar

CPI

BY 74,686 VOTES

Yusuf Pathan

TMC

WON AGAINST

Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury

Cong

BY 85,022 VOTES

Maha Jolt To NDA, Big Boost For INDIA Bloc

TEAM TOI

Mumbai: In the 2019 polls, Maharashtra, which sends the second highest number of MPs to the Lok Sabha in the country, played a key role in PM Modi's victory with the BJP-Shiv Sena alliance winning 41 of the state's 48 seats. But in Verdict 2024, the state has delivered a major blow to the NDA. The opposition-led Maha Vikas Aghadi dominated the state with leads or victories in 30 seats, leaving the BJP-led Mahayati alliance trailing far behind with leads or wins in just 17 seats. Vishal Patil, the Congress rebel who won from Sangli as an independent, is also expected to add to MVA's numbers.

This is the outcome despite the BJP-triggered split of two regional parties—Shiv Sena and NCP—with the aim of fracturing the opposition and raising its own numbers. Instead, this consolidated the opposition vote, with Congress being the biggest beneficiary. Congress replaced BJP as the single largest party in the state with leads or victories in 13 seats. This was a dramatic turnaround from its historic low of winning just one seat in 2019.

Responding to the results, Shiv Sena (UBT) chief Uddhav Thackeray said the NDA should stake claim to form the govt at the Centre. "We will be meeting tomorrow (Wednesday) to discuss this. It's not as if BJP has not harassed Nitish Kumar and Chandrababu Naidu who are currently with NDA."

Within Mahayati, BJP's tally plunged from 23 seats in 2019 to leads or wins in just 9 seats. Shinde's Sena led or won in 7 seats and Ajit Pawar's NCP had to settle for a single seat. Union ministers including Raosaheb Danve (Jhalna) and Bharti Pawar (Dindori) were routed and state minister Sudhir Mungantiwar lost from Chandrapur.

Within the MVA, Thackeray's Shiv Sena (UBT) bagged or led in 9 seats and NCP (SP) led in or won 8 seats. Both parties won more seats than the parties that split from them. In Baramati, the most keenly watched contest in the state, Sharad Pawar's daughter Supriya Sule defeated Ajit Pawar's wife, Sunetra Pawar.

Observers said it's clear that Mahayati's strategy of relying on PM Modi's appeal did not deliver results. On the contrary, 'Operation Lotus' boomeranged and generated

sympathy for Thackeray and Sharad Pawar. Indeed, allying with Ajit Pawar who BJP had strongly targeted during the irrigation scam may have upset the party's core voters.

Also, Modi's statements about appeasement of Muslims during his Lok Sabha poll campaign, his reference to Sharad Pawar as "bhakta atma (wandering soul)" and Shiv Sena (UBT) as "nakli Sena" seem to have backfired.

Experts said the consolidation of Muslim and Dalit votes helped the MVA. "The youth face unemployment, farmers are upset with Centre's policies and these sections went against Mahayati. Muslims and Dalits consolidating two seats compared to

that the Constitution would be changed to scrap the SC quota if Modi came back to office were among the macro factors that impacted the results. The Maratha agitation similarly cost the Mahayati, especially in its epicentre, Marathwada.

Experts said the consolidation of Muslim and Dalit votes helped the MVA. "The youth face unemployment, farmers are upset with Centre's policies and these sections went against Mahayati. Muslims and Dalits consolidating two seats compared to

one claimed by Shinde in the three contests between the parties in the city. However, in the Thane region, Shinde's results will have implications for the state assembly polls which are six months away.

How did the two Senas perform? The Shiv Sena UBT led in 9 seats, just two more than Shinde's Shiv Sena. However, it had also contested 21 seats compared to Shinde's 15. Thackeray's strike rate for victory was 43% compared to Shinde's 47%. But Thackeray dominated in Mumbai, winning two seats compared to

dated in favour of the MVA," said an NCP functionary.

The Lok Sabha results will have implications for the state assembly polls which are six months away.

In the Konkan belt which has been a stronghold of the Thackeray family, Sena (UBT) lost both seats. Ratnagiri-Sindhudurg was claimed by Uddhav Thackeray's bete-noire, former CM Narayan Rane. This is the first time BJP has won a seat in the Konkan region.

Within the NCP factions,

In family bastion Baramati, Pawar's daughter trumps his nephew's wife

A Pawar defeated a Pawar to retain Baramati Lok Sabha seat, reaffirming Sharad Pawar's enduring influence over the family stronghold, and damaging the morale of Ajit Pawar's NCP. Senior Pawar's deep personal connection with the electorate and the ability of her daughter, NCP (SCP)'s Supriya Sule, to leverage his legacy proved decisive in securing her victory against her sister-in-law and Ajit's wife, Sunetra Pawar, by over 1.5 lakh votes. Supriya, three-time MP from Baramati, had to fight off a strong challenge mounted by the might of a combined BJP, Shiv Sena and NCP as she took on Sunetra. In her campaign speeches, she ensured to hammer home the point that she was battling "forces from Delhi", and the electoral battle was not just another fight in the family. Her grassroots campaign, the emotional resonance of her appeals to Marathi pride against "Delhi's forces", and her strategic use of a new party symbol, the Turtari, in her slogan "Ram Krishna Hari, Vajava Turtari" helped her romp home to victory. Much before the poll, Sharad started paving the way for Sule's victory. He met many old rivals in the run-up to polls, soliciting their support.

Sharad Pawar's party dominated with leads in 8 seats and a victory in its citadel, Baramati. Ajit Pawar had to console himself with a single victory in Raigad for sitting MP Sunil Tatarkare. Pawar Sr had contested 10 seats and had a strike rate of 80%. Ajit Pawar's party contested 4 seats and had a strike rate of 25%.

Congress contested 17 seats and led in 13, leading to a strike rate of 76%. "MVA allies worked together and supported each other down to booth level. This is what

worked for us," said Congress's Prithviraj Chavan.

Meanwhile, BJP which won 9 of 28 seats contested, had a strike rate of 32%. It suffered a major setback in the Vidarbha region from where deputy CM Devendra Fadnavis hails, as its tally fell from 5 seats in 2019 to just 2.

The party did not win a single seat in Marathwada, the heart of the Maratha quota agitation, which has also been impacted by a fierce drought.

BJP's numbers also declined in its bastion North Maharashtra where the Centre's export quota ban on onions, the main crop in the region, became a poll issue. Its seats here fell from 3 to 1. BJP's tally also fell from 4 to 1 in Western Maharashtra and 3 to 1 in Mumbai.

Responding to the verdict, Thackeray said, "This is a victory of democracy. The PM should have held more rallies. The BJP lost in locations where he campaigned."

Fadnavis tweeted, "The unfortunate outcome of the results is that the opposition attempted to win the seats through its propaganda that we would change the Constitution. But in elections, the people's mandate has to be accepted as it is."

Congress to the fore as BJP loses seats, vote share

HARYANA 10 SEATS



Party	Seats		Vote Share (%)	
	2024	2019	2024	2019
BJP	5	10	46.1	58.2
Congress	5	0	43.7	28.5
AAP	0	0	3.9	0.4
JJP	0	0	0.9	4.9
INLD	0	0	1.7	1.9
Others	0	0	3.7	6.1

TEAM TOI

Chandigarh: The "Modi wave" that helped BJP sweep Haryana's 10 seats with unprecedented margins in 2019 failed to cut much ice with the electorate this time as the ruling party could manage to retain only five seats, that too with massively reduced margins. Congress has made a strong comeback with the gain of five seats. Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), which was contesting only in Kurukshetra, lost in a close fight.

The results indicate that the farmers' issue, unemployment, the Agnipath scheme, and the old pension scheme (OPS) had an impact on voters this time. Besides, there was strong anti-incumbency against the state BJP government, especially against former CM Manohar Lal Khattar.

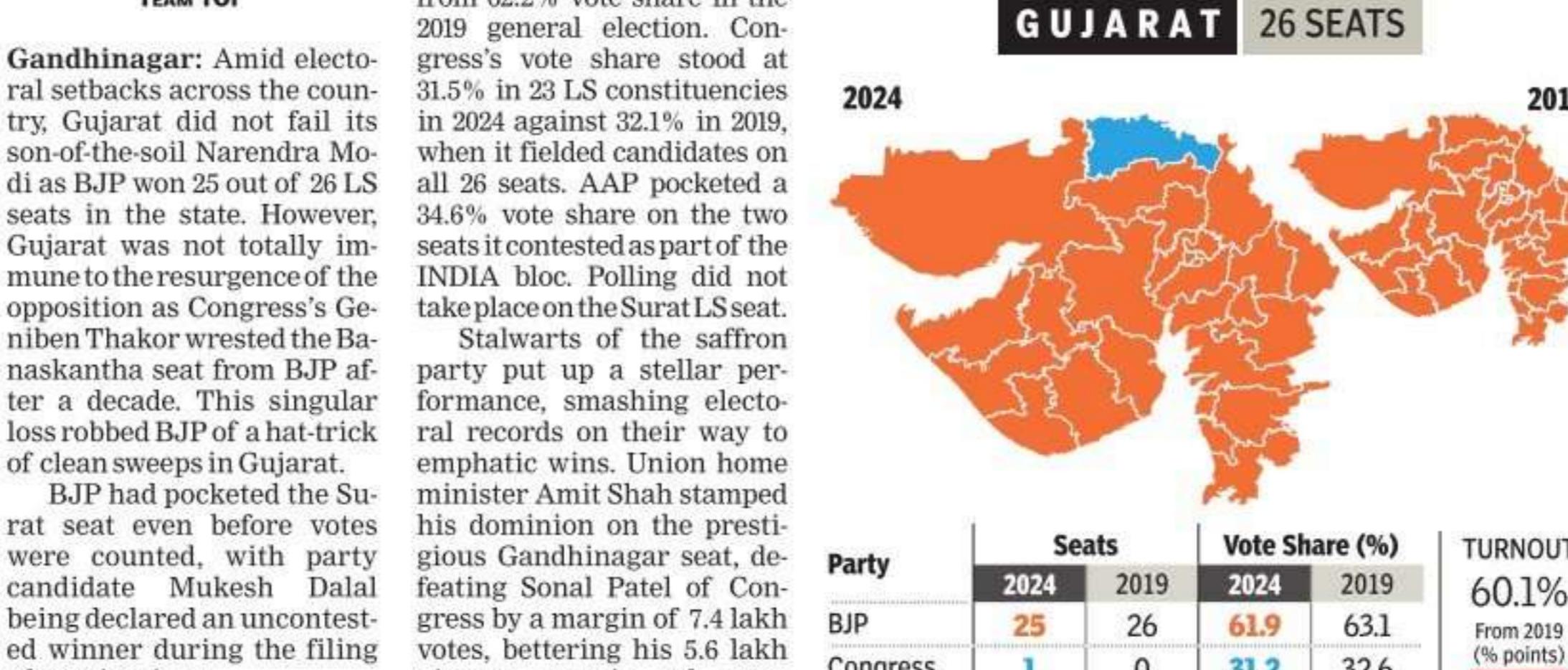
In Karnal, Khattar won by a margin of over 2.3 lakh votes, whereas the seat was secured in 2019 by BJP MP Sanjay Bhatia with a margin of more than 6.56 lakh votes.

Although the party replaced Khattar with Kurukshestra MP Navay Singh Saini just before the announcement of the Lok Sabha polls to beat the strong anti-incumbency current, Khattar led the party in the parliamentary polls, with both Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Union home minister Amit Shah promising to accommodate him at the Centre.

The fact that BJP could not perform on expected lines even though Modi, Amit

Banaskantha trips BJP's hat-trick of clean sweeps

GUJARAT 26 SEATS



Party	Seats		Vote Share (%)	
	2024	2019	2024	2019
BJP	25	26	61.9	63.1
Congress	1	0	31.2	32.6
AAP	0	0	2.7	NA
Others	0	0	4.2	4.4

Sikhs against traditional political parties.

Amritpal Singh, who contested as an independent, won the Khadoor Sahib seat by the highest margin in Punjab — over 1.97 lakh votes. Former chief minister and Congress candidate Charan Singh Channi won the Jalandhar (reserve) by over 1.75 lakh votes. However, Congress's Sher Singh Ghubaya just managed to scrape through, beating AAP's Jagdeep Singh Kaka Brar, by the lowest margin of 3,242 votes.

The SAD and the BJP contested this election without alliance for the first time since 1996. Though the BJP failed to retain its two existing seats of Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur, it succeeded in increasing its vote share to 18.56% against SAD's 13.42%, which points to BJP's consolidation of Hindu votes.

Out of seven sitting MPs who were renominated by

their parties, only three — SAD's Harsimrat, Congress's Dr Amar Singh (Fatehgarh Sahib), and Congress's Gurjot Singh Aujla (Amritsar) — could save their seats. Con-

gress's sitting MP from Anandpur Sahib, Manish Tewari, who was contesting from Chandigarh this time, was successful, but with a very slim margin.

A total of 12 MLAs, including five cabinet ministers of the AAP government, were in fray in the June 1 Lok Sabha elections. Of these, only one cabinet minister and Barnala MLA Gurmeet Singh Meet Hayer could win his Sangrur constituency. Other than Meet Hayer, only two MLAs were successful — Congress's Dera Baba Nanak legislator Sukhjinder Singh Randhawa (Gurdaspur) and Dr Raj Kumar Chabbewal, who was elected to assembly on Congress ticket and now has the Lok Sabha seat on AAP ticket.

Also, Vidhan Sabha speaker accepted the resignation of AAP's Jalandhar West MLA Sheetal Angul, who joined BJP before the Lok Sabha polls.

garh Sahib), and Congress's Gurjot Singh Aujla (Amritsar) — could save their seats. Con-

gress's sitting MP from Anantnag-Rajouri. In Bara-

ramulla, former MLA and independent candidate Sheikh Abdul Rashid, also known as Engineer Rashid and currently incarcerated in Delhi's Tihar jail in a terrorist-funding case, defeated NC vice-president Abdulla. People's Conference president Sajad Gani Lone came third.

Rashid, arrested by NIA in 2019, is the first mainstream politician to be charged under the anti-terrorism UAPA. His sons — Abrar and Asrar — campaigned on his behalf.

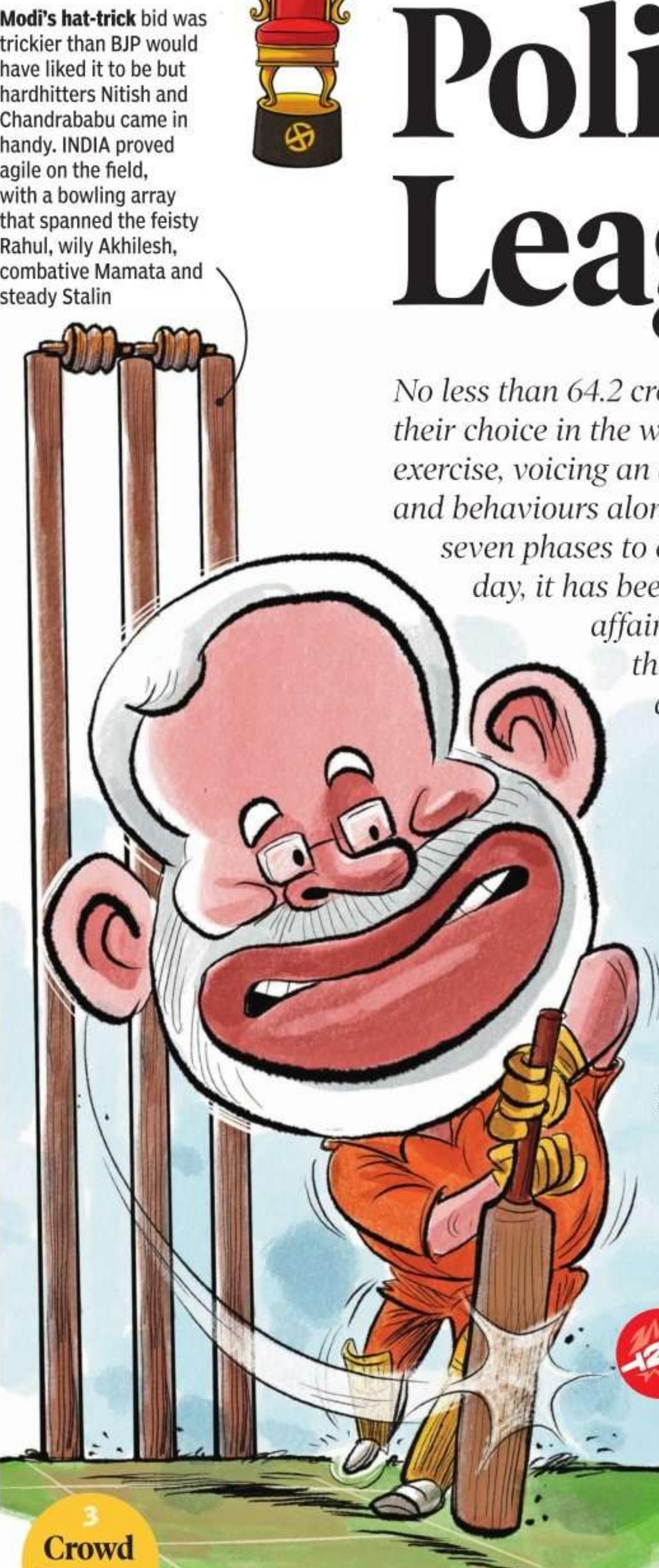
PDP chief Mufti lost to NC candidate Mian Altaf Ahmad in Anantnag-Rajouri. In Bara-ramulla,

Change (▲ ▼) in seats over 2019
Change (▲ ▼) in vote share in percentage points
Figures have been rounded off to single digit

Leader Board	Cong	SP	TMC	DMK	TDP	JDU	SENA (UBT)	SENA	YSRCP	LJP	NCP (SP)	NCP	AAP	RJD	CPM	JDS	BJD	VBA	ADMK	SAD
PARTY	BJP	37 ▲ 32	29 ▲ 7	22 ▼ 2	16 ▲ 13	12 ▼ 4	9 ▲ 4	7 ▼ 6	4 ▼ 18	5 ▼ 1	7 ▲ 3	1 --	3 ▲ 2	4 ▲ 4	4 ▲ 1	2 ▲ 1	1 ▼ 11	0	0 ▲ 1	I ▼ 1
SEATS WON	240 ▼ 63	99 ▲ 47	6.8%	5.3%	4.1%	2.9%	2.2%	1.7%	1.3%	0.7%	0.9%	1.3%	0.2%	0.6%	0.7%	0.4%	0.2%	0%	0.2%	0.2%
SEAT SHARE %	44.2%	18.2%	6.8%	5.3%	4.1%	2.9%	2.2%	1.7%	1.3%	0.7%	0.9%	1.3%	0.2%	0.6%	0.7%	0.4%	0.2%	0%	0.2%	0.2%
EFFECTIVE VOTE %	36.6 ▼ 0.7	21.2 ▲ 1.7	3.1%	2.9%	1.2%	1.3%	0.8%	1%	0.8%	1.4%	0.3%	0.6%	0.2%	0.7%	1.0%	1.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.9%	0.3 ▲ 0.3
VOTE SHARE %	24.3%	14.1%	3.1%	2.9%	1.2%	1.3%	0.8%	1%	0.8%	1.4%	0.3%	0.6%	0.2%	0.7%	1.0%	1.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.9%	0.3 ▲ 0.3

Indian Political League

Modi's hat-trick bid was trickier than BJP would have liked it to be but hardhitters Nitish and Chandrababu came in handy. INDIA proved agile on the field, with a bowling array that spanned the feisty Rahul, wily Akhilesh, combative Mamata and steady Stalin



Illustrations: Uday Deb

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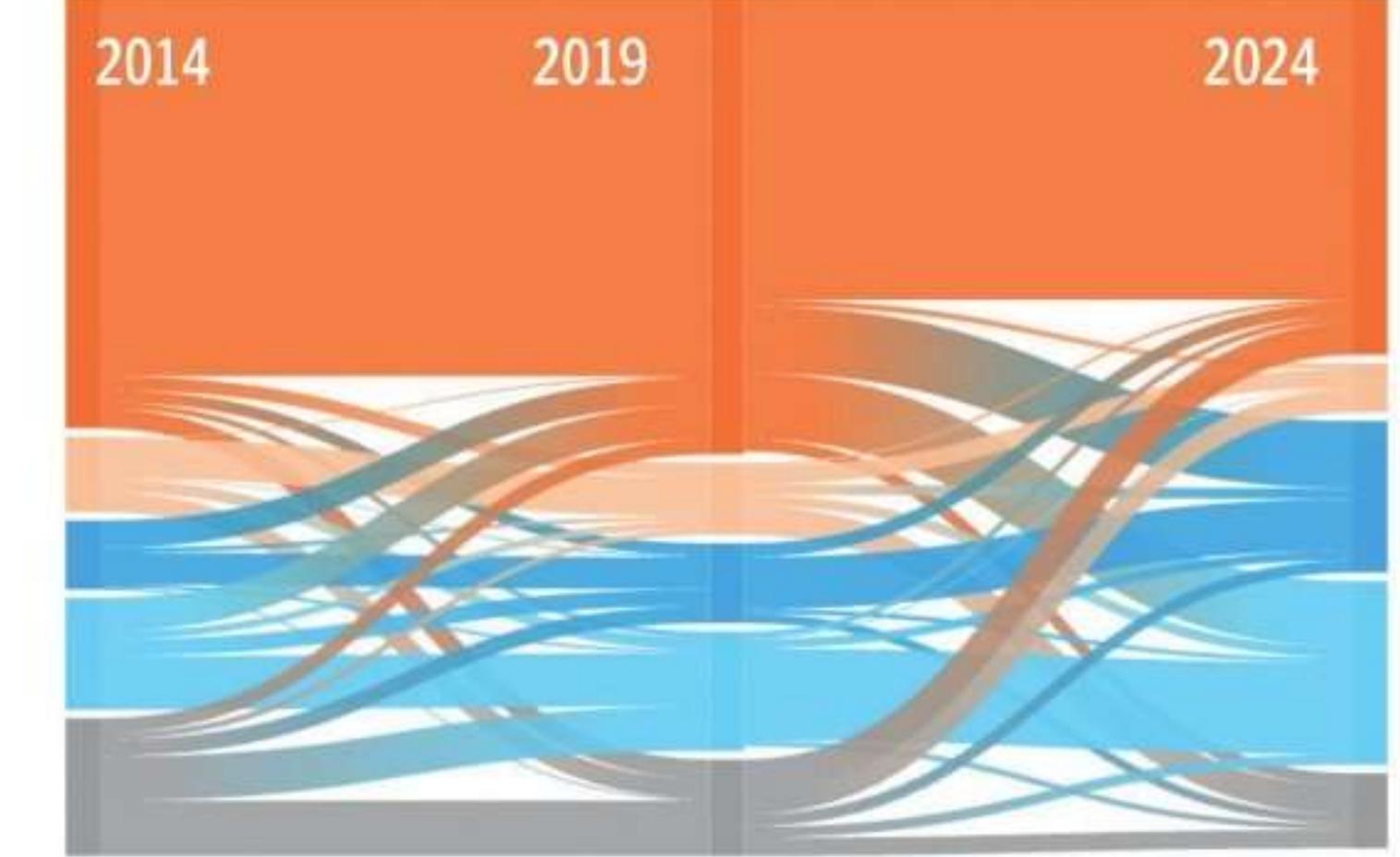
Clean Sweep

FLIP SEATS

Seats That Changed Parties

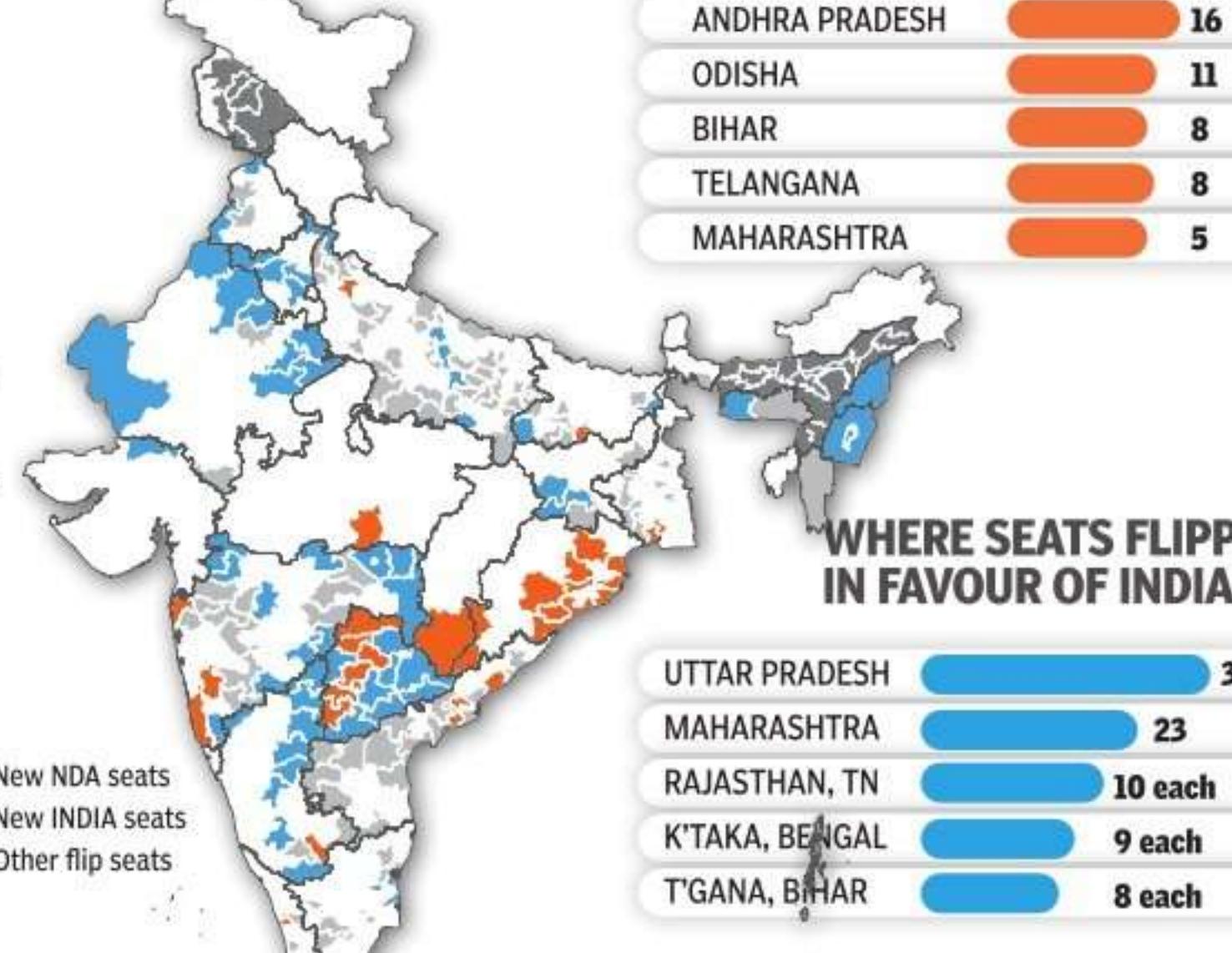
Turncoat seats, which switched from BJP to INDIA

● BJP ● Other NDA ● Cong ● Other INDIA ● Others



For comparison, 2014 and 2019 results are visualised with current NDA and INDIA alliances

In 2019, 178 seats flipped from incumbent parties. While BJP grabbed 55, Cong wrested 33. This time, the number rose to 208, with as many as 88 seats flipping from BJP to Congress and other INDIA allies. In UP, saffron seats went to SP and Cong while in Andhra, NDA ally TDP benefited hugely from YSRCP.



WHERE SEATS FLIPPED IN FAVOUR OF NDA

2

Impact Players

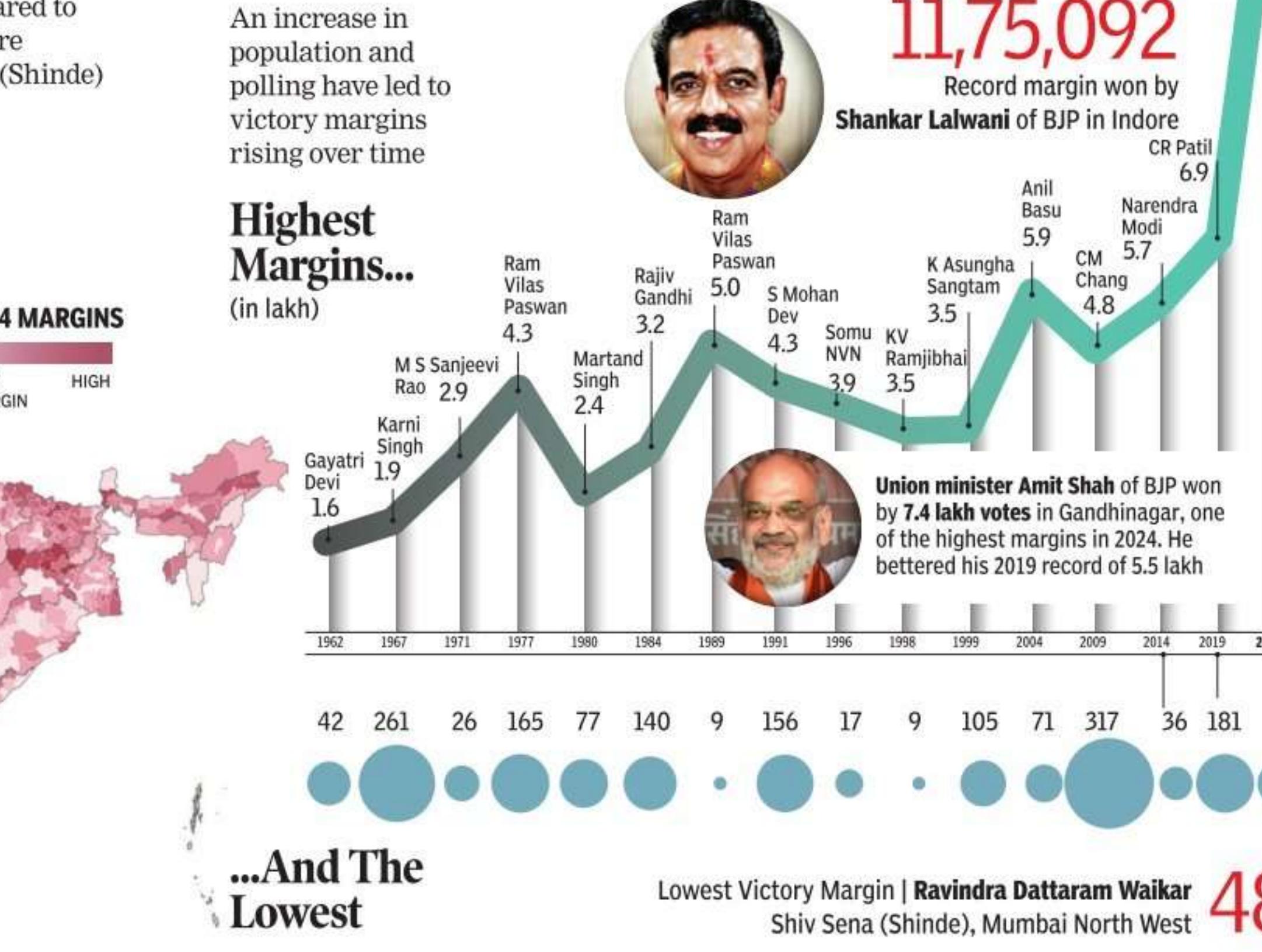
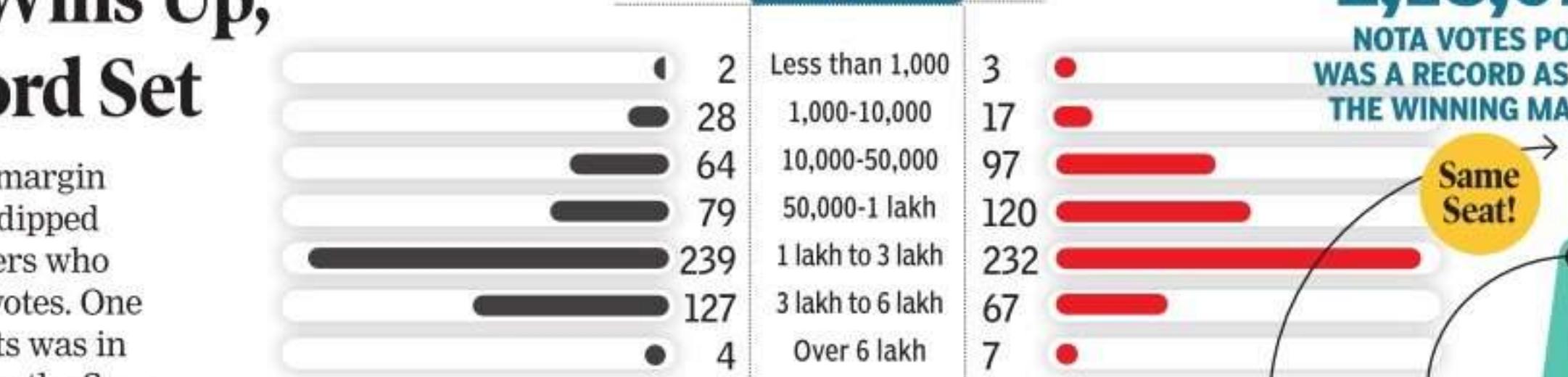
Big Wins Up, Record Set

Close contests, where the margin was less than 10,000 votes dipped over 2019, as did big winners who won by more than 3 lakh votes. One of the most exciting results was in Mumbai North West where the Sena (UBT) candidate was declared to have won by one vote before Ravindra Waikar of Sena (Shinde) clinched it with 48 votes.

VICTORY MARGINS

IN INDORE

2,18,674 NOTA VOTES POLLED WAS A RECORD AS WAS THE WINNING MARGIN



...And The Lowest

Lowest Victory Margin | Ravindra Dattaram Waikar 48 Shiv Sena (Shinde), Mumbai North West

Shankar Laiwani of BJP in Indore 11,75,092

Same Seat!

An increase in population and polling have led to victory margins rising over time

BJP Cong Others

35 32 10 11

2024 2019 2024 2019

35.2% 35.6% 41.9% 29.3% 41.6% 30.0%

21.1% 17.2% 28.7% 47.2% 28.4% 51.4%

43.7% 47.2% 28.7% 47.2% 28.4% 51.4%

SC ST OTHERS

2024 2019 2024 2019

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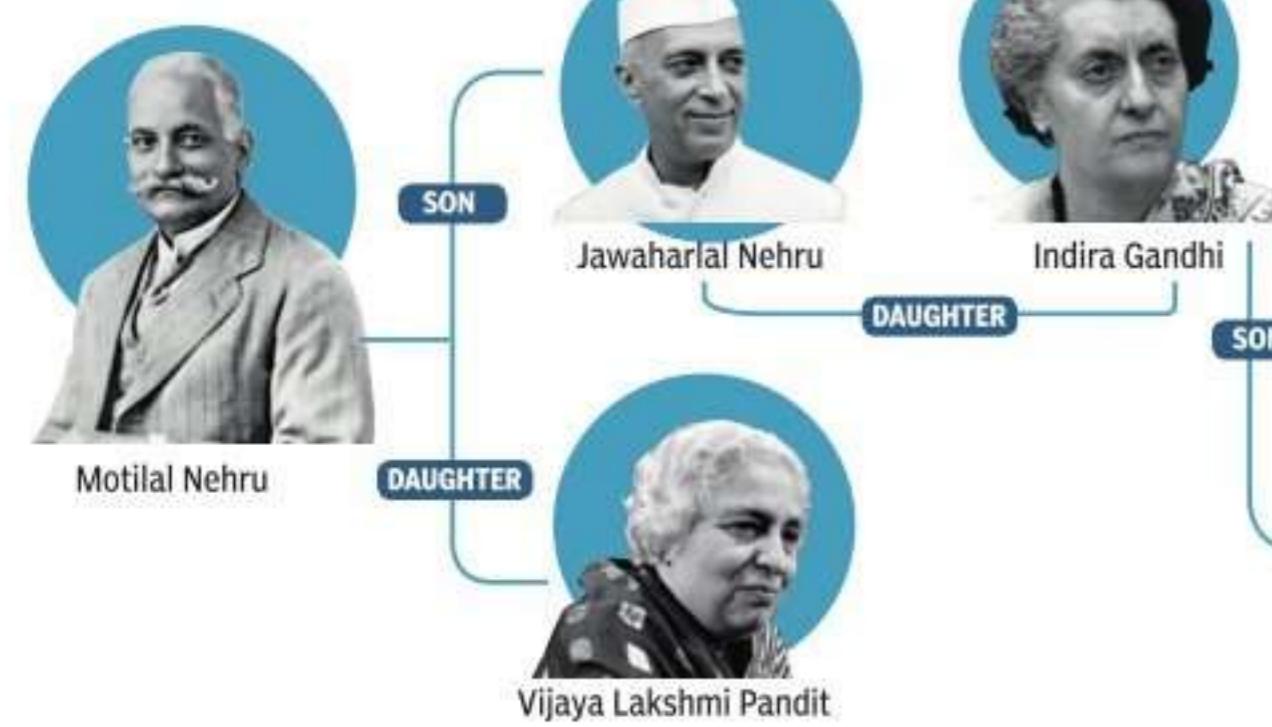
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SC ST OTHERS</

UTTAR PRADESH

Nehru/Gandhis

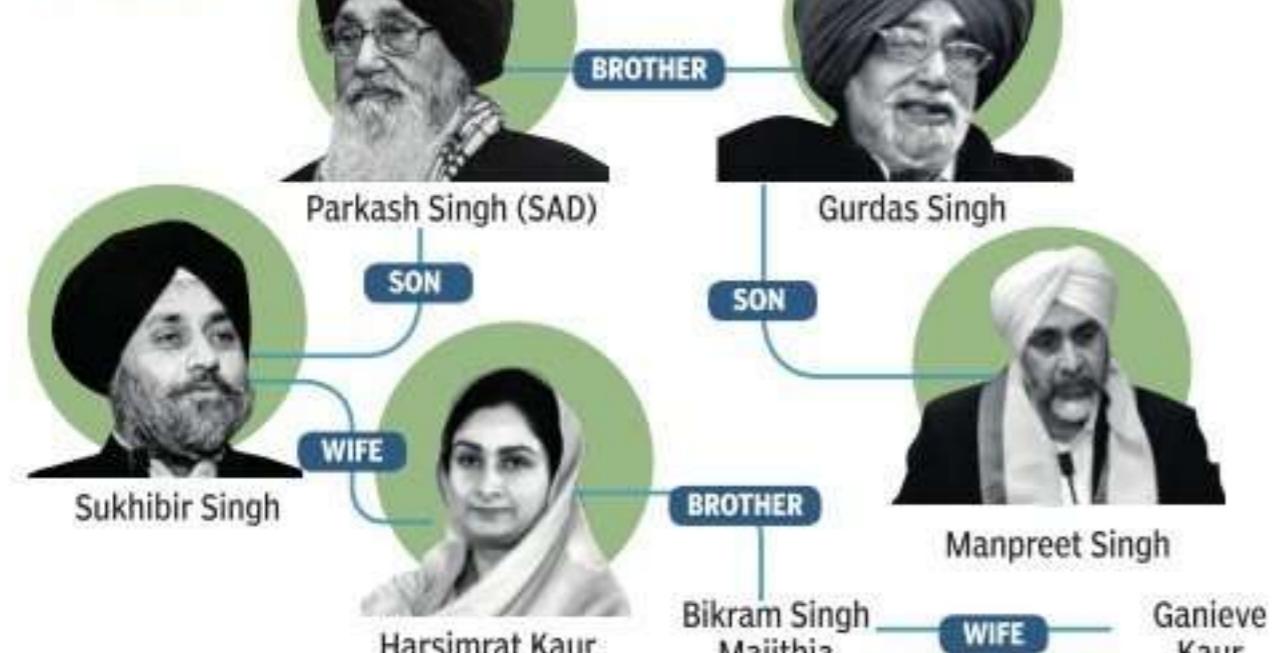


PUNJAB

Royal Family of Patiala



Badals



Kairons

Partap Singh Kairon (former CM of Punjab), Surinder Singh Kairon (son of Pratap Singh), Adesh Partap Singh Kairon (grand son of Pratap Singh)

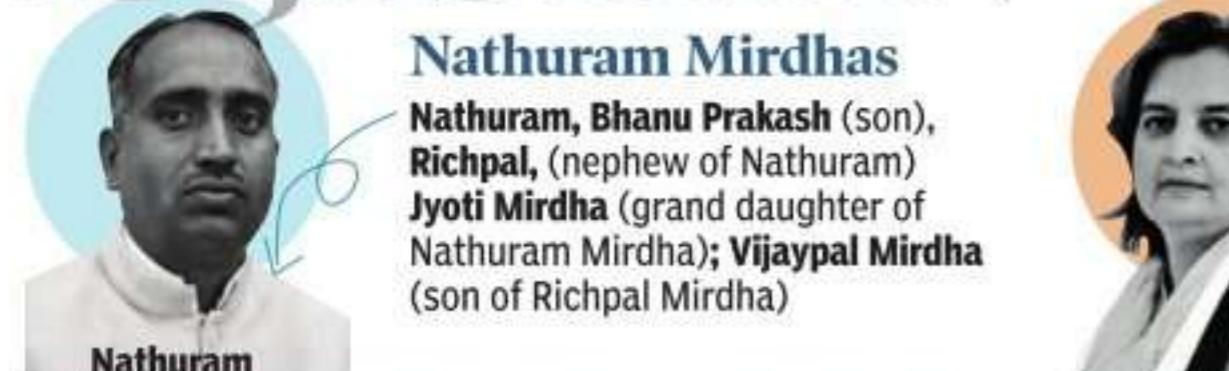
HARYANA



Bhajan Lal



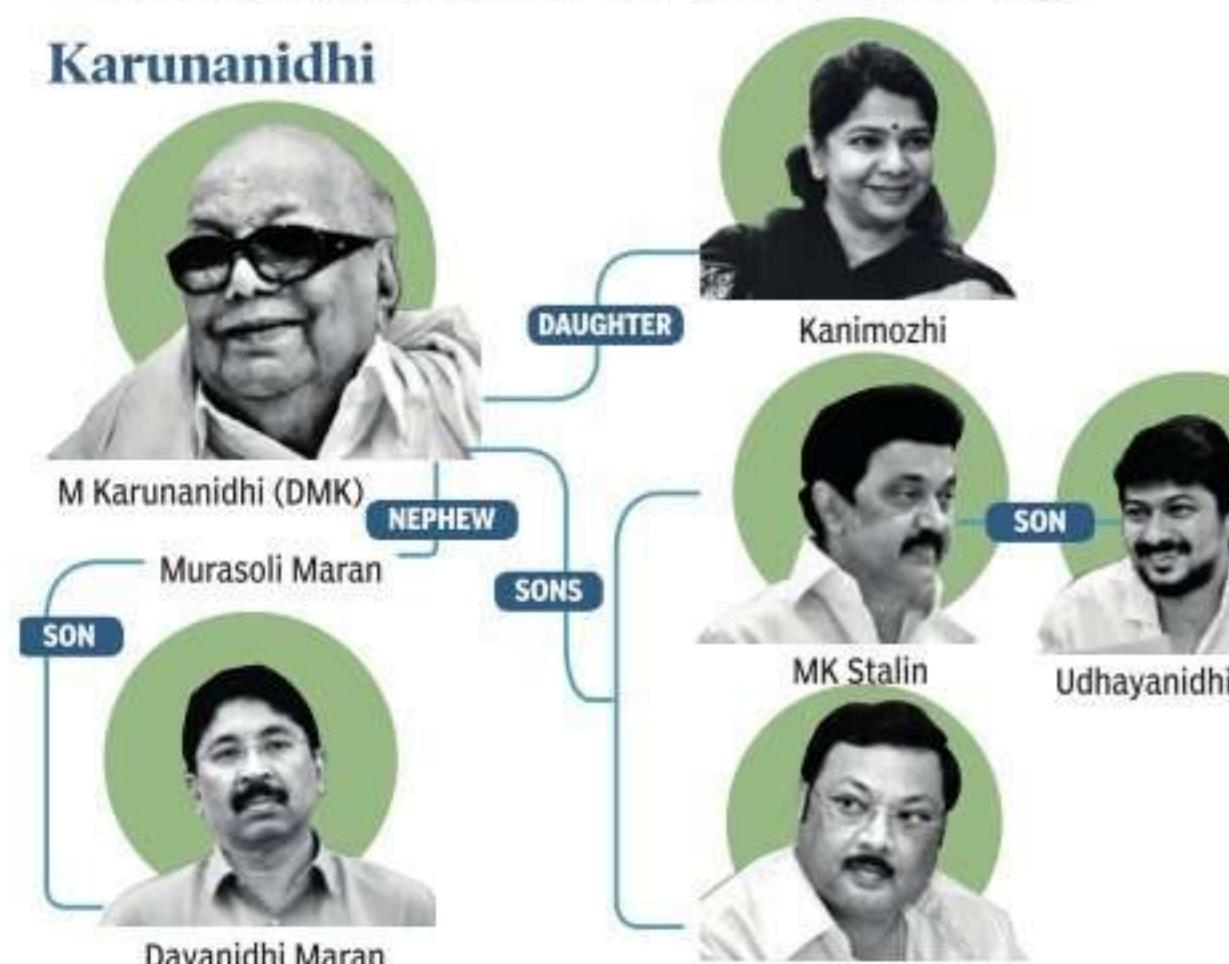
RAJASTHAN



MAHARASHTRA



TAMIL NADU



WEST BENGAL



Parivars in Politics

The politics of a country of now 137 crore people has been dominated by a few dynasties. What do Rahul Gandhi, Jyotiraditya Scindia, Nakul Kamal Nath, Sukhbir Badal, Supriya Sule and Vaibhav Gehlot have in common? They represent one of **nearly 75 prominent political families** (and this is not an exhaustive count) across the spectrum – barring the Left – found by TOI's inhouse research



All state-level political families and several two-generation families (e.g. Pilots of Rajasthan or Bahugunas of UP) were excluded for reasons of space



ASSAM



KARNATAKA



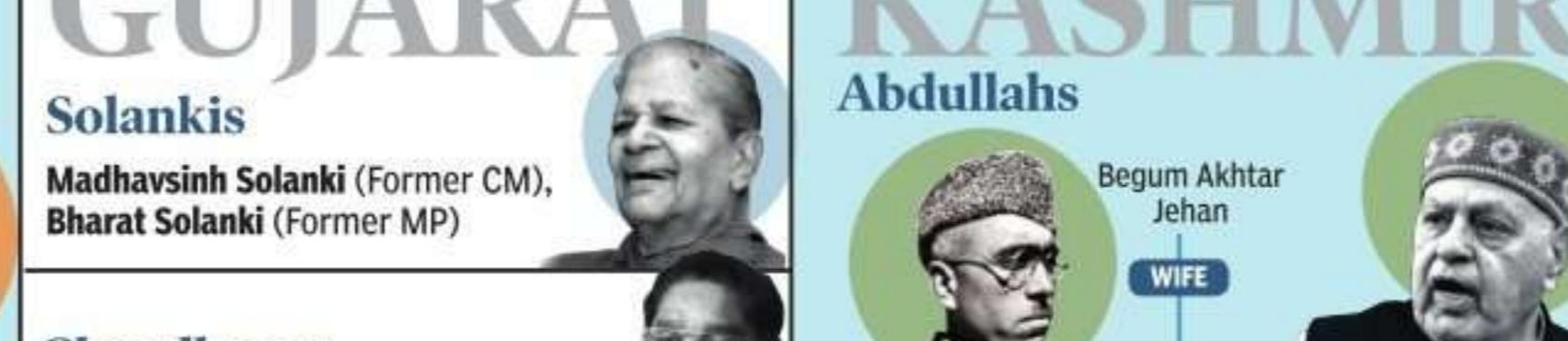
ANDHRA PRADESH



GUJARAT



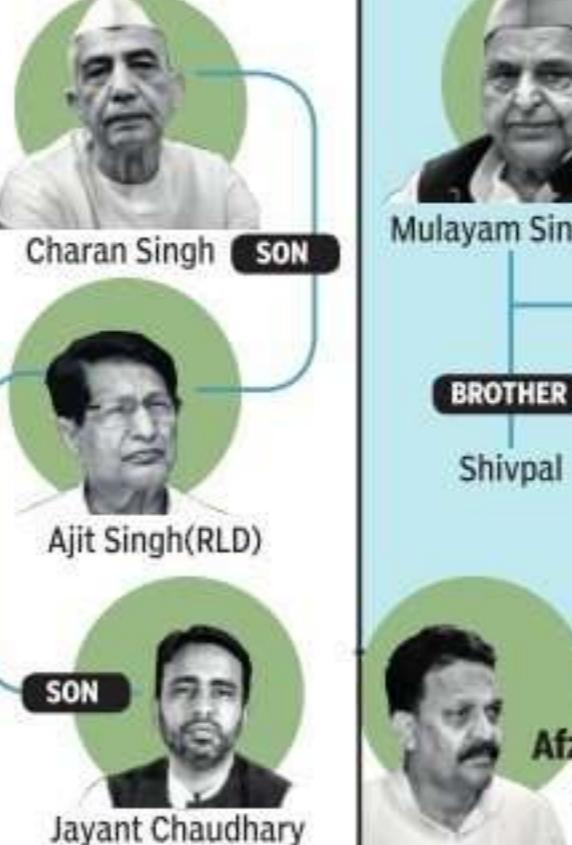
KASHMIR



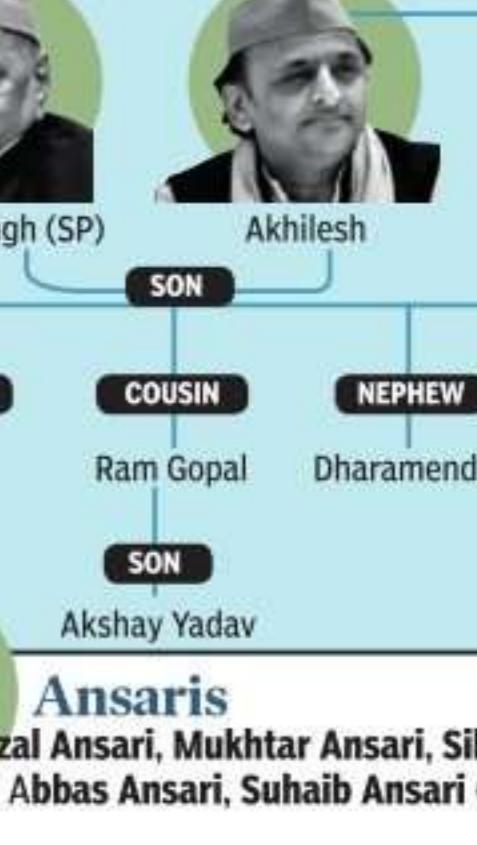
Charan Singh



Yadavs



Ansaris



BIHAR



Mishras



(Brother of Lalit Narayan Mishra), Rishi Mishra (JDU) son of Vijay Kumar Mishra

Paswans



JHARKHAND



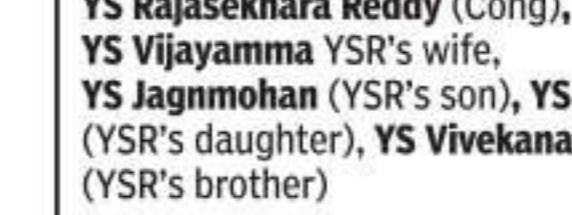
TELANGANA



ODISHA



Patnaiks



Deos

Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo (Swatantra Party), grandsons Kalikesh and Arkesh (BJD), Rajendra's brother's son K V Singh Deo (BJP), KV's wife Sangeeta (BJP)

Satpathys



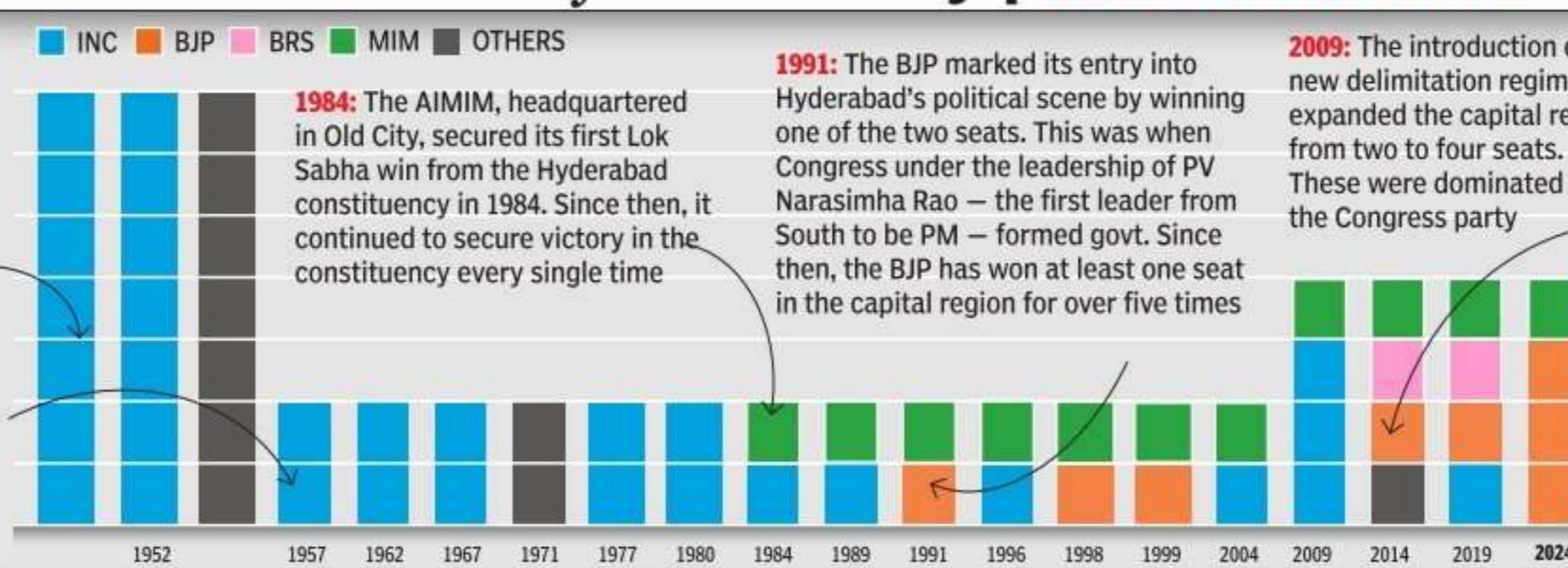
Muftis



Hyderabad's Seat Of Power

Hyderabad has come a long way from being a State at the time of Independence to a capital city and a key Parliament constituency. Hyderabad now straddles four LS segments of Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Malkajgiri and Chevella. TOI takes a look at the history of the Parliament seat since 1952

1957: The States Reorganisation Act established AP in 1956, by merging the Telugu-speaking regions of Hyderabad State, with Hyderabad as the capital. At that time, the capital region had two seats, both won by the Congress



The BRS-led by former CM K Chandrasekhar Rao has been decimated in Lok Sabha election. It could not even win Medak, the home constituency of party supremo where the party has ruled the roost since 2004



—Compiled by Kaushik Gunuganti

Dance of Democracy | HOME GROUND

2014: The BRS, formerly the TRS, emerged as a significant force with its agenda of creating a separate Telangana state with Hyderabad as the capital. Despite forming the state government in 2014 and 2018 as well as achieving good victory in Lok Sabha polls across Telangana, the BRS managed to secure only one Lok Sabha seat in the capital region seat in each term

—Compiled by Kaushik Gunuganti

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2024

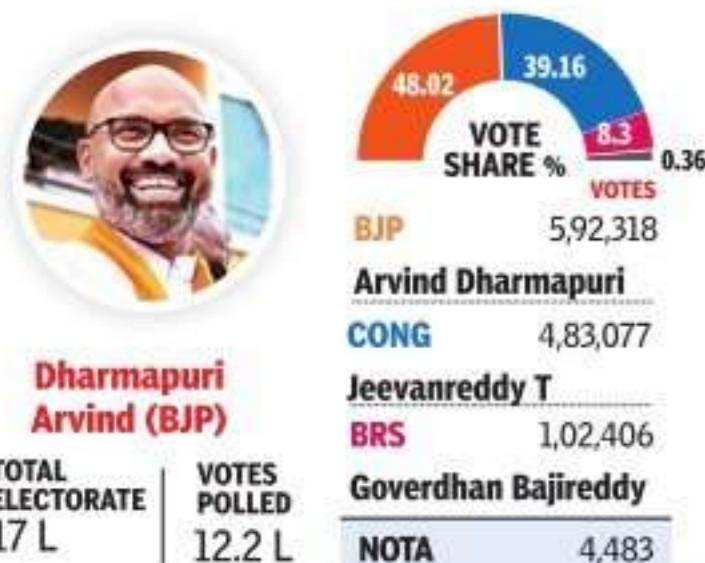


Blow For KCR As BRS Fails To Open Account ■ National Parties Surge, Push BRS To The Brink

BJP, CONG COME TO T PARTY AT 8

NIZAMABAD

Another strong anti-BRS face in the state, BJP's Dharmapuri Arvind retained his seat. Having trounced Kavitha in 2019, Arvind defeated Congress' Jeevan Reddy in 2024. Home minister Amit Shah held the most number of meetings in Nizamabad. In 2019, the seat had seen turmeric farmers filing nominations as Independents seeking MSP and national turmeric board in the constituency. In the assembly elections though, Arvind lost as BJP candidate despite Prime Minister Narendra Modi's campaign promise of setting up a turmeric board



ADILABAD



Godam Nagesh (BJP)

TOTAL ELECTORATE | VOTES POLLED

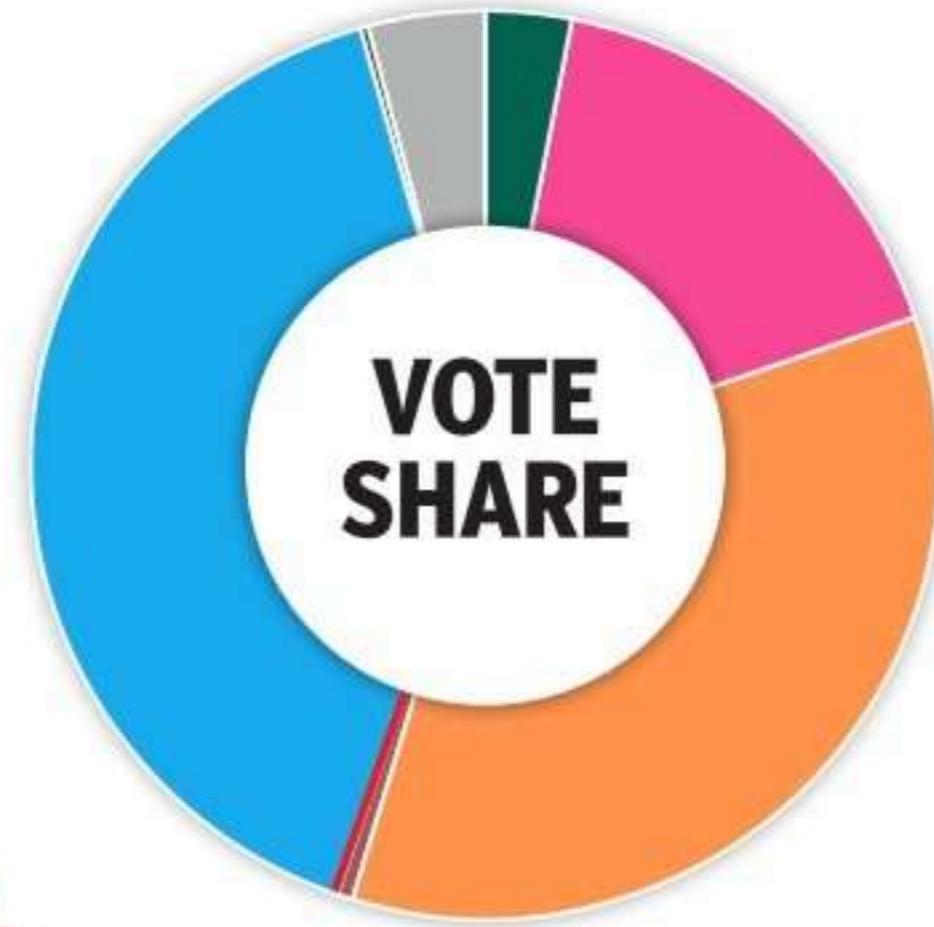
16.5 L | 12.2 L

Adilabad is the only constituency where BJP did not field a sitting MP but chose turncoat BRS leader G Nagesh. He defeated BRS & Congress candidates. Interestingly, Nagesh had lost to BJP's Soyam Bapu Rao in 2019 polls as a BRS candidate. During the campaign it was being said there would be a tight fight, but Nagesh sailed through with support from BJP bigwigs. Adilabad had always seen a narrative war between Banjara and non-Banjara STs. Setting aside all local issues, BJP secured a second win in the constituency

	VOTE SHARE %	VOTES
BJP	45.98	5,68,168
Godam Nagesh	38.65	5,68,168
CONG	11.11	1,37,300
Athram Suguna (Inc)	0.95	0
BRS	0.56	0
Athram Sakku	0.41	0
NOTA	0.01	0

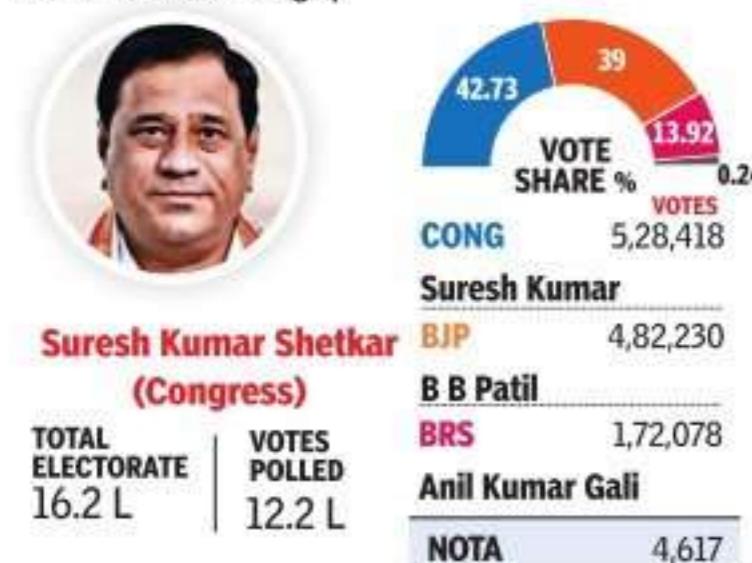
TELANGANA LS POLLS 2024 HOW PARTIES FADED

AIFB (0.2%)
AIMIM (3%)
BRS (16.6%)
BJP (35.08%)
BSP (0.41%)
CPI(M) (0.1%)
CONG (40.1%)
NOTA (0.4%)
OTHERS (3.9%)



ZAHIRABAD

Congress candidate Suresh Shetkar became MP for the second time. He had won on a Congress ticket in 2009. This win is significant as he was facing two-time BRS MP from the same seat, BB Patil, who had switched to BJP. This seat is also one where BJP had pinned hopes on strong Hindutva support in some regions bordering Maharashtra. BJP at one point dabbled with the idea of fielding fire-brand MLA Raja Singh from here. Shetkar's soft image also helped Congress win the seat after a decade's gap



MAHABUBNAGAR



Aruna DK (BJP)

TOTAL ELECTORATE | VOTES POLLED

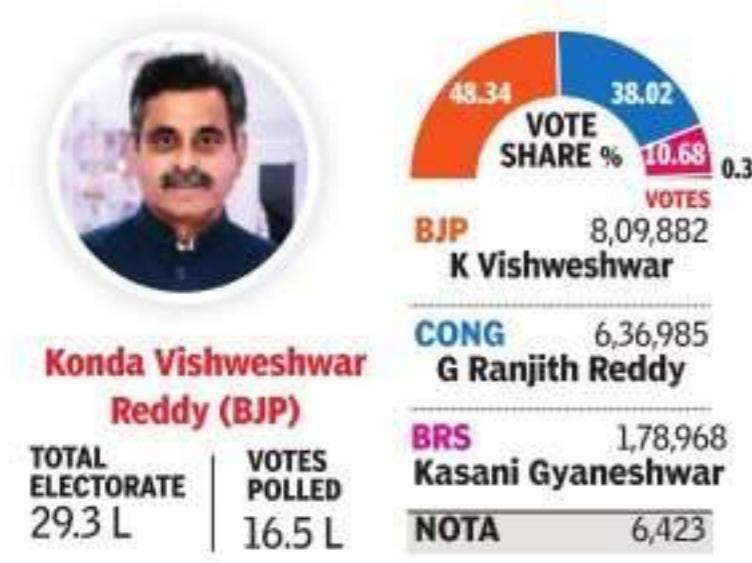
16.8 L | 12.1 L

DK Aruna is the national vice-president of the BJP, and this is the first time that the party has won this seat after the formation of Telangana. Though Aruna had contested this seat in 2019 on BJR ticket, after quitting the Congress, she ended up in second place. Mahabubnagar is the district in which chief minister A Revanth Reddy was born, and the defeat of the grand old party is a personal setback for him who campaigned the most number of times in this constituency calling upon voters to uphold the respect of the 'son of the soil'. Interestingly, Congress had won all seven assembly seats under Mahabubnagar LS constituency in 2023

	VOTE SHARE %	VOTES
BJP	41.66	5,10,747
DK Aruna	39.12	5,06,247
Cong	12.62	1,54,792
C Vamshi Chand Reddy	0.35	0
BRS	0.35	0
M Srinivas Reddy	0.35	0
NOTA	0.35	0

CHEVELLA

This is the second time that Konda Vishweshwar Reddy has won this seat – first time being on a BRS ticket in 2014. He quit the pink party in 2018 and contested from Chevella on a Congress ticket in 2019. But he lost that round to BRS candidate G Ranjith Reddy. This time, he beat Ranjith Reddy who was fighting on a Congress ticket. It is also BJP's debut victory from the constituency that came into existence in 2009. It was won by stalwarts like former Union minister and Congress veteran S Jaipal Reddy in 2009



NAGARKURNOOL



Dr Mallu Ravi (Congress)

TOTAL ELECTORATE | VOTES POLLED

17.3 L | 12 L

B Brother of deputy CM Mallu Bhatti Vikramarka, this is the third LS win for Mallu Ravi. The people of the Nagarkurnool had elected P Ramulu of the BRS in 2019 and Nandi Yellaiah of the Congress in 2014. Mallu Ravi won this seat in 1991 and 1998 respectively. Sitting MP Ramulu's son P Bharath stepped into the fray, instead, on a BJR ticket after both resigned from the BRS. RS Praveen Kumar of the BSP and joined the BRS just before LS polls was fielded from this seat but was restricted to third place

	VOTE SHARE %	VOTES
Cong	38.14	4,65,072
Mallu Ravi	30.4	3,70,658
Bharath Prasad	26.36	3,21,343
R S Praveen Kumar	0.38	4,580
NOTA	0.38	0

BHONGIR



Chamala Kiran Kumar Reddy (Congress)

TOTAL ELECTORATE | VOTES POLLED

18 L | 13.8 L

It was an expected win for Congress party's Kiran Kumar Reddy. This seat has been won by Congress and BRS in turns. Congress won in 2009 when Komatireddy Raj Gopal Reddy was the candidate. Boora Narsaiah Goud was the BRS winner in 2014, and Komatireddy Venkat Reddy in 2019. This will be the second term for Congress in Telangana. However, BJP despite its negligible presence, performed better this time

	VOTE SHARE %	VOTES
Cong	44.89	6,29,143
CH Kiran Kumar Reddy (Congress)	29.04	4,06,973
BRS	18.28	2,56,187
B Narsaiah Goud	0.33	0
NOTA	0.33	0

NALGONDA



Kunduru Raghuvir (Congress)

TOTAL ELECTORATE | VOTES POLLED

17.2 L | 12.7 L

Congress got the highest majority in Nalgonda that's been the party's stronghold since 1952, though the CPI and TDP won this seat a few times in the past. BJP and BRS have never won it. This was also the first election for Raghuvir Reddy, son of Congress veteran leader K Jana Reddy. The party has been winning this seat continuously since 2009. It was one of three seats that Congress won in the 2019 LS elections

	VOTE SHARE %	VOTES
Cong	60.59	7,84,337
K Raghuvir	17.31	4,71,217
BJP	16.85	3,24,432
S Saidi Reddy	0.47	0
BRS	2,18,417	0
K Krishna Reddy	0.08	0
NOTA	0.08	0

BIG WINS

NALGONDA

Kunduru Raghuvir

CONG
DEFEATED

Saidi Reddy Shanampudi | BJP BY 5,59,905 VOTES



KHAMMAM

R Raghuram Reddy

CONG
DEFEATED

Nama Nageswara Rao | BRS BY 4,67,847 VOTES



MALKAJGIRI

Eatala Rajender

BJP
DEFEATED

P Suneetha Mahender Reddy | CONG BY 3,91,475 VOTES



MAHABUBABAD

Balram Naik Porika

CONG
DEFEATED

Kavitha Maloth | BRS BY 3,49,165 VOTES



HYDERABAD

Asaduddin Owaisi

AIMIM
DEFEATED

Madhavi Latha Komella | BJP BY 3,38,087 VOTES



The Congress and BJP gained ground compared to previous elections, all at the cost of BRS, which drew a blank for the first time since 2004 in the state. As expected, AIMIM retained its turf for a record extending 10th time since 1989. TOI analyses what worked and what didn't for parties here

T POLL STOCKS BUZZ: BUY, HOLD AND SELL

CONGRESS

3 to 8 seats, Cong marches on with its winning streak

Roushan.Ali@timesgroup.com

Tuesday's verdict was the icing on the cake for the grand old party. Congress, which surprised political pundits wrong by winning the Nov 2023 assembly elections, continued its victory march in the Lok Sabha elections by bagging eight out of 17 seats in Telangana, bettering its 2019 performance when it won just three seats.

Though the party's win was not as comprehensive as one would have expected, the Congress still came up trumps going by chief minister A Revanth Reddy's assertions during his campaigning that this election was a referendum on his govt's performance as he promised to usher in 'Indiramma rajyam' and 'praja palana' (good governance). Congress winning nearly 50% of 17 seats should be seen as a continuance of feel-



good factor among the voters towards the party. Though some had termed the Congress victory in the assembly polls and its 100-day governance as a 'honeymoon period' and that voters' support may not last long, the party consolidated its position by winning more seats this time.

In the wake of BJP and BRS claiming that the Revanth govt may not last long once the results were out, Tuesday's outcome will — to some extent — send a message to the people that the Congress govt will last its full term. The win in Secunderabad Cantonment assembly seat was a bonus to the party as it sits pretty in the House. Tuesday's outcome will also likely pave way for exodus of BRS legislators in the coming months into Congress.

BJP

BJP doubles tally, buzz rings loud and clear

Sribala.Vadiapati@timesgroup.com

Before Telangana state came into being, BJP had won Secunderabad seat four times, Karimnagar twice and Mahabubnagar once. That was the saffron party story in Telangana until it created a new buzz in town on Tuesday by winning eight seats, giving Congress a run for its money and pushing BRS into oblivion.

Post bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh, BJP won Secunderabad and Karimnagar seats and added two more — Nizamabad and Adilabad — seats in 2019 elec-



tions. This time, the party expanded its reach to new seats of Chevella, Malkajgiri and Medak.

BJP became strong in Hyderabad after its super success in the Dec 2020 GHMC elections and of eight seats it won, four fall in the capital region.

In north and central Telangana, the party fared well in Mahabubnagar, Karimnagar, Adilabad and Nizamabad. It also emerged second and pushed BRS to a third place in a majority of seats. From just 8% vote in the first assembly polls held

in 2014, the BJP has managed to get 35% vote share in just a decade.

"Telangana is the gateway to south... Our performance in the assembly elections was not up to the mark but within six months, we have shown what we are and what we can do. Tuesday's show will certainly be our first step towards forming the govt in the state in future," BJP spokesperson NV Subhash said.

The results revealed a partial polarisation in north and central Telangana, where the BJP fought hard and retained several of its seats from 2019.

Hyderabad: Despite losing in his home district of Mahabubnagar and in Malkajgiri, which he had won in 2019, chief minister A Revanth Reddy is expected to cement his position as the numero uno in the state Congress following the party's victory in eight of the 17 Lok Sabha seats in Telangana.

Moreover, the party's win in Secunderabad Cantonment assembly bypoll is sure to give a boost to Revanth as it has increased Congress govt's tally to 65 and its wafer-thin majority to six (one seat of CPI included).

Political analysts said that the LS election was more or less a referendum on Revanth's leadership within the Congress and the chief minister has delivered a reasonably good show, increasing the party's tally from three in 2019 to eight now.

Revanth, who was given credit for leading the party to victory in 2023 assembly election, would have faced competition from senior Congress leaders for the chief minister's post if the party had failed to put up a decent show in LS polls. Though Revanth himself had set a target of about 14 seats, the party's performance has given him the much-needed ammunition to put a stop to his leadership for now. Revanth is now likely to have a bigger say in expansion of the state cabinet.



RAIN NO DAMPENER TO VICTORY CHEERS

Party workers danced to drum beats, distributing sweets and bursting crackers

Congress senior leader V Hanumantha Rao was also seen tapping his feet to drum beats

This is a result of the trust of Telangana people in the Congress party and its guarantees, particularly for women. This is the victory of the poor and marginalised — M Sunitha Rao

PRESIDENT, TELANGANA MAHILA CONGRESS

Victory attributed to Revanth's leadership

State Congress working president and MLC B Mahesh Kumar Goud attributed the victory to Revanth's leadership, hard work of ministers, leaders and workers, and good governance of five months in the state.

While all ministers were proactive in the constituencies they were in charge of, it was Revanth who carried the campaign on his shoulders, addressing over 60 meetings

in the 17 LS constituencies.

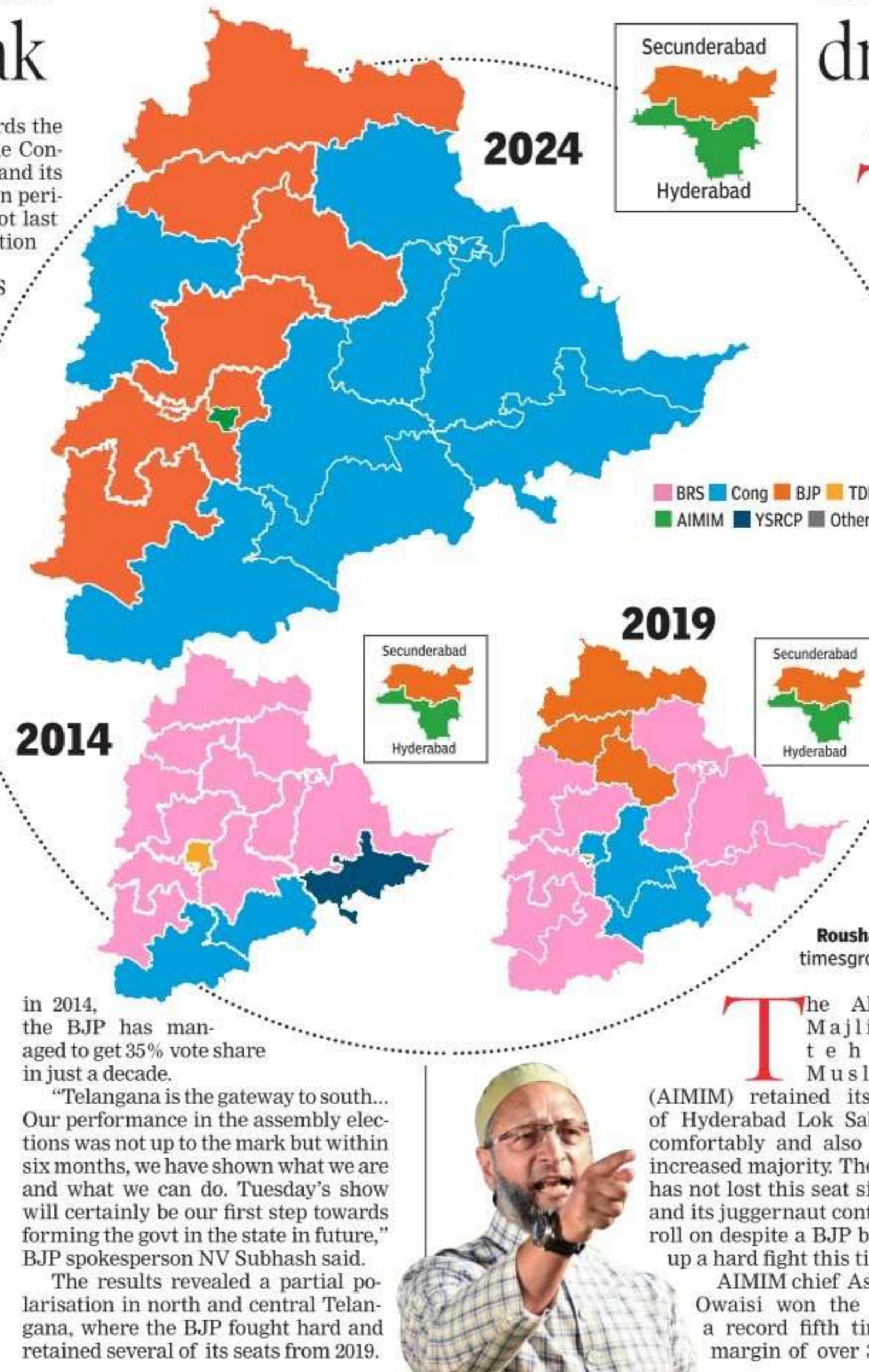
From the beginning, Revanth-led Congress projected the contest to be mainly between Congress and BJP. Both ended up winning eight seats each, wiping out BRS.

All through the campaign, Revanth trained his guns mainly on the BJP, telling people that they will remove reservations by changing the Constitution.

Revanth also hit out at the BJP for bringing religion into politics.

Dance of Democracy | HOME GROUND

TELANGANA LS POLLS 2024 GAINS & LOSSES



After assembly rout, BRS draws a blank in LS polls

Koride.Mahesh@timesgroup.com

The times they are a-changin' in Telangana. For the first time since the inception of Telangana Rashtra Samithi (now BRS) 23 years ago, the party drew a blank in Lok Sabha polls. Worse still, except two seats (Khammam and Mahabubabad) where it came second, BRS was relegated to the third spot in the remaining 15 seats.

The BRS' vote share also dipped to 16.7% from 41% in 2019 polls. Moreover, just six months ago it had registered a vote share of 37% in the 2023 assembly polls.

In 2004 LS polls, soon after TRS came into existence, the party had won five seats with the support



of Congress as part of UPA-I. In 2009, the pink party, as part of Maha Kutami, managed only two LS seats (Mahabubnagar and Medak). After Telangana formation in 2014, the party bagged a majority of seats (11) with a vote share of 35%. Though in 2019 LS polls its seats dipped to nine, its vote share increased to 41%.

But in this LS election, the party has been decimated. It could not even win Medak, the home constituency of party chief and former chief minister K Chandrasekhar Rao where BRS has ruled the roost since 2004. Both Gajwel assembly segment represented by KCR and Siddipet by his nephew T Harish Rao come under Medak LS seat where it had done well even in the assembly polls.

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Political observers attributed his victory with increased margin to the heat generated by Madhavi Latha and other BJP leaders during the election campaign. Madhavi Latha's symbolic 'bow and arrow' aim allegedly towards a mosque and Prime Minister Narendra Modi's tweet supporting her campaign among other issues raised by BJP apparently led to the Muslim community coming out in large numbers to vote.

Before polling, Owaissi, worried about low poll percentage, had repeatedly appealed to the people to come out and vote.

majority for Owaissi.

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Revanth cements position after Congress show in T

Nalgonda gives Cong 'uttam' win with 5L majority

Roushan.Ali@timesgroup.com

Hyderabad: Nalgonda has given Congress its 'uttam' (best) win in the state. The party registered a historic victory with debutant K Raghuvir Reddy securing a majority of 5.59 lakh votes, the highest in Telangana in this election.

It is also the second-highest among Congress candidates across the country after Rakibul Hussain's almost 10 lakh margin from Dhubri (Assam).

Raghuvir is the son of Congress veteran and former CLP leader K Jana Reddy. The two highest majorities in the by-poll

state were secured by Congress debutants — Raghuvir in Nalgonda and Raghu Ram Reddy (4.67 lakh) in Khammam.

Vote share higher than Modi

The Congress' victory margin in Nalgonda is also higher than that of Prime Mi-

nister Narendra Modi in Varanasi and Rahul Gandhi from Wayanad and Rae Bareli.

The victory in Nalgonda is also a triumph for irrigation minister N Uttam Kumar Reddy, who had won this seat in 2019, and was the party in charge of the constituency in this poll. The Congress state leadership attributed the victory margin to his hard work, with over 2 lakh votes being polled from Huzurnagar and Kodad assembly seats represented by Uttam and his wife N Padma.

Apart from Uttam, senior leader and minister Komati-

reddy Venkat Reddy had put in a lot of work in Nalgonda.

Uttam said, "I salute the Congress leaders and workers of Nalgonda who put in their best to achieve a historic result. I thank the voters of Nalgonda constituency, especially electors of Huzurnagar and Kodad assembly segments, for giving a huge majority."

Low margin in Mahabubnagar

Mahabubnagar, the home district of CM Revanth, saw low margin. BJP's DK Aruna was leading by a margin of about 4,500 votes against Congress' Ch Venkata Chand Reddy.

Hyderabad: In just six months, Greater Hyderabad has turned orange from bright pink. In Greater Hyderabad's four high-profile constituencies of Secunderabad, Chevella, Malkajgiri and Hyderabad, BJP bagged three seats, while Asaduddin Owaissi retained Hyderabad for the record fifth time. The pink party, BRS, was nowhere to be seen.

In 2019 elections, Secunderabad was the only seat where BJP had won. Tuesday's credible show of BJP in Greater Hyderabad came despite BRS winning 16 out of 24 assembly seats in the region where BRS had secured just one seat (Goshamahal) in the Nov 2023 assembly polls.

Apart from the 16 seats, BRS had also won from Medchal and Chevella assembly seats.

Greater Hyderabad voters helped KCR's party to get decent number of seats though

it lost badly in other districts in the assembly polls. "The BRS, which faced a stunning defeat in the assembly polls at the hands of Congress, got parity in Greater Hyderabad by winning a good number of seats. In that sense, BJP winning three key LS seats is commendable," an independent analyst said.

While BJP was sure of retaining Secunderabad where Union minister, state party chief G Kishan Reddy was in the fray, the victories in Malkajgiri and Chevella couldn't have come at a better time.

The saffron surge began in Dec 2020 when the party won

Venkat Rao M



HYDERABAD	KARIMNAGAR	NAGARKURNOOL	KHAMMAM	PEDDAPALLE
Madhavi Latha Kompella BJP LOST TO Asaduddin Owaisi AIMIM BY 3,38,087 VOTES	B Vinod Kumar BRS LOST TO Bandi Sanjay Kumar BJP BY 2,25,209 VOTES	RS Praveen Kumar BRS LOST TO Mallu Ravi CONG BY 94,414 VOTES	Dr Gaddam Ranjith Reddy CONG LOST TO Konda Vishweshwar Reddy BJP BY 1,72,897 VOTES	Koppula Eshwar BRS LOST TO Vamsi Krishna Gaddam CONG BY 1,31,364 VOTES

MPs from the Telugu states will again play a pivotal role at the Centre. With a total of 29 seats between the saffron party in Telangana and the TDP-BJP-Jana Sena combine in AP, both the states give the NDA a comfortable figure above the magic number of 272. This apart, T Congress Haul Has Boosted the INDIA bloc tally

TELUGU STATES' MARKET CAP HEADS NORTH

25 yrs after extending support to Vajpayee, Naidu back in spotlight

Sribala Vadlapatla @timesgroup.com

Hyderabad: Is history repeating in Delhi with Nara Chandrababu Naidu all set to play the role of a kingmaker in the formation of the govt? Twenty-five years ago, Naidu's TDP contested the 1999 general elections in alliance with BJP and won 29 seats out of 42 when Andhra Pradesh was a combined state.

Naidu had extended support to then Atal Bihari Vajpayee govt, which fell short of the majority mark. Although TDP did not join the govt, it was BJP's most important ally.

Cut to 2024, MPs from Telugu states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana will again be playing a pivotal role in the formation of the govt at the Centre. When the state was combined, AP had the distinction of contributing the required number of seats to coalition gopts at the Centre. With a total of 29 seats (eight BJP seats in Telangana and 21 TDP-BJP-Jana Sena seats in AP), both Telugu states will back themselves



State BJP president Kishan Reddy and party leader Eatala Rajender celebrate poll victory in Hyderabad on Tuesday

to play a huge role in establishing the govt this time.

Congress's victory in 2004 and 2009 parliamentary elections in combined AP helped big time in forming the UPA-I and UPA-II gopts at the Centre. In UPA-I govt, BRS was a partner but came out of alliance following differences over statehood for Telangana.

Before that, TDP had a say in the formation of the

govt at the Centre. TDP was the second largest party in the 1984 general elections, capturing 30 seats, making it the first regional party to become a national opposition party. TDP also played a crucial part in VP Singh's National Front govt in Dec 1989.

The govt was made up of Janata Dal, TDP, DMK and AGP. Outside of govt, BJP and Left parties supported the National Front. Nonetheless, it

was a one-of-a-kind experiment.

The Singh govt could not complete even a year in power. Following the withdrawal of support from BJP, the govt lost majority support in the Lok Sabha.

Singh refused to quit and instead offered to prove his majority on the floor. However, the motion of confidence in his govt was defeated and he vacated the chair.

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'BJP strong alternative force in T'

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Hyderabad: BJP president in Telangana G Kishan Reddy on Tuesday said that with good performance in the Parliament polls, BJP has emerged as a strong alternative force in state.

Kishan who retained the Secunderabad Lok Sabha seat, addressed reporters after the poll results were declared. He said, "Despite a false campaign by Congress that the BJP would change the constitution, people did not believe and gave votes to the BJP."

We have won few seats which we never had won in the past also, while in a BRS turf like Medak we made a dent, he said. The Telangana BJP chief also opined that Congress's failure to implement promises made during the assembly elections was the reason for Congress not winning seats as it claimed.

"Congress only promises but does not deliver," Kishan Reddy alleged.

He further said that in the coming days BJP will play a constructive opposition role in state. "We will make sure to target the Congress if it does not implement the promises in the state," he said. "For past four months the cadre worked hard despite the severe heat," Kishan stated.

21% BRS vote share shifts to saffron party in months

U.Sudhakarreddy @timesgroup.com



People greet Karimnagar Lok Sabha seat winner Bandi Sanjay Kumar during a victory rally on Tuesday

BJP office erupts in victory celebrations

Hyderabad: The BJP state unit office in Nampally was filled with jubilation as the party doubled its seat count compared to the 2019 parliamentary elections and also increased its vote share to 35%. Supporters and party workers converged in significant numbers to revel in the triumph achieved both in

the state and at Centre. The vicinity of the party office charged with excitement as the festivities intensified, despite the pouring rain. Party supporters immersed themselves in the jubilant atmosphere. Women supporters were swept up in the moment, dancing to the pulsating rhythm of the drums. TNN

vote has shifted to the BJP. The saffron party has no representation in local bodies. If the BRS fails in local body polls, then it will be a deathly blow.

He also said, "There is threat of a mass exodus of BRS leaders to other parties. BRS had no narrative in the Lok Sabha polls at the national level. It is neither part of

the NDA nor INDIA bloc. In these elections, parties that are not allied with NDA or INDIA lost the plot. People had no reason to vote for the BRS. In national elections, BJP normally gets more votes." In the 2019 parliamentary polls in Telangana, BJP received 19.45 per cent vote share, BRS got 41.3 per cent and Congress secured 17.6 per cent.

Political analyst Professor K Nageshwar said: "A drop of 21 per cent in vote share within months is a huge defeat for the BRS. The entire

Cong debutant Raghuram creates history

Wins Khammam LS Segment With 4.6L Vote Margin

Roushan.Ali@timesgroup.com

Hyderabad: Debutant Ramasahayam Raghuram Reddy of Congress created history by winning the Khammam seat with 4.67 lakh vote majority, which is the highest margin since the constituency came into being in 1952.

This margin is also the second highest after Nalgonda where another debutant, K Raghavveer Reddy, of Congress won by a majority of over 5.5 lakh votes. Telanga-

'HIGHEST MARGIN SINCE 1952'

- Raghuram, son of former MP R Surender Reddy, was fielded at last minute
- Move after three ministers from district sought Khammam ticket for kin
- Debutant Raghuram Reddy created history having won with 4.67L vote majority
- Highest margin since constituency came into being in 1952
- Margin also second highest after Nalgonda where another debutant, K Raghavveer Reddy, of Congress won by a majority of over 5.5L votes in Telangana
- Raghuram defeated BRS candidate Nama Nageswara Rao
- Rao had won the seat in 2019 & 2009 on BRS & TDP tickets respectively

high-profile constituency before Raghuram came into the picture. Raghuram, son of former MP R Surender Reddy

dy who is close to Gandhi family, was fielded at the last minute after three ministers from the district sought Khammam ticket for their family members.

Raghuram defeated his nearest rival Nama Nageswara Rao, who had won the seat in 2019 and 2009 on BRS and TDP tickets respectively. Ponguleti Srinivas Reddy won the seat in 2014 on a YSRCP ticket but joined BRS and later Congress before the Nov 2023 assembly elections.

Though Khammam was a stronghold of Congress, it has failed to win the seat in the last three general elections. Khammam is considered to be the seat of power for Kamma community in Te-

langana. The community enjoys considerable influence in district and there were apprehensions that giving a ticket to a candidate other than from Kamma community, particularly a Reddy, would lead to infighting and spell doom for Congress's prospects.

But the grand old party played its cards well and fielded Raghuram, with one of his two sons recently getting married to the daughter of actor Venkatesh. Another son of Raghuram is married to the daughter of Ponguleti. Both Venkatesh and his daughter campaigned and appealed to Kamma community to extend their support to Raghuram.

—

are located in north Telangana. In south Telangana seats of Mahabubnagar, Nalgonda and Chevella (erstwhile Rangareddy district), the saffron party secured Mahabubnagar and Chevella. BJP won from Mahabubnagar after 15 years. In 1999 Lok Sabha polls, AP Jithender Reddy bagged the seat on a BJP ticket. Later, it went into the hands of BRS. However, BJR could not open its account in Nalgonda.

Congress, which swept south Telangana in the 2023 assembly elections and proved its dominance in LS polls by winning Nalgonda, Yadadri and Nagarkurnool seats, could not get Mahabubnagar seat, which is home district of CMA Revanth Reddy.

In north Telangana, where the Congress managed to win some seats in the assembly elections in Karimnagar, Nizamabad and Adilabad, could

won only Warangal seat. In central Telangana, BJR bagged Medak, while Congress proved its mettle in Khammam. In north Telangana, which is considered as a bastion of BRS and nerve-centre of Telangana statehood movement, BRS did not open its account. Karimnagar seat, which was represented by BRS chief K Chandrasekhar Rao in 2004 and later in 2006, went in favour of BJP.

—

gar as well three of the four seats in Greater Hyderabad, AIMIM chief Asaduddin Owaisi secured an easy victory over his nearest rival K Madhavi Latha of the BJP who was a distant second.

In CM Revanth Reddy's home district of Mahabubnagar, it was a close contest between Congress and BJP which finally went the latter's way with a slender majority of 4,500 votes. The BRS led by K Chandrasekhar Rao was the biggest loser. After having lost power in the assembly polls last November, the party was left counting its losses again in LS polls.

From P1

Nalgonda recorded the highest victory margin in the two Telugu states, with Congress' debutant candidate K Raghavveer Reddy winning by over 5.5 lakh votes. In Khammam too Congress won big, registering the second highest majority (4.6 lakh) in the state.

On the other hand, the BJR made significant strides in north Telangana and Greater Hyderabad.

The saffron party won in Adilabad, Karimnagar, Medak, Nizamabad Mahabubna-

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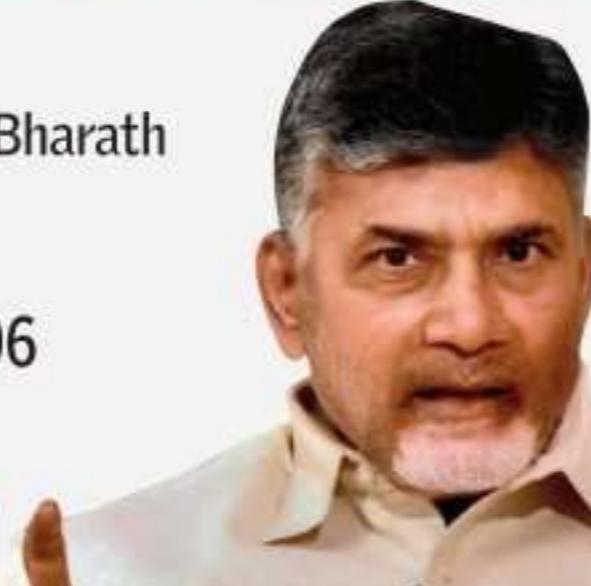
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PULIVENDLA
YS Jagan Mohan Reddy
YSRCP
BEAT
B.Tech Ravi
TDP
BY
61,687 VOTES



KUPPAM
Nara Chandrababu Naidu
TDP
BEAT
K R J Bharath
YSRCP
BY
48,006 VOTES



PITHAPURAM
Konidala Pawan Kalyan
JSP
BEAT
Vanga Geetha
Viswanath
YSRCP
BY
70,279 VOTES



MANGALAGIRI
Nara Lokesh
TDP
BEAT
Murugudu
Lavanya
YSRCP
BY
91,413 VOTES



HINDUPUR
Nandamuri Balakrishna
TDP
BEAT
Deepika T N
YSRCP
BY
32,597 VOTES



This Is The Biggest Ever Victory For TDP In 30 Years ■ YSRCP Manages To Win Just 11 Seats Out Of 175

NAIDU SET TO BE CM FOR 4TH TIME

Syed.Akbar@timesgroup.com

With an almost one-sided victory for TDP in the assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh, the results of which were declared on Tuesday, former chief minister and party national president N Chandrababu Naidu is all set to lead the state for a fourth time.

He will also become the first Telugu politician to take oath as chief minister for the fourth time, surpassing his father-in-law and TDP founder NT Rama Rao, who served as CM for three terms. Naidu also registered his eighth victory in Assembly polls from Kuppam, making him the senior-most politician in the state assembly. The election also saw another history in making – outgoing chief minister YS Jagan Mohan Reddy losing the status of leader of opposition in the new assembly as his YSRCP could not win the minimum 18 seats to get the status. It has to be content with just 10 seats.

Interestingly, the results of 2024 assembly polls virtually mirrored the outcome of the 2019 election, with the TDP now taking the position of YSRCP. The TDP and its alliance partners, BJP and Jana Sena, together now bagged 164 of the 175 assembly seats, leaving just 11 seats for YSRCP, which had won 151 seats in 2019. In the Lok Sabha polls too, the NDA, of which TDP is a partner, won 21 of the 25 Parliament seats in Andhra Pradesh, quite in contrast to 2019 general elections when YSRCP won 22 seats.

An analysis of the poll outcome in three different regions of the state, Rayalaseema, and south and north coastal Andhra, reveals that a silent anti-incumbency factor coupled with a shift in the traditional vote bank (Muslims, Christians and Dalits) of YSRCP resulted in the massive victory for the TDP-led alliance. Factors like the 'Super Six' promise of TDP, which includes free bus travel for women and increase in monthly pensions to the elderly and widows from Rs 3,000 to Rs 4,000, the alliance with Jana Sena and BJP, the padayatra by Nara Lokesh, and arrest of Naidu in the alleged skill development scam too worked in favour of TDP.

The near-inaccessibility of Jagan to even party MPs and MLAs, lack of development in major cities like Vijayawada, Visakhapatnam, Guntur, Rajahmundry, Kurnool, Kadapa and Anantapur, and over confidence of party leadership went against YSRCP. TDP never won such a massive electoral support in the last three decades. The only time the party came close to such a victory was in 1994 when NTR won 216 of 294 assembly seats.

Such was the endorsement of voters for the TDP this time that YSRCP lost all but two of its ministers – party president and chief minister Jagan and minister P Ramachandra Reddy. Incidentally, in 1994 the Congress, like the YSRCP this time, had lost the status of leader of opposition in the assembly. NTR was then sworn in as CM for the third time. With this massive victory, Naidu is taking charge as CM for the fourth time.

YSRCP, which was highly confident of victory banking on its welfare programmes, lost its base even in places considered its bastion, including Rayalaseema. That the Kapu vote bank stood solidly behind TDP, leaving YSRCP, is clearly evident from the outcome in undivided East and West Godavari districts, where Kapus are numerically strong. The assembly elections also saw the emergence of film actor-turned-politician Pawan Kalyan as a new political force. The party struggled for 10 years to stay afloat but this time it made it big at the hustings – both in the state assembly by winning 21 seats, and the Lok Sabha (two seats). In fact, Pawan lost from the two places he contested in 2019. This time, he not only won big, but also brought along with him 20 other MLAs.

BJP, which has negligible political base in AP, struck rich thanks to the alliance. The saffron party won seven assembly and three Lok Sabha seats.

However, it was a major setback for the Congress in the state. APCC president and Jagan's sister YS Sharmila, who made her political debut from Kadapa LS seat, lost the battle. As in 2014 and 2019 polls, the Congress failed to open its account in the state.

Naidu swearing-in likely on June 9

Srikanth.Aluri
@timesgroup.com

Vijayawada: TDP president N Chandrababu Naidu is set to become chief minister of Andhra Pradesh for the fourth time. The swearing-in ceremony is likely to be held on June 9. Though the venue is not yet decided, sources said the event will be held in capital Amaravati region.

Naidu is visiting Delhi on Wednesday to meet Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Sources said he will formally invite Modi for his swearing-in ceremony. Naidu and Pawan are likely to participate in NDA meeting also.

With the landslide victory, the TDP cadres across the state are jubilant and celebrations were seen everywhere. Vijayawada roads wore a deserted look in the morning but slowly became abuzz with TDP followers coming on to the streets as the counting trend emerged

in their favour. By evening, every road in the city was seen with youngsters zooming on bikes with TDP flags.

TDP chief N Chandrababu Naidu was greeted with cheers from thousands of party workers gathered at the central office. He paid tributes to the party founder N T Rama Rao. Later, Naidu went to Jana Sena party office near Mangalagiri to meet Pawan Kalyan. Both congratulated each other and had a discussion over the future course of action.

TDP national general secretary Nara Lokesh, who won with the third highest majority in the state, said that this is the victory of people. He dedicated his victory to the people of Mangalagiri where TDP did not win an election in the last 39 years.

Lokesh said that the win in Mangalagiri has increased his responsibility and he will work for the development of people.

Samdan.MN@timesgroup.com

Vijayawada: YSRCP supremo YS Jagan Mohan Reddy, addressing the media on Tuesday evening after the election results started trickling in, said he accepts people's mandate and would continue to work hard to protect the rights of the poor. "The results have come as a surprise. We did not expect this. We did only good to people, yet they want us to sit in the opposition. We humbly accept this verdict."

He said he is unable to understand why people voted against the YSRCP despite the welfare schemes implemented by his govt in the last five years. "We extended financial assistance to about 53 lakh women under Amma Vodi to send their wards to schools. We helped over 1.05 crore women sus-

tain their livelihood through YSR Asara and Cheytha schemes. We extended benefits under YSR Rythu Bharosa to about 54 lakh farmers. We tried to extend support to every section of the society, and initiated several schemes to ensure that the poor should survive and sustain. I fail to understand what happened to the love and affection shown by people to the party," Jagan added.

Stating that he treated the party manifesto as Bible, Bhagavad Gita, and Quran and fulfilled all promises made in the manifesto, Jag-

an said about 66 lakh elderly people backed his party in return for the services extended by his govt. "We took all schemes to the doorsteps of people by launching village/ward secretariats and volunteer system. We started our political journey by fighting against feudal forces and will continue to do so," he said.

He said he feels encouraged by the fact that YSRCP's vote share has remained at 40 percent, which shows that a large number of people are still with the party. "Sitting in the opposition is not new for YSRCP, nor is fighting for the people. We will continue to be with people and work for their upliftment," he added. He also congratulated TDP chief Chandrababu Naidu, Jana Sena chief Pawan Kalyan, and BJP for performing well in the elections in the state.

'Shelving Amaravati proved disastrous'

► From P1

'Hope that good relations prevail'

The YSRCP had failed to complete the Polavaram in the last five years. In fact, the YSRCP govt could not add even one brick to the project after coming to power in 2019.

Chandrababu Naidu also promised mega DSC for the unemployed youth and promised 20 lakh jobs in the first year. The mega DSC promise had won over the unemployed youth, who were angry that outgoing chief minister YS Jagan Mohan Reddy did not provide them jobs in five years.

Shelving Amaravati capital project also proved to be disastrous for the YSRCP as Jagan came up with three-capsitals plan. The farmers of Amaravati have been on protest for the past five years and they went around the state sharing their agony with the people.

Real estate sector, which is closely associated with Amaravati, also worked in favour of the TDP in the polls. People engaged in construction sector, including masons, workers and others played a key role to bring TDP back to power.

Besides Naidu and Pawan Kalyan, PM also addressed a clutch of meetings in state to drum up support for NDA candidates.

Results have come as a surprise, we didn't expect this, says Jagan

Samdan.MN@timesgroup.com

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NAGARI

R.K. Roja
YSRCP
LOST TO
Gali Bhunu
Prakash
TDP
BY
45,004 VOTES



MACHERLA

Pinnelli Ramakrishnareddy
YSRCP
LOST TO
J Brahmananda
Reddy
TDP
BY
33,318 VOTES



CHEEPURUPALLE

Botcha Satyanarayana
YSRCP
LOST TO
Kalavenkataraao
Kimidi
TDP
BY
11,971 VOTES



SATTENAPALLE

Ambati Rambabu
YSRCP
LOST TO
Kanna
Lakshminarayana
TDP
BY
27,836 VOTES



GUDIVADA

Kodali Sri Venkateswara Rao (Nani)
YSRCP
TRAILING TO
Venigandla Ramu
TDP
BY
52,000 VOTES



On The Losing Side

Hyd student missing in US traced

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Hyderabad: A 23-year-old Indian student Nitheesha Kandula who was reported missing in Los Angeles from May 28 has been located. Police chief John Gutierrez of California State University, San Bernardino police department has informed that she has been 'located and is safe'.

Nitheesha who hails from Hyderabad went to pursue her higher studies in California State University. She was last seen in Los Angeles on May 28 and a police complaint was lodged on May 30.

The police had put up a missing person's notice urging the public to inform them about her whereabouts if they had any information. The police, however, did not mention the details about when and where she had been located.

KARANJAL MUDRA अधिकारी जन स्वास्थ्य अधिकारीका विभाग क्षेत्र उत्तर

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NIT No. 01/24-25 UBN No PHE2425WSRC00984

DIPR/C/3856/2024

Bihar Legislative Assembly, Patna-800015

Tender No.- NIT-01/2024

TENDER NOTICE FOR PROVIDING HOUSE KEEPING AND FACILITY MANAGEMENT SERVICES

Sealed quotations are invited from ISO Certified Companies/Proprietary Firms / Partnership Firms having minimum three years of experience of providing housekeeping and facility management services in Govt. Organisation or Reputed Private Sector Companies / Organisation/ Autonomous Bodies, for providing housekeeping and Facility Management Services in the Bihar Legislative Assembly (BLA) Premises on contractual basis for a period of Two Years which may be extended further period on satisfactory performance. The Tender document i.e; terms and conditions of the tender along with the prescribed forms can be downloaded from BLA website www.vidhansabha.bih.nic.in. Complete tender documents with all enclosures and earnest money of Rs. 1,00,000/- (Rupees One lakh only) in the form of A/c payee Demand Draft/FDR / Bankers Cheque of any nationalised bank drawn in favour of "D D O Bihar Vidhan Sabha Patna". Payable at Patna (Refundable till the finalization and award of tender to one of the tenderer) pledged by the name of Secretary Bihar Legislative Assembly, Patna. One envelope containing technical bid and EMD & the other for financial bid & both the envelope should be sealed in third envelope marked as tender for House Keeping Services can be submitted on or before 01 July 2024 upto 03:00 P.M. Tenders received after the date given above will not be considered. Tenders will be opened on the same day i.e 01 July 2024 at 03:30 P.M. in the presence of tenderers, who wish to be present in that. If the date of opening of tender is declared a Gazetted Holiday, the same will be accepted and opened on the next working day at the same time.

The Bihar Legislative Assembly reserves the right to reject any or all the tenders without assigning any reason.

Raj Kumar
Secretary
Bihar Legislative Assembly
Patna-800015
Tel. No. 0612-2217840
www.vidhansabha.bih.nic.in

Bihar Legislative Assembly Secretariat, Patna-15**Notice Inviting Tender (NIT)**

NIT No.-2/2024

"Request for Proposal for Selection of Service Provider for conduct of examination process and related activities for Different posts in Bihar Legislative Assembly Secretariat, Patna"

1. Bihar Legislative Assembly Secretariat invites Request for Proposals (RFP) from qualified, experienced, reputed, competent and professional firms/agencies for "Design, Development, Customization, Implementation and Conduct of Computer Based Test or Offline Examination and related activities for Direct Recruitment of Different posts in Bihar Legislative Assembly Secretariat" as detailed in the "Scope of Work" section of this RFP document.
2. The detailed RFP document (along with the formats and templates) can be downloaded from <http://www.vidhansabha.bih.nic.in> from 05/06/2024. The downloaded RFP document shall be considered valid for participation in the bidding process subject to the submission of required EMD through Demand Draft in favour of "D D O Bihar Vidhan Sabha Patna" payable at Patna and must be submitted physically in the office of Secretary, Bihar Legislative Assembly, Patna-15 latest by 03/07/2024 till 15:00 Hrs. failing which the bid will be summarily rejected.
3. Bidder/Agencies are advised to study this RFP document carefully before submitting their proposals in response to the RFP Notice. Submission of a proposal in response to this notice shall be deemed to have been done after careful study and examination of this document with full understanding of its terms, conditions and implications.

Raj Kumar
Secretary,
Bihar Legislative Assembly Secretariat,
Patna, Bihar-800015



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during the period from 05-06-2024 to

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Tenders without assigning

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9326763328 of S P Auctions

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I, Chinta Sabita R/o Nainatal 1a, hill County Apartments, bachupally Rd, nizampet, hyderabad, telangana, 500090 have changed my minor daughter name from Sana Nooruddin to Chinta Jahnavi Reddy.

I, Chinta Sabita R/o Nainatal 1a, hill County Apartments, bachupally Rd, nizampet, hyderabad, telangana, 500090 have changed my minor daughter name from Sana Nooruddin to Chinta Jahnavi Reddy.

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Rahul: INDIA bloc to meet today, decide on approaching TDP, JD(U)

Ambika.Pandit@timesgroup.com

New Delhi: INDIA bloc members will meet on Wednesday and decide whether to approach former partners including JD(U) and TDP to attempt govt formation at Centre. Congress' Rahul Gandhi made it clear that there will be no unilateral decision on this. Indicating that "it is a very fine line" Gandhi said "whatever INDIA bloc will decide they will act on it."

"We are part of a coalition. We had told INDIA partners earlier that we will meet on June 5 and discuss this. Honestly, I don't have the answer to this question right now, but tomorrow I will," Rahul said in response to a question that even though NDA has the numbers to form govt, whether there are chances that INDIA alliance will attempt govt formation by reaching out to former allies like JD(U) and TDP. "We respect our alliance partners and are not going to make statements in press without asking them their opinion. It is a very fine line... so whatever INDIA bloc will decide we will act on that," Gandhi added.

Congress president Mallikarjun Kharge reiterated that

no decision on the issue can be taken "till we talk to our alliance partners and new partners who will be joining us. We will talk to them and see how we can make a majority." If I discuss all strategies here only, Modi ji will be alerted," Kharge added.

In what appeared to be an outreach to TDP from Congress, party's general secretary Jairam Ramesh in a tweet shared that Congress' "Nyay Patra" (manifesto) once again reiterates the promise of special category status for AP. "This was a promise made during the passage of AP Re-organisation Act, 2014, by Dr Manmohan Singh, who committed to it on the floor of Rajya Sabha in Feb 2014." Ramesh also highlighted that he had raised the issue of special category status for Andhra Pradesh in 2017 in Parliament. Highlighting the benefits of special status, Ramesh added "after loss of Hyderabad, these provisions could have helped lay the foundations for the state's continued prosperity, but 'Modi Sarkar' betrayed people of the state for ten years. Congress is determined to right this wrong, and help secure AP's economic future."

Indore creates record, punches nearly 2.2 lakh NOTA votes

Sagar Choukse & Amarjeet Singh / TNN

Indore/Bhopal: No-choice turned out to be Indore's second choice in a one-sided fight. NOTA polled a record 2.18 lakh votes in Madhya Pradesh's commercial capital in an election where a last-minute switch to BJP by the Congress candidate left the saffron camp without a challenger.

Prior to this, the highest NOTA count in the country was 51,660 votes in Bihar's Gopalganj in 2019, followed by Bihar's West Champaran (45,699) and Nilgiris in Tamil Nadu (46,559) in 2014.

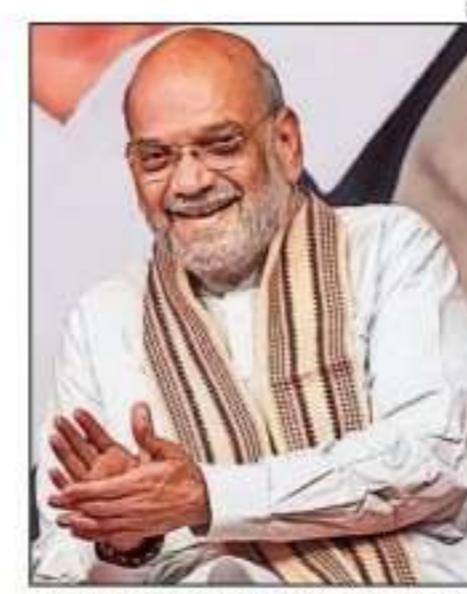
In Indore, NOTA accounted for 14% of all votes cast, turning out to be a bigger talking point than sitting MP Shankar Lalwani's victory by 11,7akh votes—the highest in MP this time. In 2019, NOTA got only 5,045 votes.

After the 'betrayal' by its candidate left Congress unrepresented in Indore for the first time ever, the opposition party canvassed for NOTA as the alternative to BJP. NOTA became the talk of the town, and senior BJP functionaries started slamming Congress for promoting it. BJP ran a counter-campaign, urging Indore voters not to "waste their vote".

Shah wins with 7.4L margin in Gujarat

Defeats His Congress Rival Sonal Patel

TIMES NEWS NETWORK



Amit Shah at BJP headquarters in New Delhi on Tuesday

Cong savours its sole victory in Guj

Prajwal fails, but Gowdas retain their Vokkaliga base

TEAM TOI

Bengaluru: In what can be considered retention of Vokkaliga support despite all odds, former PM HD Deve Gowda-led Janata Dal(S) won two of three Lok Sabha seats it contested in alliance with BJP.

JDS' state chief HD Kumaraswamy defeated Congress' Venkataaramane Gowda from Mandya by 2.8 lakh votes, avenging his son's defeat in 2019.

said a JD(S) functionary. The victories are likely to boost morale of the party hit by its drubbing in last year's assembly elections. Prajwal Revanna's alleged sex scandal, and efforts by Congress to split the party, a source said.

Meanwhile, Prajwal, jailed in sex scandal case, failed to retain the family's bastion of Hassan after three decades. Deve Gowda had sacrificed the seat for Prajwal in 2019. Party sources claimed Prajwal too would have won if local BJP leaders supported him. "Our party did ensure transfer of our votes to BJP in seats like Tumkur, Chikkaballapur and Mysuru. But in Hassan, they did not do so," said a JD(S) source.

NEET-UG: 67 candidates emerge joint toppers

Manash.Gohain

@timesgroup.com

New Delhi: A record 67 candidates were joint toppers with a perfect score of 720 in this year's NEET-UG exams to get admitted to undergraduate medical courses. The toppers include 53 male candidates, of which 16 are from OBC (non-creamy layer) category, five from economical-

ly weaker general section, and two from SC category. The number of female toppers stood at 14.

The competition got tougher this year with higher cut-offs across categories—13.2 lakh candidates qualified this year, compared to 11.4 lakh in 2023. The number of candidates who appeared for the test also increased significantly from 20.4 lakh in 2023 to 23.3 lakh this year. For the 15% all-India quota seats, NTA in a statement said, "DGHS will conduct counselling for 15% all-India quota seats, deemed universities, central universities, seats of ESIC and AFMC, BHU and AMU. Candidates may visit the website www.mcc.nic.in for further information."

2 held for acting as middlemen between father and doctors

Pune: The crime branch on Tuesday arrested two men, who allegedly facilitated contact between the father of the underage driver in the Porsche Taycan crash and the two arrested doctors of Sassoon General Hospital in Pune. Police said the duo handed over Rs 3 lakh cash for swapping the teen's blood sample to manipulate the test result, reports Gitesh Shelke.

PORSCHE CRASH

Police identified the two men as Ashfaque Basha Makandar, 36, and Amar Santosh Gaikwad, 27, both of whom, they said, undertook liaisoning work with govt and local self-govt officials on behalf of builders and a politician. A crime branch team on Tuesday produced them before a city court, which ordered their remand in police custody till June 10.

A police officer said, "We are ascertaining the spot where the handover of cash was done."

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Please note that pursuant to the approval of the Income Tax Department, the Trustees have resolved to implement the following amendment to the Trust Rules w.e.f. 30.06.2024, namely:

"Payment/credit of interest on member's balances only for a period of up to three months from the date of separation/superannuation."

No interest will accrue on the Superannuation Fund accumulations remaining un-withdrawn thereafter.

In view of the above position, we request you to kindly withdraw your Superannuation Fund accumulations or, if you choose, transfer the same to National Pension Scheme.

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a. Phone : 020 - 66132821; or
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For Tata Motors Limited Superannuation Fund

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No. 75/Paper Publication/ Fab Dated : 03/06/2024. The following corrigendum has been carried out in respect of the Tender No 75/24/5036 scheduled to be opened on 03/06/2024, SL NO:[01] Particulars: TOD: Tender No.: 75/24/5036, Opening Date: From: 03/06/2024, To: 07/06/2024, Qty.: 100 Nos, PR2-450 SMM/ML/CLW/Chittaranjan Like us on: www.facebook.com/clwrailways

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Tender Notice No: PCMM/CLW/HWH/E-Procurement/24/33 Dated: 31.05.2024, PCMM/CLW/HWH on behalf of the President of India invites electronic bids from established reliable manufacturer for supply of the followings. The following E-Tender/s/are for supply of materials for manufacture of Electric Locomotive. The Prospective/likely suppliers are requested to look up the website www.ireps.gov.in for detailed instructions. These are E-Tenders. Only electronic offer bids shall be accepted. SI No.: Tender No.; Description of Stores; Quantity: Due On: Tender Cost are as follows: [162]; 25245010A: Supply installation and commissioning of INDUCTION HEATER 40KVA (along with additional five sets of magnetic temperature probe with cable and socket) As Per CLW Specification No. CLW/TM/23-24/010 Dated 14/05/24, HSN Code: 85142000; As Per Tender Document: 24.06.2024; ₹ 0.00. [163]; 14243002; 1. LED Corridor Light Per RDSO Spec. No. RDSO/PE/SPEC/TL/0091-2016 (REV.1), TYPE-L, DRG. NO. LW7690 Alt. 'B' and Bracket Fitment in Locomotive As Per DRG. NO. CLW/ES/3-SK-1/0673; 2. LED Corridor Light Per RDSO Spec. No. RDSO/PE/SPEC/TL/0091-2016 (REV.1), TYPE-F2, DRG. NO. LW7690 Alt. 'A' and Housing Assembly of LED Type Driver's Desk & Assistant Driver's Desk Illumination As Per DRG. NO. CLW/ES/3-SK-1/0672/A; As Per Tender Document: 09.07.2024; ₹ 0.00. [164]; 14243004; LED Type Driver's Desk & Assistant Driver's Desk Illumination As Per RDSO Specification No. RDSO/PE/SPEC/TL/0091-2016 (REV.1), TYPE-F2, DRG. NO. LW7690 Alt. 'A' and Housing Assembly of LED Type Driver's Desk & Assistant Driver's Desk Illumination As Per DRG. NO. CLW/ES/3-SK-1/0672/A; As Per Tender Document: 12.07.2024; ₹ 0.00. [165]; 14242984; 1. Panograph Mounting Insulator As Per CLW Spec. No. CLW/ES/ACI-1/K and DRG. NO. CLW/ES/ACI-1/K, 2. Roof Line Insulator As Per CLW Spec. No. CLW/ES/ACI-1/K and DRG. NO. CLW/ES/ACI-2/K; As Per Tender Document: 11.07.2024; ₹ 0.00. [166]; 14242991; Surge Arrester For Current Transformer As Per Schedule of Requirement (Attached); As Per Tender Document: 03.07.2024; ₹ 0.00. PR8/448 PCMM/CLW/HWH Like us on: www.facebook.com/clwrailways

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For further details related to tender document eligibility criteria and the complete details for the above work please contact office of the chief administrative Officer/Con/ S.E.C.R./bilaspur - Pin- 495004 or CPM/S.E.C. Railway/Con/Bilaspur Pin-495004 refer our website www.ireps.gov.in

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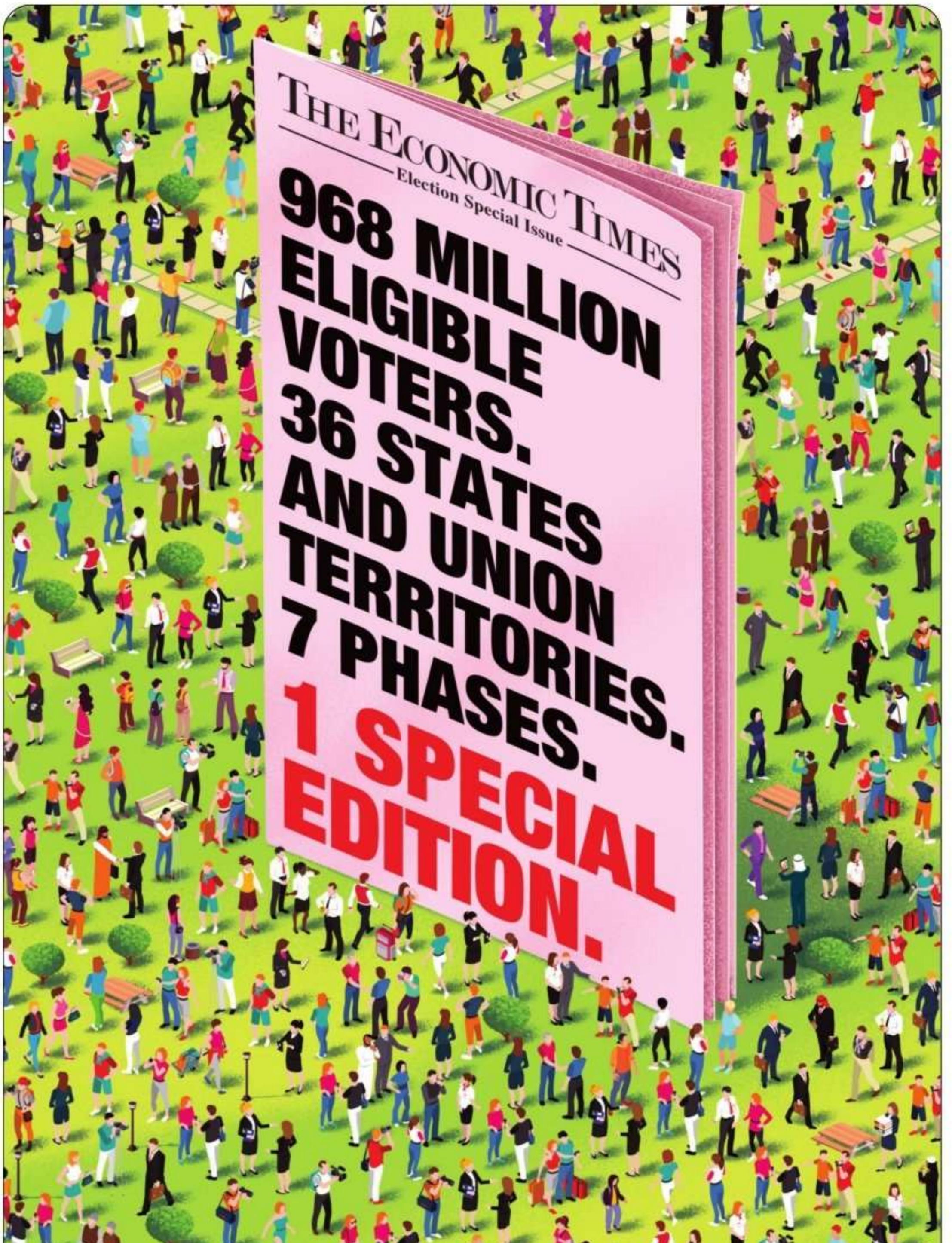
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THE ECONOMIC TIMES | POLL CALL 2024

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Coalition Era Is Here Again

BJP-led NDA is all set to form the next govt. But INDIA bloc has made a mark

India's voters can't be taken for granted. An election where the outcome was widely held to be a foregone conclusion, has given a result with many surprises, overturning many assumptions. None of the takeaways is brand new to Indian politics. But they were quite unexpected in 2024.

End of exceptionalism | After a decade of single-party dominance, which led to successive majority verdicts in elections characterised by a pan-India theme, LS 2024 reverted to an earlier pattern. There wasn't a single overriding issue that animated the electorate. Neither did candidates fade into near-relevance in a presidential type of contest. In that sense, LS polls went back to being normal and should lead to the restoration of democracy's checks and balances.

Coalitions and allies matter | This is a natural extension of a return to the old way. Smartly constructed alliances worked well for both BJP and Congress. The best examples for both parties were AP and UP, respectively. Conversely, avoiding an alliance with BJD in Odisha helped BJP cross a frontier in the state.

For the first time since 2009, a new govt will be a coalition. Unlike the last two occasions, allies cannot be brushed aside. They will have a say in critical decisions. Managing inconsistent demands among allies will be a skill that will have to take centre stage again. Therefore, we are now unlikely to see hugely disruptive decisions introduced at short notice. But that doesn't preclude the likelihood of reforms, as coalition govt's earlier have carried out significant changes.

Messaging and reality need to be in sync | A look back at BJP's campaign shows that the stated target of exceeding 400 seats didn't age well. Not only did it smack of taking the electorate for granted, but it may have also introduced a sense of complacency. Moreover, it provided opposition a tactical opening to stoke anxieties about the Constitution and reservation. Congress and its alliance parties will be cock-a-hoop, having finally broken the jinx of the last decade and scoring wins in many parts of north and west India, including Haryana, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and UP. Mamata Banerjee's TMC has delivered a huge defeat to BJP in Bengal. AAP will be less thrilled, having had to cede seats to its 'ally' Congress in Punjab. A resurgent SP will emerge as a big challenger to BJP in UP, posing problems for the double-engine sarkar.

Consolation prizes for BJP came from Telangana and Odisha. Seat gains in Andhra Pradesh were largely because it made the right decision to ally with TDP and

The messaging was also out of touch with ground reality. GOI's jobs data shows that the benefits of high GDP growth have simply not percolated down. When Modi and BJP talked up their performance, it was out of sync with what the electorate was experiencing. If there's a lesson here, it's that the messaging needs to be close to ground reality. More so when there's no overriding emotive theme.

INDIA's tactical shrewdness | This was a coalition that seemed to be falling apart in the months leading up to the election. When one of its catalysts, Nitish, suddenly switched over to NDA, it seemed to symbolise the fragility of INDIA. It didn't help that in Bengal TMC chose to go it alone.

Notwithstanding early setbacks, INDIA played its cards well. In UP it defied all odds. A state that was regarded as BJP's trump card turned out to be its weakness. That was the case in Maharashtra too, giving INDIA a huge boost in the two largest states. In both states, the alliance played a tactically smart game. It sidestepped BJP's strength – Modi's popularity – and stuck to local issues. As the campaign progressed, it began to have a more pronounced effect, and eastern UP turned in big gains for SP.

Welfare and jobs | Welfare packages are now fairly standardised across political parties. Cash transfers to women, concessions on electricity consumption and subsidised or even free cereals are common to most manifesto and state govt's. One takeaway from this election is that welfare packages, on their own, do not deliver. One example is AP where YSRCP received a drubbing in assembly and LS elections despite generous welfare measures. Even GOI had an extensive welfare package, underpinned by free cereals since 2020.

Voters have clearly indicated that jobs and economic aspirations matter. India's macroeconomic parameters are sound, and its economy is growing fast. However, unless this translates into greater opportunity for a burgeoning youth population and a belief that upward mobility is within grasp, a party in govt is in trouble. The economic message from the results is that jobs matter.

Back To Practical Hinduism

Just as pundits settled into the comfort of magical thinking – faith in Modi's charisma and grand national narratives – India's voters are giving us a lesson in political realism. While the digital classes in Delhi and Bengaluru cheered the moon landing and the G20 summit, and the magnates in Gujarat celebrated the temple in Ayodhya, other matters have been on the minds of people in deep India.

India's swelling GDP and its new status as the world's fifth largest economy have been closely tracked by soaring unemployment, which has risen from 3.2% to 7.6% since 2013. This contrast reflects the gulf between the benefits of Modi's economics for the rich and the poor.

India's banks are no longer crippled by bankrupt billionaires, foreign investment has acquired confidence. While physical and digital infra, from airports to the digitisation of money, have expanded, life choices of the country's poorest and most vulnerable have shrunk. Crores of India's farmers and migrant workers have been left behind.

Lakhs of India's small and tiny, often grey-market, businesses that run day-to-day India and form the country's economic backbone, are still recovering from demonetisation and GST policies. The small-enterprise sector

has shrunk to 19% of India's GDP, from 27.5% pre-Modi. While inflation soars, there has hardly been any growth in real wages since 2014 and the share of educated young people among the unemployed rose from 54.2% to 65.7% over the two Covid years.

Manufacturing growth is painstakingly slow, agri profits have fallen precipitously, private consumption expenditure descended to a two-decade low, while household debt rose to an all-time high. According to World Inequality Database, India's economic inequality is worse than it has been in a century.

While pundits brooded over political messaging and national ideologies, predicting a Modi-4-eva govt, voters in the fields and on the streets were rethinking their loyalties. Modi rode high on hope with two wildcards he received in the previous elections. This year, he was judged less on his promises than on what he has already done.

The verdict does not only damn Modinomics, it drastically cuts his image to size. Ensnioned in a bubble of media pundits, political technologists and sycophants, critics say the PM has become an auto-devotee, believing himself divinely ordained to lead single-handedly the new Bharat. Ignoring local leaders, failing to reward veteran party workers and sidelining

RSS have cost the party dozens of seats. Seats won in UP, Kerala, Odisha and Rajasthan went to known and trusted community leaders, not Modi's envoys.

Modi's polarising comments, arguably made when he realised this election will not be an easy ride, may have backfired, leaving many Hindus unimpressed. "India does not need to talk of Hindus and Muslims," says a *chaiwallah* in Jaipur, "We need roads and jobs."

In a survey conducted across Indian cities, 35% of BJP supporters said they had no interest in Ayodhya. Even the middle-class

Hindu women, who, as the keepers of faith, are more susceptible to Hindu nationalism, joined the party mostly through economic self-help groups, not theological associations.

Once again, India rejected totalising, abstract national ideologies, proving its politics to be as local, pragmatic and pluralistic as the Hinduism actually practised by most. Its political judgments have proven more agile and self-possessed than any sitting-room analyst's.



ANASTASIA PILAVSKY

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Lok Sabha results show caste retains its salience in north Indian politics – but in new, unpredictable ways. Before examining what's new, a look at what lingers from the past. One, dominant castes of north India continue to strongly prefer BJP, which remains a Brahmin-Bania party at the core.

Second, peasant groups in UP and Bihar still prefer regional OBC-led parties. Third, Dalit voters continue to be split between the incumbent in New Delhi and small regional parties.

But beyond these, much has changed.

BJP has shown over the past decade that it can create broad-based caste coalitions threatening together the top, middle, and bottom of Hindu society. Rajputs and Jats and OBC-SC/ST voters endorsed Modi

This was more than social engineering. Long-standing blocs of *jatis* could be disaggregated, and recombinant into successful electoral coalitions. Both winners and losers in electoral politics would receive the same spoils of state welfare as the

laborthari (beneficiaries). As India experimented with universal welfare, more and more *jatis* could be enticed onto the merry-go-round.

But if BJP could do it, so could opposition. In UP, particularly in its central and eastern flanks, SP abandoned its focus on Yadavs and Muslims, to award seats to Dalits according to its PDA – *pichda* (backward), Dalit, *alpansankhya* (minority) – strategy. Many Jatavs, Mayawati's supporters for over three decades, credibly believed a 'danger to the Constitution' obliged them to vote against BJP. As a result, SP drew a blank even in western UP.

Anti-BJP votes consolidated behind INDIA parties. Just as a broad neo-Hindutva coalition worked for BJP, a new socialism (*samajwad*) rooted in the messy everyday realities of caste and class spelt success for the SP-led INDIA coalition in UP.

In Bihar, alliances of middle and lower castes have kept Lalu and Nitish in power since 1990. Yet the BJP-JDU coalition signalled a new trend: Brahmins, Bhumihars, and Rajputs could, after decades, band with Kurmis, Koeris, and Kushwahas. With Paswan's LJP joining NDA, a significant proportion of SC voters consolidated behind the neo-Hindu coalition.

In practice, this is a shifting social kaleidoscope more than a coalition –

when the wily Nitish left NDA to join hands with RJD and Congress in the state, a caste census and a new welfare drive emerged. Every time he returned to NDA, predictably before national elections, he ensured BJP voters rallied behind JDU candidates, and boosted his party's tally in Parliament.

In Bihar, RJD will learn from SP's successes in UP. With state elections next year, Tejashwi will look to woo Dalits and non-Yadav OBCs, who may have voted NDA this time. But for now, RJD and its allies have fared poorly. JDU

has recorded its best LS performance since 2009, emerging as Bihar's single-largest party.

But if Nitish now rejoins INDIA, he can end his political career with a top position in Delhi, leaving next year's assembly elections as a tantalising bipolar contest between BJP and RJD.

Universal welfare being the new normal in India, savvy voters are choosing carefully between coalitions of Hindutva and *samajwad*, that offer new public goods. The underserved citizens of India's northern heartland stand to gain after decades of neglect. Each alliance will woo citizens with higher bids in exchange for votes. A world of possibility lies ahead as the north seeks to catch up with the south.

New Reality For Modi Sarkar: Play Nice

Lok Sabha elections have given BJP-led NDA a weak mandate to govern. BJP has received its biggest jolt since 2014, having been humbled in its bastion of UP and many other sub-regions of west and north India. It no longer has a majority of its own, brought down by its own hubris. Gains elsewhere were not enough to compensate for the losses in its strongholds.

The second big losers are the exit pollsters, who clearly suffered from confirmation biases and got their numbers badly wrong. In particular, their projections in UP, Maharashtra and Bengal were way off the mark. The other losers are candidates who did not belong to either BJP or opposition alliances. Gains made by INDIA bloc came not just at the cost of BJP but also third party candidates. India has become a two-front polity once more, as it was between 1998 and 2014, even though BJP has expanded its core vote base under Modi.

But the big reality is reputational damage done to Modi. In a party used to giving him all credit for victories in the past, BJP's inability to even get a simple majority of its own cannot but weaken him politically, both inside his own party and in NDA. He cannot now govern with a PMO-centred decision-making apparatus. Of course, there is a chance that many new MPs (and smaller parties) can be enticed into BJP to give it more comfortable numbers in Parliament, but these numbers will be unstable.

Congress and its alliance parties will be cock-a-hoop, having finally broken the jinx of the last decade and scoring wins in many parts of north and west India, including Haryana, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and UP. Mamata Banerjee's TMC has delivered a huge defeat to BJP in Bengal. AAP will be less thrilled, having had to cede seats to its 'ally' Congress in Punjab. A resurgent SP will emerge as a big challenger to BJP in UP, posing problems for the double-engine sarkar.

Consolation prizes for BJP came from Telangana and Odisha. Seat gains in Andhra Pradesh were largely because it made the right decision to ally with TDP and

Jana Sena, while mere vote share gains in Kerala and Tamil Nadu suggest that it is still not quite among the top contenders there.

Clearly, BJP was too cocky, but it also made huge errors of commission. While it was quick to grab allies, even by splitting parties, the only ally who won big was Naidu in Andhra along with Jana Sena. It is worth noting that, till the last moment, BJP was hesitant to join this alliance. As for the parties it broke – Shiv Sena and NCP in Maharashtra – this has dented BJP's own credibility. Clearly, electorate is not amused by *toad-phod* politics.

The defining trend in this general election, both at Parliament and assembly levels, seems to be anti-incumbency. BJP correctly anticipated that it would need allies this time, but it was too cocksure and took many voter blocs, including the beneficiaries of its welfare schemes, for granted. Incumbents in Odisha and Andhra Pradesh too assumed that they were unbeatable, and here it was BJP and its allies who benefited.

The humbling of BJP in its core areas of strength means that in his third term, Modi will have to adjust to the reality of coalition politics. Both Naidu and Nitish will need to be kept in good humour, and major legislative changes cannot be done without a wider consensus not only among allies, but also among opposition. We can forget about One Nation One Poll, Uniform Civil Code and big-ticket economic reforms. Opposition will now be less likely to play dead, both in Parliament and in states.

The lessons BJP needs to learn are many.

First, it is wrong to assume that just because Modi is popular, he will always carry the day. India is too diverse and an average voter too independent to allow anyone to rest on his laurels. Every leader, every party

has to work hard, and even then victory is not assured. Second, BJP has to build more local leaders, and the decision to sideline someone like Vasundhara Raje in Rajasthan surely cost it big. While UP results suggest that Yogi Adityanath also needs to introspect, many party insiders believe that Yogi may have been circumscribed by higher powers in Delhi who see his rise as a threat to their own standing post-Modi.

Third, events like the Ram Mandir *pran pratistha* can help the party in a limited way among core voters, but for the wider electorate, bread-and-butter issues matter more. We cannot at this point estimate whether the lack of freebies from BJP – unlike Congress, which has promised the moon to youth and women – cost it many votes. Free ration of 5kg rice clearly was not enough. Jobs may have mattered more this time. In contrast, in 2019, when BJP was uncertain about victory, it made concessions to taxpayers and farmers just before the elections. This time, the party assumed that Modi's guarantee alone would be enough. It wasn't.

Fourth, party has to introspect on whether it can afford to base electoral calculations only on a consolidation of Hindu vote. This time, Muslims seem to have fully backed any party capable of beating BJP, and the Hindu counter-consolidation was not strong.

For Congress, the lessons are positive. Its stubborn opposition to BJP has finally paid dividends, and both Rahul Gandhi and his allies, mainly in UP, have reasons to rejoice. Additionally, the old strategy of relying heavily on minority votes and dividing the majority community with sharply targeted welfare schemes has worked this time. But Congress does owe an apology for the kind of calumny it heaped on EC.

Overall, this election proves once more that most elections are won in the states, and not nationally.



R JAGANNATHAN

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Voted Down: Growth With Inequality

High on the list of consequences of BJP returning to being dependent on a coalition, rather than having a majority of its own, would be the pressures on the economic front.

Ever since the liberalisation of the 1990s, conventional wisdom has been that economic policy needs to focus entirely on growth. Economists associated with govt have often explicitly argued that inequality does not matter as long as there is sufficient growth to take the poor above the poverty line. The 2024 general election results provide the first concrete challenge to that view.

The idea that high growth would provide the resources to take care of the interests of those at the base of the pyramid did not begin with BJP govt. It gathered momentum with the decision of UPA I to launch the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee scheme. BJP provided further impetus to this approach by using the revenue from unequal growth to provide free food and other welfare measures.

This approach did bring an increasing share of Indians above the poverty line defined by economists, but the poverty line in the minds of the poor began to change. As the country celebrated extremely high levels of consumption, it raised the aspirations of those at the bottom of the pyramid.

Rahul Gandhi, in his first successful political initiative, spotted the dissatisfaction with the measures that merely raised the poor above the poverty line. The guarantees of Congress went far beyond tackling absolute poverty. He not only promised higher cash transfers, but

in states like Karnataka, the idea of free bus travel for women dramatically altered their relationship with the world outside their homes.

The promises of INDIA have not been enough to remove PM Modi and his politics of majority dominance at home and Indian dominance of the world, but the performance of the alliance suggests that the rising aspirations of the poor can no longer be easily brushed aside.

The next BJP govt will be under pressure to, if not match some of the cash transfers that INDIA promised, at least make economic policy more sensitive to inequality.

To begin with, the dependence on regional party allies could well result in regional inequality gaining more attention than it has had in decades.

The growth-with-inequality strategy led to the creation of a few metropolises that were too expensive to house less skilled labour and their families.

This resulted in the workers being forced to migrate for short-term assignments in the city while keeping their families in their villages. Their efforts to earn in cities so that they could spend in villages took a toll on their health and family lives. This cost was accepted as the earnings from the city changed their status in the village. Once their status changed, though, they wanted jobs closer to their homes. Unemployment became an issue that affected their votes.

Addressing the unemployment challenge has been made more difficult by the political narrative that emerged from the growth-with-inequality strategy. The welfare measures it used to offset the political costs of the strategy created their own narrative. These measures were seen as an individual's right, which had to be protected by govt. The impression was thus easily created that the jobs that were being promised would be govt jobs.

The expectation of govt jobs may well encourage regional allies to

More Wealth For More Indians

Sensex is up more than 5 times since mid-2009 and 3 times since May 2014, indicating that stock markets have created large and sustained wealth in the past decade-and-a-half. Average gains were highest in the last five years, and middle-class participation in the market also increased the most since 2019.



Money Managers See Policy Continuity With Economic Reforms, Capex & Infra Spending Despite NDA's Narrow Victory

Shock Exchange: Bulls Have Bears To Cross On D-St

Inflated stock valuations get reality check

Adani mcap dives ₹3.6L cr a day after hitting 16-mth high

TEAM TOI

Mumbai: Indian fund managers want the current pace of economic reforms and pro-industry policies to continue under the incoming govt.

Most believe that even though the BJP-led alliance now has a depleted mandate, it would continue the works and projects launched under the outgoing govt. This is despite the nervousness that gripped investors after the Lok Sabha poll results came out on Tuesday.

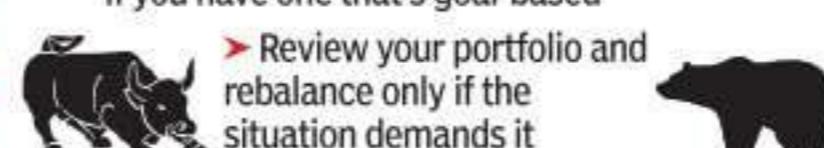
Money managers also believe that the poll mandate that is being perceived as disappointing for the ruling alliance but a great morale booster for the opposition could rein in the raging bull market in India and make valuations more rational. "The election result is likely to lead to a more balan-

Market Mood Swings Overnight

June 3	June 4
After Exit Polls	(% change)
9 SBI	-14
6 L&T	-13
4 Tata Steel	-9
6 Reliance	-8
3 HDFC Bank	-6

...What Should Investors Do

- Avoid taking impulsive decisions amid elevated volatility in the market
- There's a high chance govt policies will continue and the market will stabilise
- Don't deviate or alter your investment plan if you have one that's goal-based
- Review your portfolio and rebalance only if the situation demands it



rect investments into the country, private capex, continuation of govt capex and better infrastructure, both social and physical," said Anand Shah, CIO for PMS & AI Investments, ICICI Prudential AMC.

Fund managers believe that with India in a sweet spot in terms of macroeconomic fundamentals, any improvement at the global level — like improving macro fundamentals for the Chinese economy and rate cuts in the US — could act as tailwinds for the domestic economy.

The Budget for FY25 would be one of the deciding factors for the economy and the markets. "Any moderation in the capital spending outlook (in the Budget) in favour of consumption support can further drive sectoral preferences going forward," Singh of Tata MF said.

TEAM TOI

Mumbai: Investors in Adani Group companies were left poorer by Rs 3.6 lakh crore on Tuesday as stock prices of all 11 companies crashed on the back of a depleted mandate for the BJP-led NDA coalition.

Opposition parties have alleged that Adani Group has benefited the most since PM Modi assumed office in May 2014. Investors believe that a weaker mandate for NDA may lead to the group losing an edge. At the same time, the group would be under stricter scrutiny of a stronger opposition. These factors weighed on Adani Group stocks in Tuesday's crashing market, dealers said.

During the day, as stock prices of Adani Group companies crashed, the group's combined market capitalisation fell from Rs 19.4 lakh crore on Monday to Rs 15.8 lakh crore, BSE data showed. Group flagship Adani Enterprises led the slump. As

Adani Ports Leads Rout, Crashes 21%

June 3	% change	June 4
10.2	Adani Ports	-21.3
8.8	Adani Energy	-20
6.9	Adani Ent	-19.4
6.4	Adani Green	-19.2
7.8	Adani Total Gas	-18.9
6.1	NDTV	-18.5
15.6	Adani Power	-17.3
5.7	Ambuja	-16.9
5.2	ACC	-14.7
3.5	Adani Wilmar	-10
3.1	Sanghi	-8.6

the stock crashed 19%, its market cap eroded by Rs 80,416 crore. Adani Ports — the group company that will soon be a part of the sensex — lost a fifth of its market value, or nearly Rs 72,800 crore to its current level of Rs 2.7 lakh crore, BSE data showed.

It was on Monday, boosted by strong exit poll projections for the BJP-led govt, that the group's market cap had breached its pre-Hindenburg report level to hit a 16-month high. Investors are now nervous about the prospects of the group's companies, dealers said.

Fear factor: India VIX jumps 50% to 2-year high

► From P1

TEAM TOI

After some late buying, the index closed at 72,079 points, still down 4,390 points or 5.7% — the biggest single-session loss in its history (in points). Nifty lost 1,379 points or 5.9% to close at 21,884 points.

At one point during the day's session, Nifty was just about 150 points off hitting the 10% lower circuit level, which would

PSUs Lose Most

Top Sensex Losers On Tuesday (%)
-16 NTPC
-14 SBI
-12 Power Grid
PSU Banks Worst-Hit Sector
(% change in Nifty indices)
-15 PSU Bank
-12 Oil & Gas
-11 Metal

have stopped trading across all bourses for at least an hour. The day's market crash left investors poorer by Rs 31 lakh crore, with BSE's market capitalisation now at Rs 401.2 lakh crore, translating to \$4.8 trillion.

Among the sensex stocks, only three — HUL, Nestle and TCS — closed higher while the other 27 constituents closed in the red. PSU stocks, which have seen a stellar run during the last two years mainly on the back of pro-sector policies of govt, crashed. Among the maharashtra companies, NTPC crashed 15.5% and Powergrid Corp lost 12.4%, while SBI fell 14.4% down. As a result, BSE's PSU index closed 15.7% down, BSE data showed.

During Tuesday's session, India VIX, the measure of volatility, spiked nearly 50%, touching an over two-year high at 31.7 points and finally settling at 26.75, NSE data showed.

short term as political clarity emerges. Going forward, it is back to global cues for the forex market... the rupee should trade within a range of 83 to 84 against the dollar," said Ashish Vaidya, head of treasury, DBS Bank. "The India story is still intact. It is not getting derailed and hence, the rupee should remain well-managed and within a range," he added.

Dealers said that the rupee hit an intra-day low of 83.65, but dollar sales by public sector banks — ostensibly at the best of RBI — led to a marginal recovery in the exchange rate.

seen a huge run-up amid recent volatility, volatility in the forex market has been extremely low... it may rise in the

'Govt Should Focus On Mfg & Skilling'

We have to focus on high-value exports from manufacturing. Make laws more business-friendly... We should also increase supply of skilled workforce. We are way behind other developed economies including China in skill-building. We should bring more reforms to improve ease of doing business

Venu Srinivasan | CHAIRMAN EMERITUS, TVS MOTOR CO

"We must accelerate transition to green energy. This will reduce the cost of energy and import burden. India should be the AI & computer hub of the world by leveraging its data, population and talent... Must integrate into future global supply chains

Bhavish Aggarwal | FOUNDER, OLA

We must pursue higher growth that is environmentally sustainable, socially equitable & inclusive. Maintaining momentum in digital and physical infra, upgrading social infra (healthcare, education & skill-building) can make India the world's leading 'factory, farm & front-office'

Navneet Munot | MD & CEO, HDFC AMC

now. "Amidst general elections, the primary market remained vibrant with the solid response to certain IPOs like Awfis Space Solutions. Confidence can be gauged by these offerings that have been launched amidst elections... Looking ahead, the market is set to witness a flurry of IPOs, from new-age business as well as from conventional business segments," said Mahavir Lunawat, MD at investment bank Pantomont Capital Advisors.

Several companies such as Hyundai Motor India, Tata Capital, Ola Electric Mobility, and Swiggy, and NSDL are looking at launching their IPOs.

Where We Stand Now...



Foreign funds to sit on fence for now

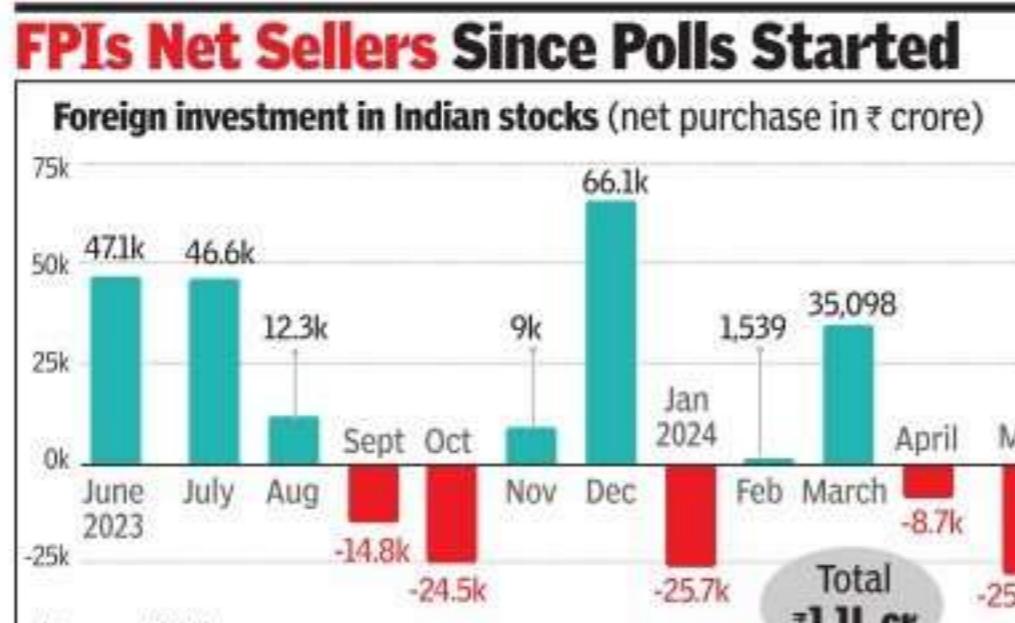
IPO wave in India has no reason to stop, say analysts

TEAM TOI

Mumbai: India, which has emerged as the second-largest IPO market on the world league table, has raised \$4 billion so far this year. With NDA returning to form the next govt, hopes of policy continuity should extend the IPO boom throughout the rest of 2024.

The \$4 billion raised by India is about 45% less than what it collected in all of 2023, LSEG data shows, but outperforms China (\$3 billion) and Saudi Arabia (\$2.1 billion). The number is also higher than the combined amount raised in Turkey, Hong Kong and South Korea. The US is the largest IPO mar-

FPIs Net Sellers Since Polls Started



union budget announcements, implementation of labour laws and the next set of reforms in land and capital.

"This was not an election outcome the market valuations were set up for Indian valuations have been expensive for pretty ordinary corporate earnings growth/outlook. One of the arguments behind India's rich valuations has been the political stability/policy certainty afforded by a strong govt. Some of those assumptions could now come under question," the report by UBS said.

A report by Societe Generale, another foreign broker, noted that the less-than-majority number for BJP on its own, unlike in 2019, could prompt the incoming govt to focus on subsidies at the expense of capex. UBS analysts said they would watch out for upcoming

In Modi's 2nd Term, TaMo Was Best Bet, IndusInd Worst

₹1 lakh invested in sensex stocks on May 23, 2019, when Modi was re-elected as PM, would today have worth...

Tata Motors	2024*
Mahindra	4
Airtel	39
Sun Pharma	35
Tata Steel	34
ITC	15
HUL	14
HDFC Bk	13
Kotak Bk	11
IndusBk	9

Tata Motors was top sensex loser in Modi's 1st term, while financials were top gainers

ket, having raised \$14 billion so far in 2024, according to LSEG. From number 11 in 2019, India secured the third place globally in terms of IPO proceeds after the US and China in 2023.

India has hosted 113 IPOs between Jan this year and June 4, 2024, according to LSEG. From number 11 in 2019, India secured the third place globally in terms of IPO proceeds after the US and China in 2023.

T20 WORLD CUP

AN AIR OF UNPREDICTABILITY

India Embark On Another Quest For The Elusive World T20 Trophy Against Minnows

Ireland Today, But The Morning Start & A Dodgy Pitch Could Make It A Bit Of A Lottery

Dwaipayan.Datta@timesgroup.com

New York: A quaint, little community park tucked away in one corner of a posh Long Island locality isn't quite the venue that you associate with an Indian practice session, that too ahead of a World Cup opener.

But it's a changing cricket world and India are the brand ambassadors of a movement which aims to take the sport beyond the noise and bustle of South Asia. Close to Eisenhower Park, in a newly-built, born out of scratch Nassau County Ground, Rohit Sharma's boys start their journey in the T20 World Cup against a team that they are supposed to blow away in a jiffy.

Ireland, ideally, shouldn't pose a serious threat to the Indian juggernaut. But there's an air of unpredictability about the venue, and more importantly the pitch in play, ahead of the day-match, a rarity in T20s. All of India's games are at 10:30 am local-time starts, which allows the Indian audience back home to latch on to some 8 pm cricket entertainment at the end of day's work or the roller-coaster of Lok Sabha results.

But morning starts with white-ball has its pitfalls — the ball tends to do a lot more than normal. On Monday, Sri Lanka managed only 77 against South Africa on a drop-in pitch at the same venue and they made it extremely tough for the Proteas to go past that score. "Had we got 120, it could have been a different game," Sri Lankan captain Wanindu Hasaranga said, which may not be music to the ears of any team which will be playing here.

The worrying bit about the pitch is the up-and-down nature of it, which makes it incredibly difficult for stroke-play that we are used to on a daily basis. Ire-



NO WALK IN THE PARK: Mohammed Siraj bowls during training in New York on match eve

INDIA VS IRELAND PREVIEW

land aren't full of stars who can scare India, but on a pitch where it can be a bit of a lottery, you can never be sure. From an Indian perspective, there is no scope of a let's-take-it-easy approach, because any adverse result can make it a do-or-die situation for them in the game against Pakistan, something that India would be desperate to avoid.

Interestingly, it was 17 years ago in an ODI World Cup in West Indies, where India's outgoing coach Rahul Dravid was the captain, India lost to Bangladesh in the opener and consequently crashed out before the Super-8 stage. The In-

dian batting legend surely wouldn't want a repeat of that trauma on his coaching farewell and that's why he insists on "adaptability" before the ball rolls.

"All venues will not be the same. It can always happen that we will have pitches where 140 will be enough. The challenge is to adapt and play accordingly," Dravid said on Monday ahead of a practice session.

Captain Rohit Sharma added to that on Tuesday when he said "it is about dealing with the unknown". "Everything is unknown, the venue, the pitch, the opposition. But we have the expe-

rience," Rohit said, his usual nonchalance written all over.

If all goes to plan, Virat Kohli and Rohit should open the batting, leaving the middle-order duties to Suryakumar Yadav, Shikhar Dhawan, Rishabh Pant, Hardik Pandya, Ravindra Jadeja and Axar Patel.

The three allrounders Pandya, Jadeja and Axar should give the team the flexibility in the bowling line-up, whereby they can play six bowlers — the other three being Jasprit Bumrah, Arshdeep Singh and Kuldeep Yadav.

Left-arm pace Arshdeep bowled quite splendidly in the

practice match that India played against Bangladesh on Saturday, where he moved the ball around in the first few overs, making life difficult for the Bangla batters. Mohammed Siraj, though, isn't far behind, especially with the pitch affording variable bounce, and it could be a coin-toss between the two.

"We have some plans but we're not divulging anything for now. It's the start of a journey and we don't want to look too far ahead," Rohit said.

We don't mind that one bit, as long as India are there in Barbados 25 days from now.

'Tried to convince Dravid to stay on, but he has priorities'

Skipper Rohit Explains Why India's Head Coach Has Had 'A Lot Of Influence' On Him

Dwaipayan.Datta@timesgroup.com

New York: "When you don't have to wait for more than 10 minutes at the immigration counter in the United States, you know this is important," Rohit Sharma was being his usual cheeky self on the eve of the start of India's month-long T20 World Cup journey.

Half of it will be in the US and

the skipper wants to leave behind "something memorable" for all those who are rooting for him. While Rohit doesn't want to overburden himself with expectations, there is an added element that is driving him, even though he doesn't want to put it out in as many words.

Coach Rahul Dravid announced on Monday that it would be his last assignment and you can see that Rohit didn't want it to happen that way. "I tried to convince him to stay on, but he has priorities. With Rahul bhai, my equation goes deeper than a coach-captain relationship. We go a long way back, he

was my first international captain and he has had a lot of influence on me," Rohit said, as the obvious question lingered: "Do you want to do it for him?"

Rohit probably got a little emotional, but he had to pull the curtains down on any possible overflow. "We don't want to look too far ahead, but I won't say anything more than that," Rohit kept it at that.

Before the ODI World Cup opener in Chennai last October, the captain had said that there was a sense of "unfinished business". After a magnificent run, it stayed unfinished and Rohit struggled for

a very long time to come to terms with it after coming so close.

"I thought a lot about it, for a very long time. But then that's what it is," Rohit said, adding that he doesn't want to stress himself out with a must-win mind-set. "We will take it as it comes, for now it's tomorrow's game."

Ireland are an opposition that India aren't too familiar with. In fact, Rohit hinted that he doesn't want to dwell too much on the opposition either. "It doesn't matter what their areas of strength are. It is about what we do and how we play. If we can execute our plans, we should be fine."

'IPL scores won't be possible here'

But the one thing that Rohit wants to assure going into the opener is "proper communication" among the players. The conditions are difficult and Rohit makes it clear that "IPL like scores won't be possible here".

"During the game against Bangladesh, we wanted the batters to communicate and get the message back to the players to follow. There is a lot of experience in the dressing room and I hope that experience comes to the fore," Rohit said, adding that "getting the little details right" will make the difference.

Afghans off the mark with resounding win over Uganda

AFGHANISTAN VS UGANDA

Fazalhaq Farooqi has produced

way our bowlers bowled, it was a great overall team effort," Rashid, who polished off the tail, added. "That is the beauty of this team. We have so many options and that makes it easy as a captain."

Seamer Farooqi was twice on the brink of claiming a hat-trick and was lethal with the new ball. After being hit for a four off his first delivery, he bowled a brilliant in-swinger which clipped Ronak Patel's bat before crashing onto the stumps. He then trapped Roger Mukasa leg before wicket with a similar delivery.

"I have missed it (getting the hat-trick) a few times (smiles). Something that is not under my control and if I get a chance again, I will try to get that hat-trick," Farooqi said. Naveen-Haq also picked up two wickets in his first over, leaving Uganda in dire straits at 18/5.

Farooqi then returned in the 13th over to snare three more wickets to register his career-best figures in T20



FIVE-STAR EFFORT: Afghanistan's Fazalhaq Farooqi celebrates with a teammate after taking the wicket of Uganda's Ronak Patel in Guyana

tive boundaries in the sixth over off Dinesh Nakrani.

By the end of the first Powerplay, Afghanistan were scoring at an impressive rate of 11 runs per over. Gurbaz, who four boundaries and as many sixes, raced to his fifty off just 28 balls in the ninth over. Uganda's poor fielding only added to their woes. **Brief scores:** Afghanistan 183/5 (Gurbaz 76, Ibrahim 70, Masaba 2-21, Kyewuta 2-25) beat Uganda 58 (Farooqi 5-9) by 125 runs.

MY T20 FORM IS BEST IN A DECADE AFTER SUCCESS IN THE IPL, SAYS CUMMINS

Bridgetown (Barbados): Australia pace spearhead Pat Cummins feels his T20 game is at its "best in a decade" as he heads into the World Cup high on confidence after a successful IPL campaign.

"Probably as well as I have for the last 10 years really," Cummins told cricket.com.au of his T20 bowling. Having never played in the Caribbean, the Australian Test and ODI captain had his first-ever training session in the West Indies on Monday. But Cummins is confident of how he's played ahead of the World Cup, having

continuously played T20 cricket since March in the IPL. "We played 17 games straight at the IPL. For the most part, international T20s are after the Test series, and you've got to try and hit a yorker or a slower ball, and then go back to a Test series. So just getting the pace of the game and executing some of those balls that you need more in T20 cricket than in other formats, I feel really well placed."

Cummins feels that sticking to the same format significantly impacts the tactical side of bowling. "A lot of T20 bowling in particular is about thinking through your sequencing of which ball to bowl or when, and you get to learn pretty quickly what's working and what isn't."



PAT CUMMINS

5/9 Fazalhaq Farooqi has produced his career-best T20 performance. His previous best in T20s was a 3/11 vs Sri Lanka in Dubai on Aug. 27, 2022. His performance is the best ever by an Afghan bowler in the T20 World.

125 Afghanistan's triumph is their second largest in terms of runs in the T20 World Cup, behind the 130-run victory vs Scotland in Sharjah on Oct 25, 2021.

2 Afghanistan are the second team after South Africa to record two wins by 100-plus runs in the T20 WC. SA defeated Scotland by 130 runs at the Oval on June 7, 2009 and by 104 runs vs Bangladesh in Sydney on Oct 27, 2022.

58 Uganda have recorded their lowest total in T20Is and the fourth lowest in T20 World Cup history.

—Stats: Rajesh Kumar

Appointing Bravo as bowling coach a fantastic move: Afghan coach Trott

Speaking to the media after his side's first win, Trott credited the contribution of Bravo, who according to him, has brought about a change in the approach of Afghanistan's bowlers. "DJ (Dwayne Bravo) coming into the side, fantastic. Having quality

coaches also with huge experience as players (is great), but also vast franchise experience in this format of the game," Trott said. "(It's) only a brilliant thing to have a player like him coming to the side as coach, and it makes your job a lot easier, but it also makes the coaching more enhanced. "We've seen the start of his first game with us and we saw the bowlers bowl really well, so credit to Dwayne. A nice start for the boys."

'Pretty special moment for us'

Meanwhile, Uganda captain Brian Masaba said he was more focused on the positives rather than the defeat. "It's a pretty special moment for us, hearing our national anthem and seeing our flag at the World Cup. First game, a lot of nerves, so it's good to get that out of the way. It's something I will cherish for the rest of my life. We will look to come out and play better next game," he said. **PTI**

"Unfair for us, we have to leave every day (after the match) because we are playing (at) four different venues," Theekshana said. "The flight we took from Florida, from Miami, we had to wait like eight hours in the airport to get the flight. We were supposed to leave at 8 pm but we got the flight at 5 am. It's unfair for us, but it doesn't matter when you play," he added.

South Africa, on the other hand, will be playing two more games here while India, who will start against Ireland on Wednesday, will also play three matches in the city before their last group match in Florida. "Even from the hotel, it (the practice venue) is one hour and 40 minutes. Even today (for the match against South Africa), we had to wake up around 5 am to come there," Theekshana said.

The island nation was forced to cancel a training session ahead of the South Africa match. Theekshana refused to take names but

did mention that a few teams "have got the opportunity to stay in the same place but their hotel is only 14 minutes to the ground". I can't say the (names of) teams that are playing in the same venue, so they know what the conditions are like. They're playing practice games at the same venue. No one will get that.

Skipper Hasaranga echoed the sentiment. "We had a tough time last few days. All four games in four venues. It's hard. We didn't know. This is our first game in New York. Next game in Dallas, next game is in Florida where we played two games, that's the only plus point we have," he said.

Sri Lanka manager Mahinda Halangoda has written to the ICC on the matter. **PTI**

"I HAVEN'T ALWAYS LOCKED INTO A CONSISTENT SPOT, SO I CAN JUMP IN AT MANY DIFFERENT ROLES. THAT'S WHERE I SEE MYSELF, PLUGGING HOLES IN THIS TEAM."

Cameron Green | AUSTRALIA ALLROUNDER



FACE-OFF



...

8.00 PM

STAR SPORTS

HOTSTAR

HEAD TO HEAD

IND

IRE

7

0

LAST FIVE MATCHES

IND

IRE

W W W W L

W W W L L

VENUE: NEW YORK

ODDS

IND

IRE

2/10

10/1

7 India have won seven successive T20I games against Ireland between June 10, 2009 and Aug 20, 2023.

1 In the only T20 WC fixture between the two teams, India (113/2) defeated Ireland (112/8) by eight wickets in Nottingham on June 10, 2009.

4 Yuvendra Chahal (96 wickets at 25.09 runs apiece in 80 T20Is) needs four more wickets to become the first bowler to complete 100 wickets for India in T20Is.

26 Runs needed by Rohit Sharma (397 runs at an average of 31.79 in 151 matches) to become the third batter after Virat Kohli (4037) & Babar Azam (4023) to complete 4000-plus runs in T20Is.

37 Runs required by Rohit Sharma (963 at 34.39 in 39 matches) to become the third batter after Virat Kohli (1141) and Mahela Jayawardene (1016) to complete 1000-plus runs in the T20 World Cup.

YADAV AT FOUR, RISHABH PANT AT FIVE, SHIVAM DUBE AT NINE, KULDEEP YADAV AT NUMBER 10, JASPRIT BUMRAH AND NUMBER 11 WILL BE SIRAJA,"

Gavaskar said. PTI

Special 'bouncer training' for perfectionist Pant

Dwaipayan.Datta@timesgroup.com

Chennai: Rishabh Pant desperately wants to get it right. It's his comeback for India after a horrific accident and the effort that the Delhi boy put in on Tuesday at the nets was phenomenal.

The pitch here is playing unpredictable, the bounce being uneven, and the shot the wicket-keeper batter wanted to perfect, for more than an hour, was the hook. "Bouncer dalo, boss," he kept telling the throwdown expert if the latter missed his length by an inch.



COLLAPSE ON CLAY

Struggling with A Knee Injury Djokovic Pulls Out, Set To Lose World No. 1 Ranking To Sinner

TIMES IN PARIS

Prajwal.Hegde@timesgroup.com

Paris: Novak Djokovic, who slipped and stumbled times without number during his Roland Garros fourth-round match on Monday, has torn the medial meniscus on his right knee.

The tear, picked up by a MRI scan he had late on Tuesday afternoon, forced the top-seed and defending champion to withdraw from the French Open.

The 24-time major winner was to play the seventh-seeded Casper Ruud in the quarterfinals on Wednesday.

Djokovic was covered in clay, courtesy the many tumbles, en route to a record-breaking 37th Grand Slam victory 6-1, 5-7, 3-6, 7-5, 6-3 in the fourth round against Francisco Cerundolo late on Monday evening.

"In the third game of the second set, when I slipped, it affected the knee, I started feeling the pain," Djok-



Novak Djokovic injured his right knee during Monday's match against Francisco Cerundolo

ovic said. "It disrupted my play. For the next two sets, I didn't want to stay in the rally too long. Every time he would make dropshots or changed directions, I was not comfortable chassing."

"At one point I didn't know whether I should continue," he said. "I got medication then, and after the third set, I asked for more medication. That (dose) kicked in after 30 to 45 minutes, which was just about the end of the fourth set. That's when things started

to improve for me. I started to feel less limitations in my movement."

Djokovic raised the slippery condition of the court several times with the chair umpire.

"I felt today that with the sun coming out after long days of rain, it affected the court, particularly the upper layers of the clay," Djokovic said. "I don't know what exactly they have done, it seemed like some of the clay was removed, so there was very little, almost no clay on the court today.

Then when the sun is out it affects the clay in such a way that it becomes slippery."

Djokovic's exit in the quarterfinals of the clay court major, where he emerged victorious last year, means Jannik Sinner will be the new World No.1 when the rankings change on Monday.

Djokovic has been ranked No.1 for a record total of 428 weeks, he has finished as the year-end No.1 a record eight times.

It's smooth sailing for Sinner

Prajwal.Hegde@timesgroup.com

Paris: Jannik Sinner's tennis is controlled, rapid-fire shotmaking. Cold and absolute. The 22-year-old's crown is a riotous, unruly mess, everything he sees clear of on the court.

Each time Sinner, the Roland Garros No.2 seed, stepped up to the microphone for the on-court interview, he quickly pushed his hair under his cap, restraining every strand, attempting order on mayhem.

After extending his perfect run in majors this season with a 6-2, 6-4, 7-6 (3) quarterfinal win over Grigor Dimitrov on Tuesday, Sinner wore a flushed expression. He had just ripped 29 winners in the 2-hour 29-minute contest to make his first French Open semifinals, but there was more.

A little before Sinner took the Court Philippe Chatrier for the last-eight clash, Novak Djokovic had withdrawn from the clay court major which would result in Sinner becoming the new world No.1 when the rankings change on Monday. Sinner, who'll be the first Italian and the 29th player to climb the top spot, had no idea about the happenings around him. His team had ensured that.

55 I came here with some doubts, physical doubts. My body seems stronger and stronger day by day, which for me was the main goal coming here."

—Jannik Sinner

The 22-year-old, whose face briefly reflected the emotion when he was told about the No.1 ranking on the court, regained his calm by the time he walked into the pressroom an hour later. "It's not the way we were expecting it, he had two very long matches, tough matches, five sets, so it's tough. It's tough also for the tournament. Novak retiring, it's always tough," Sinner said. "Talking about myself, I'm very happy about this achievement. It's a lot of work we put in daily. It's a daily routine. Obviously happy to have this number."

Sinner, who will take on the winner of the Carlos Alcaraz-Stefanos Tsitsipas clash on Friday, has his eyes set on the play.

"In two days, there is a very important match for me, the semifinals, I'm focused on that at the moment. But, yes, of course, very happy to have this number now," Sinner said. "It's a great

achievement, but I want to measure myself on this surface, on the clay. It's a surface where I struggle a lot sometimes, especially the beginning. We have seen this in the last years."

Sinner, who arrived in Paris battling for fitness following a hip injury, said, "I came here with some doubts, physical doubts. My body seems stronger and stronger day by day, which for me was the main goal coming here. I'm happy that I have a chance to play here in a very important match for myself in the semis."

Gauff, Swiatek set up semis clash

Earlier World No.1 Iga Swiatek displayed sizzling form as she rolled past the reigning Wimbledon champion Marketa Vondrousova 6-0, 6-2 in the women's quarterfinals.

The Pole will take a 19-match winning streak at Roland Garros into the semifinals against American Coco Gauff as she looks to advance to the final for the fourth time in six appearances in Paris.

Gauff, 20, the No.3 seed, came from a set down to reach her second career Roland Garros semifinal, defeating the No.8 seed Ons Jabeur 4-6, 6-2, 6-3 in 1 hour and 57 minutes.

RESULTS

Quarterfinals: Men: Jannik Sinner (2), Italy, def. Grigor Dimitrov (10), Bulgaria, 6-2, 6-4, 7-6 (3). Women: Coco Gauff (3), USA, bt Ons Jabeur (8), Tunisia, 4-6, 6-2, 6-3; Iga Swiatek (1), Poland, def. Marketa Vondrousova (5), Czechia, 6-0, 6-2.

Praggu stuns Ding, Carlsen suffers setback on time

Stavanger (Norway): The seventh round of the Norway chess tournament witnessed gripping matches with tense moments that significantly impacted the standings as India's prodigy R Pragganandhaa scored another upset by defeating world champion Ding Liren in the Armageddon game and Magnus Carlsen lost his Armageddon game against Hikaru Nakamura on time.

One of the highlights of the day

Upset win for Rashmikaa

Hyderabad: City girl Shriyalli Rashmika Bhamidipaty stunned sixth seed Han Shi from China 6-3, 6-4 to enter the second round of the ITF W35 tennis tournament in Daegu, South Korea on Tuesday.

CITY SPORT

Baseball tournament
The Hyderabad District Baseball Association's 3rd Gina Campos Memorial teeball U-15 tournament for boys and girls will be held at the Marredpally Playground from June 6 to 8. Interested club and institutions should register before June 5. For details contact 9581811129/ 6309481496/ 9949594218/ 9885557779/ 9515735531. TNN

Mbappe arrival excites Madrid fans



JOYOUS REACTIONS: Kylian Mbappe

Bopanna picks Balaji as his partner for Olympics



Rohan Bopanna (left) and Sriram Balaji with a strong serve backing his game and was equally impressive at the net-a performance that would have convinced Bopanna that the player from Coimbatore is the best option for him when he returns to Roland Garros for a final shot at an Olympic medal next month.

Balaji played well from the baseline

Bopanna, only the third Indian to win a Grand Slam title, came close to winning a medal at the Rio Games but he and Sania Mirza had lost the mixed doubles bronze match to the Czech combination of Radek Stepanek and Lucie Hradecka.

"I have sent an email to AITA," Bopanna told PTI from Paris, adding that he will comment on his choice only after hearing back from the national federation. Yuki Bhambhani, India's No. 2 doubles player at No. 52, was also in contention.

The 31-year-old Bhambhani made a first round exit from the French Open with French partner Alain Olivetti but has enjoyed success on clay this season, winning the ATP 250

"he's going to have to hit the ground running because he's entering another stage of his life".

Despite the glowing reception he has so far received, Mbappe will be under no illusions that he must back up his reputation as one of the world's best players on the pitch in front of the Madrid faithful. "He's a great recruit, an immense player. But here, he will be just another player in Real's great history," Luis Caceres, president of the Peñarol federation (Real's supporters' group) told AFP.

"No player is bigger than Real Madrid. From the very first minute, he'll have to prove himself, play football and show us his qualities. Because if he doesn't, the Bernabeu will make him pay. I've seen people here whistling at Zidane, whistling at Cristiano..."

"With what happened two years ago, when he decided to extend his contract with Paris Saint-Germain, Kylian needs to know that he'll have his work cut out for him. When will he be forgiven? When he shows us on the pitch that he's now at the club he loves," added Caceres.

Outside the club's official store in central Madrid, Zein Mroueh, a 52-year-old French fan, believes that Mbappe "has come at the right time", but that

tournament in Munich and ending runners-up at another ATP 250 event in Lyon with the same partner.

When contacted, AITA Secretary General Anil Dhupar said he does not have any objection to Bopanna playing with Balaji, ranked 84, at the Paris Olympics. "Rohan has written to us that he wants to play with Balaji. Balaji is a good player. He played well in Pakistan also, rising to the occasion. He also did well on clay at ongoing French Open. Balaji is a big server. If Rohan wants to play with him we have no objection to that," said Dhupar.

The selection panel is headed by former Davis Cupper Nandan Bal, who also hinted that they would support Bopanna. PTI

Bopanna has picked N Sriram Balaji as his partner for the Olympics.

New Delhi: World No. 4 Rohan Bopanna has picked N Sriram Balaji, who impressed with his performance at the French Open, as his partner for the Paris Olympics and All India Tennis Association (AITA) is unlikely to have any objection to the choice made by the veteran player.

The 44-year-old Bopanna wrote to AITA and also marked TOPS in the mail, conveying his decision - a development confirmed by the national federation. Balaji and his Mexican partner MA Reyes-Varela Martinez had tested the formidable combo of Bopanna and Australia's Matthew Ebden before losing the men's doubles third round on Monday.

Balaji played well from the baseline

with a strong serve backing his game and was equally impressive at the net-a performance that would have convinced Bopanna that the player from Coimbatore is the best option for him when he returns to Roland Garros for a final shot at an Olympic medal next month.

Balaji played well from the baseline

Arjun breaks into FIDE world top-5

New Delhi: Grandmaster Arjun Erigaisi's strong showing in the French Team Chess Championship has helped him reach the fifth spot in the FIDE standngs, making him the highest ranked Indian by live rating.

Arjun, with an ELO rating of 2769.7, has so far added 8.7 points to his tally, behind Magnus Carlsen of Norway, USA's Hikaru Nakamura and Fabiano Caruana and Ian Nepomniachtchi of Russia. He had briefly reached a career-high live rating of 2771.2 earlier this week and is the only Indian since Vishwanathan Anand to do so.

The 20-year-old, who is representing Metz Fischer Chess Club, has won four of the five matches he has played so far including victories over compatriot P Harikrishna and Germany's Vitaly Kurniawin. Two more rounds are remaining in the competition.

Arjun has been in fine form over the past few months, finishing second in the TePe Sigeman Chess Tournament and joint-fifth in the Sharjah Masters Open Tournament. He also won the Menorca Open crown in April by edging out GMs Kirill Alekseenko and Maksim Chigaev. PTI

Vihari gets NOC from ACA

New Delhi: India batter Hanuma Vihari has finally got his no objection certificate (NOC) from the Andhra Cricket Association after falling out with the state body.

In March, the ACA had served a show-cause notice to Vihari after the Test cricketer accused the governing body of unceremoniously removing him from captaincy and vowed not to play for the state again.

Esha shot 20 in the final, which was won by Camille Jedrzejewski of France. Camille beat Germany's Doreen Vennekamp for the title after the two went through two shoot-offs to separate the winner. The two were tied at 40 after the regulation 10-series of shots. Current finals world record holder Kim Yeji of Korea was third with 35. This was India's second consecutive sixth place finish in a final in this tournament, after Ramita had finished in the same position in the women's 10m air rifle on Monday. PTI

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BIG WIN: Priyanshu Rajawat

21-12, 21-17 victory against Kanata Tsuneyama of Japan. In the second round he will face Kenneth Nishimoto of Japan.

"It's a good first round for me. I played here earlier and I had to make a few adjustments keeping the drift in mind," Lakshya said, adding that the last week's match against Viktor Axelsen gave him a lot of confidence. "It was a high quality match against Viktor. It gave me a lot of confidence. These kind of matches in big tournaments will help me prepare well for the Olympics," he added.

Esha finishes sixth in Munich

Munich: Esha Singh finished sixth in the women's 25m pistol at the ongoing ISSF World Cup in Munich as India's search for their first medal continued.

Esha shot 20 in the final, which was won by Camille Jedrzejewski of France. Camille beat Germany's Doreen Vennekamp for the title after the two went through two shoot-offs to separate the winner. The two were tied at 40 after the regulation 10-series of shots. Current finals world record holder Kim Yeji of Korea was third with 35. This was India's second consecutive sixth place finish in a final in this tournament, after Ramita had finished in the same position in the women's 10m air rifle on Monday. PTI

Germany ready to host Euro 2024

Berlin: Germany is ramping up security before the start of the European Championship on June 14 to head off potential threats from Islamists, hooligans, violent individuals and cyber attacks, interior minister Nancy Faeser said on Tuesday.

Germany expects 2.7 million people to attend matches in stadiums across the country and some 12 million in fan zones for outdoor viewing, said Faeser, but security fears have mounted after a spate of attacks in recent months.

There are no concrete indications of a threat, Faeser said. "You can never 100% guarantee security but we are well prepared and remain very vigilant," she said, adding there would be a heavy police presence, backed up by officers from other countries. REUTERS

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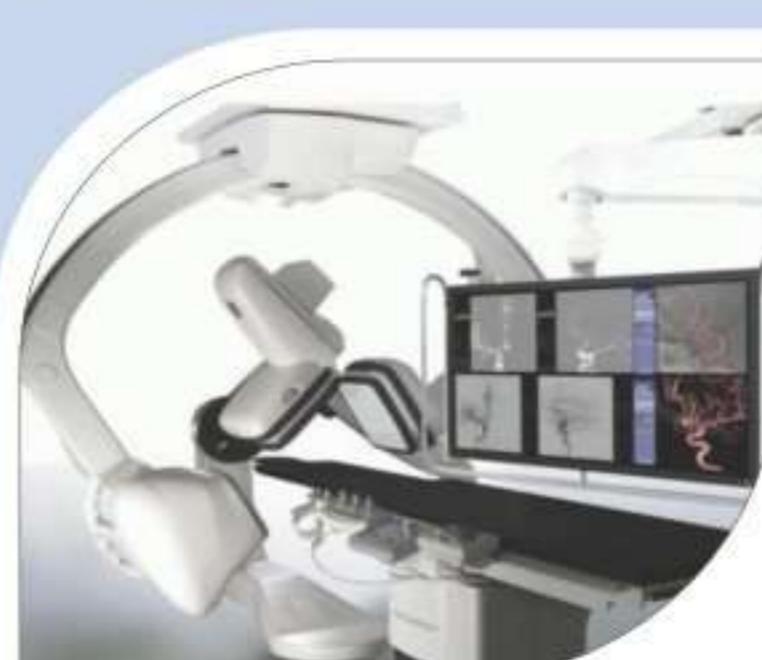
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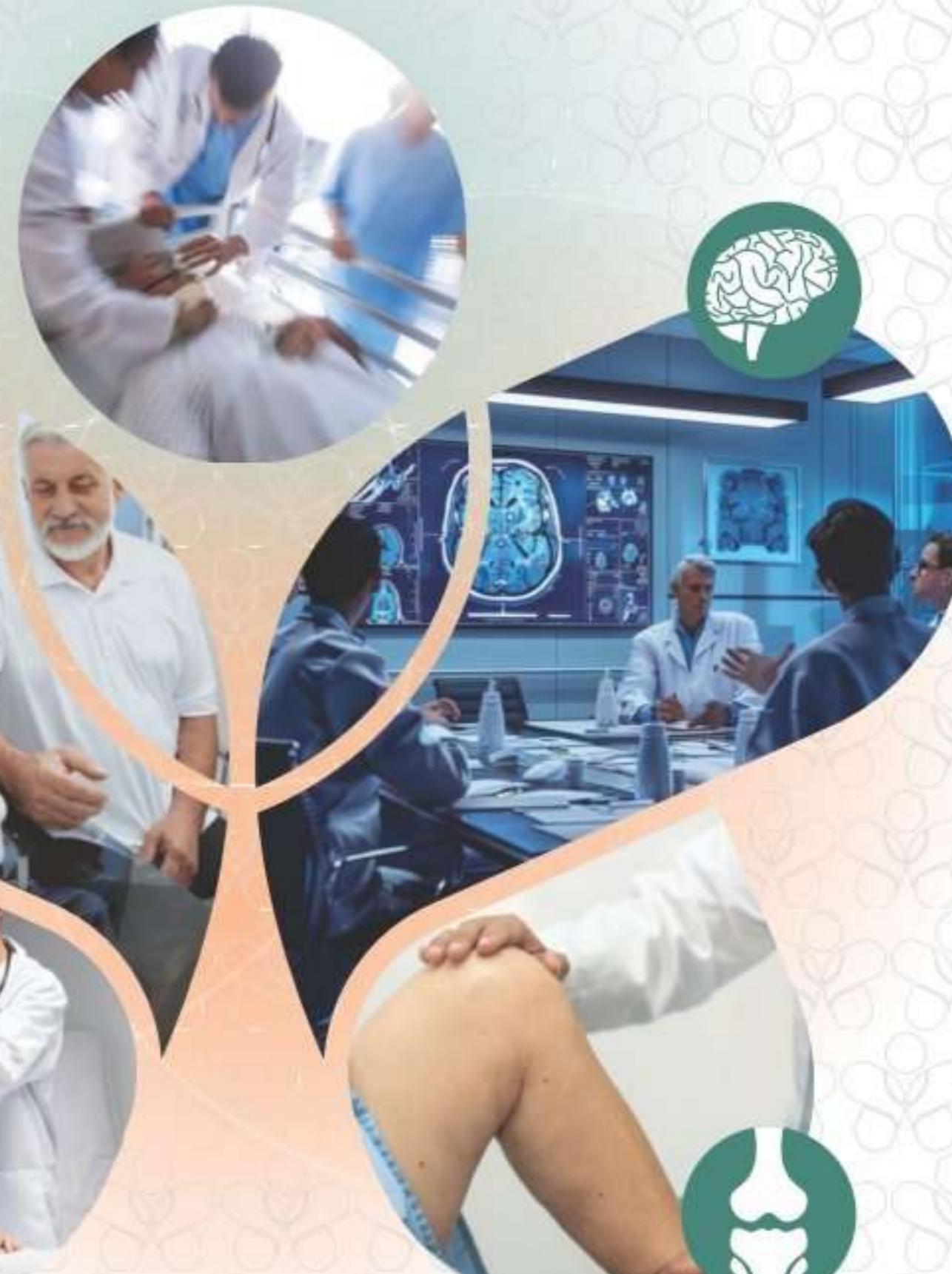
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NDA

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INDIA

234

Others

18

At 1AM

BJP	240	▼63
TDP	16	▲13
SS	7	▼6
JDU	12	▼4
LJP	5	▼1

Cong	99	▲47
SP	37	▲32
TMC	29	▲7
DMK	22	▼2
SS(UBT)	9	▲4

BSP	0	▼10
ADMK	0	▼1
BJD	0	▼12
YSRCP	4	▼18
SAD	1	▼1

SEATS WON ▶

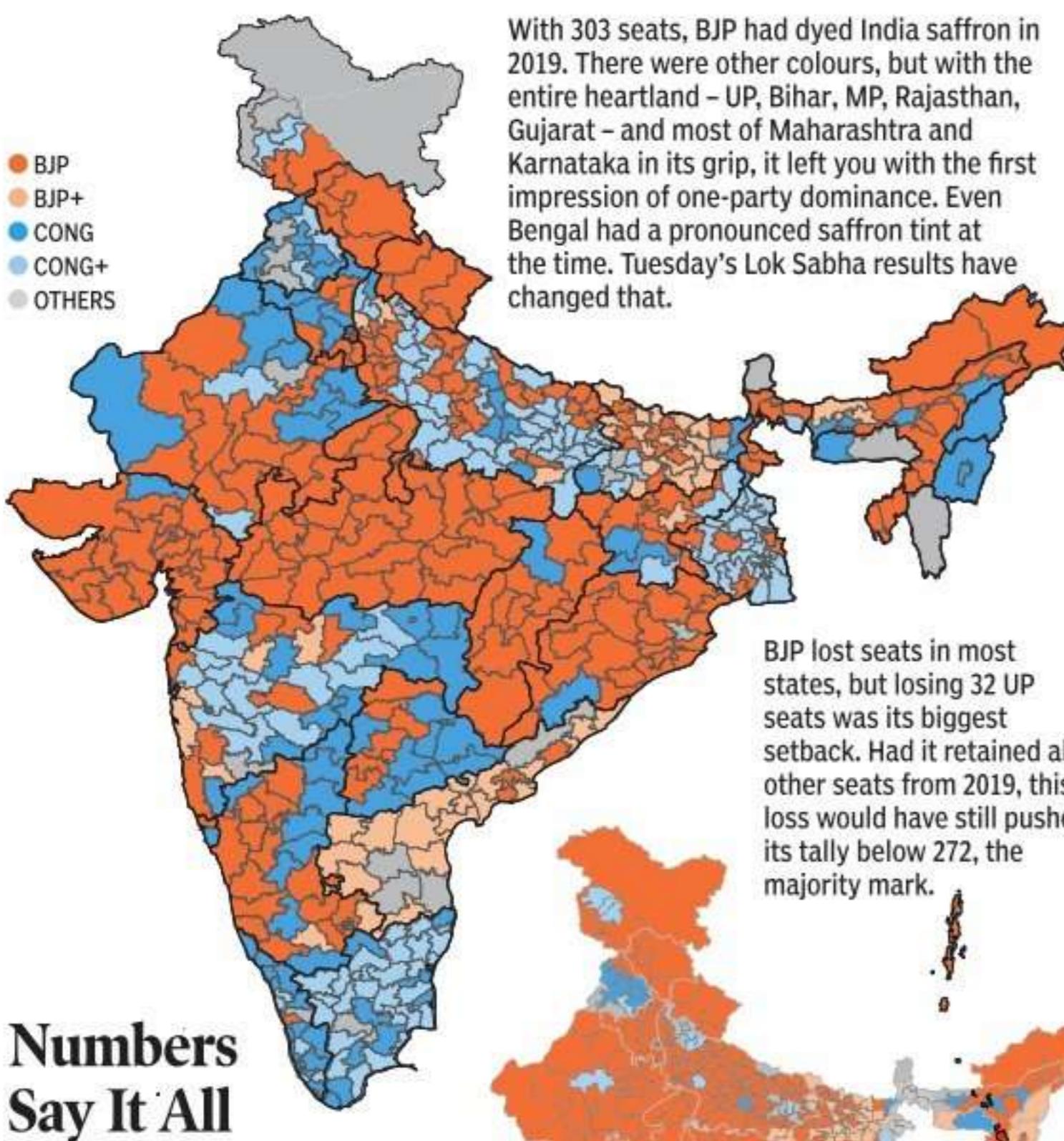
VOTE SHARE ▶

42.9% ▽3.2%

41.1% △6.9%

16.0% ▽3.7%

LS Constitution Has Changed



BJP lost seats in most states, but losing 32 UP seats was its biggest setback. Had it retained all other seats from 2019, this loss would have still pushed its tally below 272, the majority mark.

Numbers Say It All

317

Seats retained by parties

47

Most seats gained by a party (Cong)

63

Most seats lost by a party (BJP)

23.6cr

Votes polled by BJP. The party won about 70 lakh more votes than in 2019

1.8cr

Votes gained by Congress over 2019. It won a total of 13.7 crore votes

10.1L

Highest win margin (Dhubri, Assam)

48

Lowest win margin (Mumbai Northwest)

DANCE of DEMOCRACY BUMPER EDITION

From Ahmedabad to Azamgarh and Vadodara to Varanasi, TOI brings you the most comprehensive coverage of Verdict 2024 in this Special Election Issue

BJP Loses 53 In 5 Biggest States

In Uttar Pradesh, INDIA has 37 more seats than in 2019. In Maharashtra, the bloc has 21 more. Bihar and Bengal have added 14 extra seats to its tally. This has taken a major toll on BJP's score.

UTTAR PRADESH | 80

SP	37	▲32
BJP	33	▼29
Cong	6	▲5
RLD	2	▲2
BSP	0	▼10

MAHARASHTRA | 48

Cong	13	▲12
BJP	9	▼14
Sena (UBT)	9	▲5
NCP (SP)	8	▲5
Sena	7	▼6
NCP	1	

TAMIL NADU | 39

DMK	22	▼2
Cong	9	▲1
VCK	2	▲1
CPI	2	▲2
ADMK	0	▼1

WEST BENGAL | 42

TMC	29	▲7
BJP	12	▼6
Cong	1	▼1

BIHAR | 40

BJP	12	▼5
JDU	12	▼4
LJP	5	▼1
RJD	4	▲4
Cong	3	▲2

What This Verdict Means

HOUSEKEEPING CHALLENGE

Short of a majority, dependent on two allies who may not always share BJP's priorities, and faced with a resurgent opposition, BJP will find Parliament a far more difficult place to navigate. With a less than 60-seat difference between NDA and INDIA, and with the need to onboard Naidu and Nitish on every key legislation, lawmaking will represent a challenge the previous two Modi Sarkars hadn't faced.

NITISH-NAIDU TEST

Nitish and Naidu are past masters at extracting concessions from big alliance partners. They will want to have a say when portfolios are allocated. They will also want a say when key policies, including the upcoming budget, are formulated. Special status for Bihar and Andhra, which BJP had refused to give earlier, look more likely. BJP's pet projects like a central law on uniform civil code will likely be on hold for some time.

BJP WILL LOOK FOR A REBOOT

Election results will force a relook at BJP's organisation. Tough questions loom. Who will be party president after Nadda? Can state units that are overly dependent on Modi-Shah do the strategic heavy-lifting think on their own again? Will RSS be back as an influencer, now that BJP has to recover lost ground in key states?

MODI NEEDS MAGIC BACK

Opposition will hammer at the point that Modi has lost much of his magic. To prevent that from gaining popularity, Modi may have to come up with some eye-catching gestures, which grab headlines and targets key social groups. Women and Dalits, for example, may soon get special policy attention.

MAHA CHALLENGE IN 3 STATES

Maharashtra, Haryana and Delhi elections are coming up. In the first two, BJP plus allies are the incumbent, and in both, BJP's LS performance is sub-par. And Delhi is a prestige battle, as always – and AAP has won the last two state elections even as BJP has swept LS in 2014 and 2019. The party will have to perform better in these elections, to avoid the impression that it's in a not-so-slow decline.

► Sharp-perspective stories and analyses on what worked for parties and their bosses and what didn't

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► A listing of all 543 new MPs with details of their age, wealth and gender

► Opinion pieces by some of the best minds on politics and economics

► Verdict in 11 graphs, and lots more...



DANCE of
DEMOCRACY

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Older House	Lower Assets	Share of Women
56yrs AVERAGE AGE	₹18.8cr AVERAGE ASSETS	14% SHARE OF TOTAL
2019 → 54yrs	₹20.9cr	14%

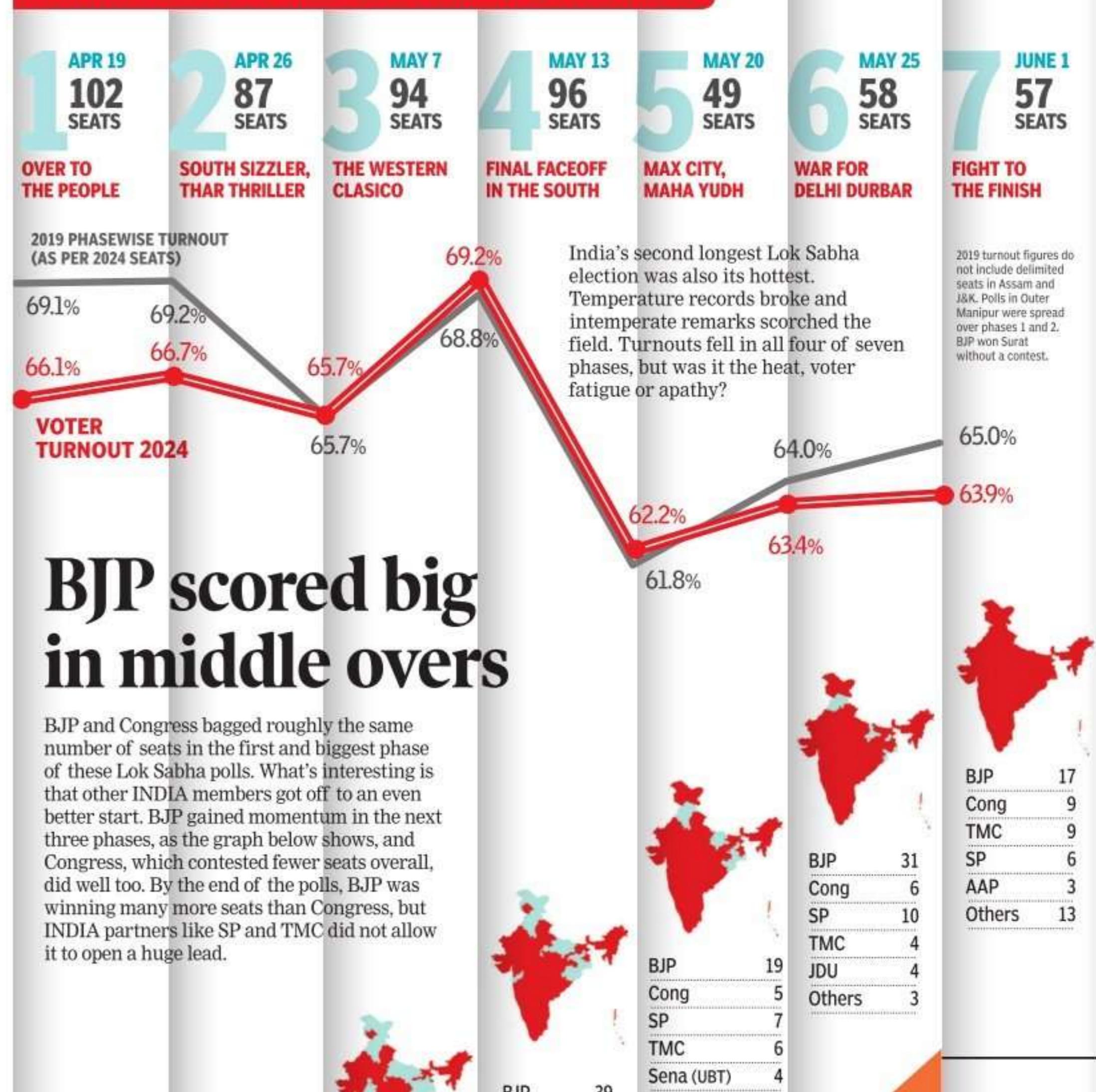
The new House will have three MPs aged **25 years**: Shambhavi from Bihar, Pushpendra Saroj and Priya Saroj from UP.

Despite India's GDP growth over the past 5 years, the average assets of MPs declined marginally.

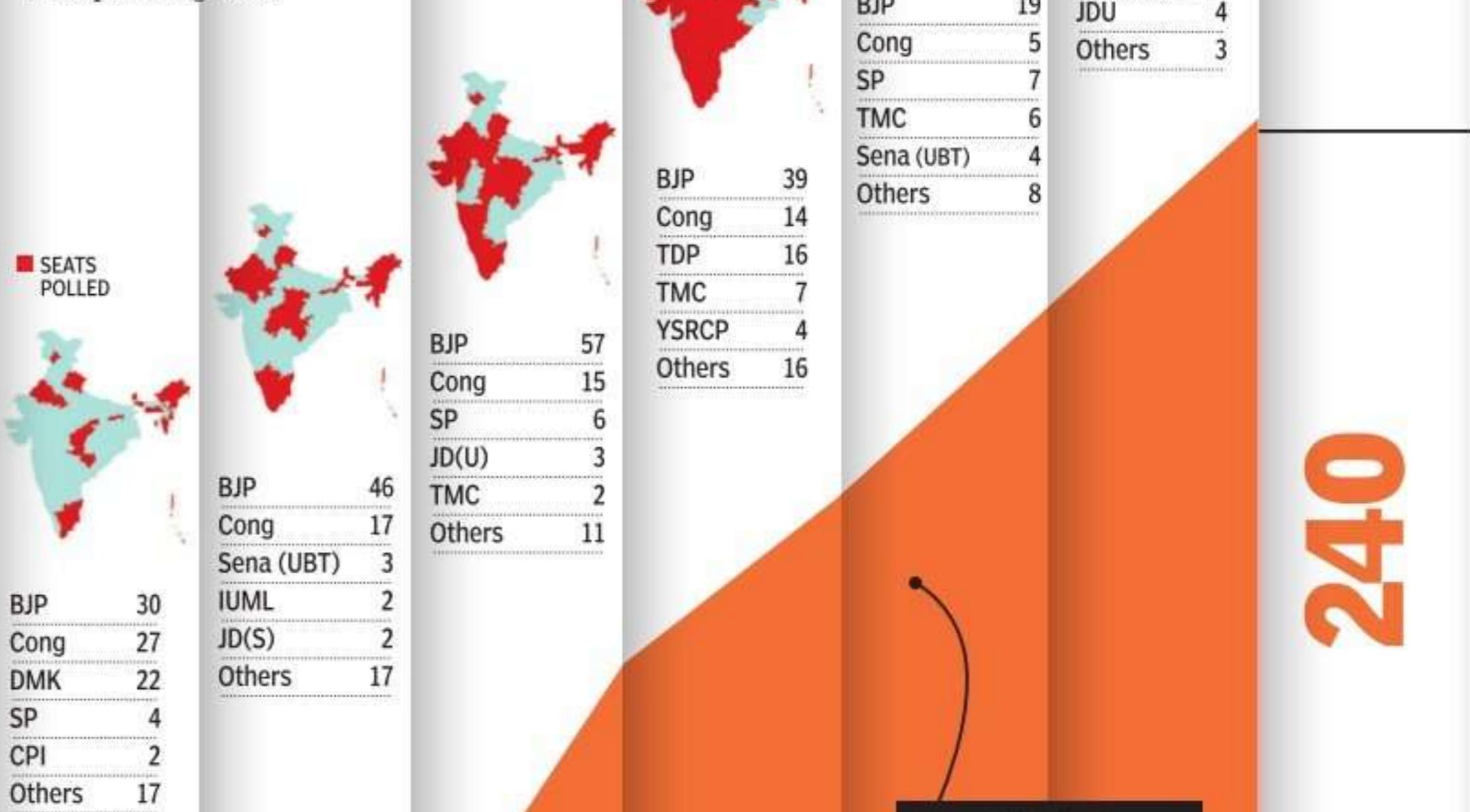
Guntur MP **Chandra Sekhar Pemmasani** is the richest this time with total assets of Rs 5,705 crore.

Share of women in Lok Sabha has stagnated at 14%. BJP has **33** women MPs, Congress **13** and TMC **11**.

HOW POLLS PROGRESSED OVER SEVEN PHASES

**BJP scored big in middle overs**

BJP and Congress bagged roughly the same number of seats in the first and biggest phase of these Lok Sabha polls. What's interesting is that other INDIA members got off to an even better start. BJP gained momentum in the next three phases, as the graph below shows, and Congress, which contested fewer seats overall, did well too. By the end of the polls, BJP was winning many more seats than Congress, but INDIA partners like SP and TMC did not allow it to open a huge lead.



Congress's turnaround this time is also a story of its improved strike rate. It won every third seat, as against every eighth seat in 2019

BJP still had a far better strike rate than Congress. It won more than half of the seats it contested, but it needed more votes per seat to win this time.

PHASE 1	PHASE 2	PHASE 3	PHASE 4	PHASE 5	PHASE 6	PHASE 7
BIGGEST phase in terms of seats was also the gentlest in terms of messaging. Modi said DMK had neglected Tamil Nadu's development.	Low turnouts in first phase suggested it was a "waveless" election and the discourse quickly turned abrasive after that.	Major sex scandal involving BJP ally Prajwal Revanna surfaced in Karnataka; poll campaign turned communal.	Arvind Kejriwal got bail to campaign, and Modi attacked Rahul Gandhi with Ambani-Adani: "Did he get tempo loads of black money?"	PM made Mandir an issue: "If SP and Congress come to power, they will send Ram Lalla back to the tent and bulldoze the temple."	Before Delhi voted, CM Kejriwal's aide Swati Maliwal made headlines by accusing another aide, Bibhav Kumar, of assaulting her.	Modi introduced 'vote jihad' in the last leg of the campaign. "Jihadis from across borders are supporting Congress and SP," he said.
TN CM Stalin called Modi 'vasool raja' (extortionist) in return	Mangalsutras aren't safe from the opposition, said Modi	Modi dared Congress to oppose religion-based quota	Rahul said Modi could press CBI and ED to investigate	Jagannath temple in Puri not safe with BJD, Modi said	BJP's Sambit Patra said Lord Jagannath is Modi bhakt	He signed off with: "Let them do mujra for votes"