Political Mobilization and Election Outcomes: Evidence from *Bharat Jodo Yatra*

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[Very Preliminary. *do not cite*] September 15, 2024

This paper estimates the association between *Bharat Jodo Yatra*(BJY), a campaign run by the Indian National Congress leader Rahul Gandhi across India during 2022 and 2023, and election outcomes in the Indian general elections of 2024. Using the data from the Election Commission of India (ECI), we have four main findings to report. First, in the 2024 general elections, the Indian National Congress' vote share for constituencies covered by the BJY was higher by roughly six percentage points than other constituencies. Second, INC's vote share went up by approximately three percentage points between 2019 and 2024. Third, we do not find evidence that the BJP (the ruling party and the INC's main opponent) lost vote share between the two elections. Fourth, the Yatra did not lead to a significant increase in Congress party's probability of winning a seat.

JEL-Classification: D71, O10, P00

Keywords: Political economy, India, Democracy.

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1– Introduction

On June 01 2024, after the final vote was cast in the Indian elections, TV news channels released their exit polls showing a thumping majority for the incumbent (the Bharatiya Janata Party or the BJP). The average of all the exit polls suggested that the ruling coalition, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) led by the BJP will win somewhere between 350 to 400 seats out of 543 seats. The actual results turned to be completely different. The NDA won 293 seats with the BJP winning 240 seats, whereas the opposition coalition which called itself INDIA led by the Indian National Congress (the INC) won 234 seats (with 99 seats for the INC). There could be many reasons for the relatively surprising performance of the INC. In this paper, we examine one possible candidate: the *Bharat Jodo Yatras* (or the *Yatra*)¹.

We study this particular mobilization effort by the INC in the larger context of the rise of the BJP and the decline of the INC over the last two decades. The rise of the BJP goes back to the mobilization during the 1980s that culminated in the *Ram Rath Yatra* which is shown to have reaped large electoral rewards for the party. One estimate suggests that the BJP's vote share went up by nearly six percentage points between 1989 and 1991 (Blakeslee, 2014). Chhibber and Verma (2019) has attributed this structural change in Indian politics to the image of Narendra Modi as well as organizational mobilization by the BJP. Sircar (2022) builds a model around the politics of *vishwas* showing that the ability of a mass leader to connect with the voters can significantly improve its electoral performance regardless of the incumbent's economic performance. The relationship between turnout rate and BJP's victory during 2014-2019 elections, therefore, turns out to be positive because a lot of voters were mobilized around the image of the Prime Minister Narendra Modi. The politics of *vishwas*, however, also carries the risk of greater centralization of political power and democratic backsliding (Das, 2024; Jaffrelot, 2022; Mukherji, 2024).

^{1. &}quot;Congress leader Rahul Gandhi's two mega 'Bharat Jodo' yatras - held as a voter outreach program - proved to be a success as the grand old party and the INDIA bloc allies managed to win 41 seats along their routes." The Hindustan Times, 08 June 2024.

Does counter-movement against the politics of vishwas work? While the messaging around the *Ram Rath Yatra* was framed around Hindu nationalist identity allowing the BJP to consolidate support around religious lines over years, the *Bharat Jodo Yatras*' content was a combination of appeals against economic² and social injustices³ in the country. The messaging of the *Yatras* has been widely perceived to be one of the reasons behind the INC's victory in the 2023 Karnataka Assembly elections⁴.

We find that the *Yatra* is associated with an increase in the vote share of the INC and a small jump in the probability of winning a seat. At the same time, we rule out any association between the *Yatra* and BJP's performance. More specifically, we find that the INC's vote share increased by around three percentage points between the 2019 and the 2024 Lok Sabha elections. We don't find any significant jump in the probability of INC winning a constituency.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 details the context, Section 3 describes the data and the methods, Section 3 reports the results, and Section 4 concludes the paper.

2 – Context

2.1. General Elections 2024

India is a parliamentary democracy with a multi-party system. The Parliament consists of two houses: the Rajya Sabha (Upper House) and the Lok Sabha (Lower House). Members of the Rajya Sabha are elected by the elected members of the State and Union Territory Assemblies through a system of proportional representation using a single transferable

^{2. &}quot;In his maiden speech of the Gujarat leg of the Bharata Jodo Nyay Yatra in Jhalod under Dahod district, Congress leader Rahul Gandhi on Thursday attacked Prime Minister Narendra Modi for "waiving of Rs 16 lakh crore loans" of businessmen.", The Indian Express, March 07 2024

^{3. &}quot;A road in Karnataka's Badanavalu village was reopened after about three decades when Congress leader Rahul Gandhi visited the place on Gandhi Jayanti. The road was shut due to caste-based violence between Dalits and Lingayats in the village in 1993." The Hindustan Times, October 04 2022

^{4. &}quot;In absolute terms, in the 21 constituencies that the yatra passed through, the Congress' vote share increased by 10 percentage points on average." The Hindustan Times, May 14 2023

vote. In contrast, members of the Lok Sabha, or Members of Parliament (MPs), are elected through general elections held every five years, unless the government is dissolved earlier.India has 543 parliamentary constituencies. To form a government, a party or alliance must win a simple majority, which is 272 or more seats. The two major political parties in India are the Indian National Congress (INC) and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Additionally, there are several regional parties, such as the Samajwadi Party, Bahujan Samaj Party, and Aam Aadmi Party, which either form alliances before elections, support other parties post-election, or choose not to participate in government formation.

The Election Commission of India (ECI) is an independent body responsible for conducting elections. It recognizes party symbols, arranges election logistics with the help of government machinery, oversees vote counting, declares winners, and handles other electionrelated tasks. Parliamentary constituencies are determined based on the size of the electorate, which means that sometimes two districts may fall under a single constituency.

In 2024, India held its general elections in seven phases from April 19 to June 1. This phased approach accommodates the large electorate. Concurrently, some states, like Andhra Pradesh and Odisha, held assembly elections. The results were announced on June 4. The INC won 99 seats, improving its performance by 47 seats compared to the 2019 elections. The BJP won 240 seats, 63 fewer than in 2019. With support from regional parties like the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) and Janata Dal United (JD(U)), the NDA formed a coalition government on June 7.

2.2. Bharat Jodo Yatra

Under the leadership of Rahul Gandhi, the INC conducted two significant yatras: the *Bharat Jodo Yatra (BJY)* and the *Bharat Jodo Nyay Yatra (BJNY)*. The Bharat Jodo Yatra, meaning "Unite India March," began on September 7, 2022, from Kanyakumari and concluded in Srinagar on January 30, 2023. This yatra covered approximately 4,000 kilometers over 145 days, passing through 12 states and 2 union territories on foot. The primary goal of the BJY was to connect with grassroots Congress workers and the citizens of India. The

success of the BJY is credited with helping the Congress party regain power in Karnataka after 10 years (Link).

Building on the momentum of the BJY, the INC led the Bharat Jodo Nyay Yatra, which started on January 14, 2024, from Thoubal in Manipur and concluded on March 16, 2024, in Mumbai. Unlike the previous yatra, the BJNY was conducted in a hybrid mode, combining bus travel with short walks to cover a broader area in a shorter time. This yatra spanned 6,200 kilometers, covering 14 states, and aimed to engage with a significant portion of the electorate ahead of the 2024 general elections. The BJNY differed in both logistics and objectives, focusing on mapping as many constituencies as possible, which is why it primarily used buses with shorter walks.

Figure **??** charts the map of the route of the two *Yatras*, Figure **??** reports the *BJY* map, and Figure **??** produces the *BJNY* constituency-map. Both yatras have been pivotal in shaping the Congress party's strategy and outreach efforts, helping to spread their election manifesto to the voters across India. A unique feature of these *Yatras* was their extensive reach: the BJY mapped India from south to north, while the BJNY mapped it from east to west. This kind of yatras are not new in Indian politics. Similar yatras have been conducted by various leaders and parties, such as the *Ram Rath Yatra* by the Bharatiya Janata Party in the 1990s.

3 – Data & Methods

3.1. Description of the datasets

3.1.1. Election Results

We first scrape the parliamentary constituency (PC) level results of the 2024 General Elections from the Election Commission of India's (ECI) official website (link). This dataset encompasses details such as candidate names, party affiliations, Electronic Voting Machine (EVM) votes, postal votes, total votes polled, and the corresponding vote percentages. For illustrative purposes, Figure 1 presents a snapshot of the constituency-level data

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Disclaimer: ECI is displaying the information as being filled in the system by the Returning Officers from their respective Counting Centres. The final data for each AC/PC will be shared in Form-20.									
General Election to Parliamentary Constituencies: Trends & Results June-2024 Parliamentary Constituency 4 - Wayanad (Kerala)									
S.N.	S.N. Candidate Party EVM Votes Postal Votes Total Votes %								
1	RAHUL GANDHI	Indian National Congress	642299	5146	647445	59.69			
2	ANNIE RAJA	Communist Party of India	280594	2429	283023	26.09			
3	K SURENDRAN	Bharatiya Janata Party	139868	1177	141045	13			
4	P.R KRISHNANKUTTY	Bahujan Samaj Party	1946	27	1973	0.18			
5	SATHYAN K.P	Independent	1017	42	1059	0.1			
6	SINOJ A.C	Independent	885	18	903	0.08			

for Wayanad (Kerala) constituency as published on the ECI website.

Figure 1: Constituency-Level Data for Wayanad (Kerala) Constituency Source: ECI Website

We use R programming language to create a scrapping crawler which extracts the information from all the constituency pages published in ECI website. Subsequently, we digitize candidate-level information from the affidavits submitted by candidates to the ECI, available on their website. The affidavits submitted by each candidate provide comprehensive biographical details, including age, gender, educational qualifications, any outstanding criminal offenses, and a declaration of total assets and liabilities. Due to the potential challenges associated with extracting data from OCR-formatted affidavits, we rely on the PDF versions of these documents compiled by the Association of Democratic Reforms (ADR). The ADR prepares comprehensive reports containing the affidavits of candidates contesting elections in each phase of the 2024 general elections. We scrape candidatelevel information from these reports ⁵ and aggregate the into a final dataset for the 2024 general elections.

Given that the candidate-level information does not contain the state ID and parliamentary code, we manually match this dataset with the parliamentary constituency data

^{5.} ADR reports can be downloaded from here

scraped from the ECI website by constructing a unique identifier comprising the candidate's name, parliamentary constituency, and associated party. Additionally, there are significant inconsistencies in the naming conventions for candidates, constituencies, and parties between the ECI parliamentary-level data and ADR's candidate-level data. For instance, the candidate name appears as "Ashok Kumar Sharma" in the ECI data, while it is listed as "ASHOK SHARMA" in the ADR data. Similarly, the parliamentary constituency name is "Dakshin Singhbhoom" in the ECI data and "DAKSHIN SHINGBHUM" in the ADR data. Party names are abbreviated in the ADR data but are in full form in the ECI data. Addressing these inconsistencies requires extensive data cleaning efforts. Additionally, we incorporate parliamentary and candidate-level data from the 2019 general elections, sourced from the Agarwal et al. (2021)(link). To merge the 2019 and 2024 data, we create a unique identifier for each parliamentary constituency by combining the state ID and parliamentary ID. This merging process also necessitates making the data comparable, such as converting abbreviated party names to their full forms. For example, in the 2019 data, the Samajwadi Party's name is stored in abbreviated form as "SP".

For our main analysis, we retain only those constituencies where both the Indian National Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party contest in both election cycles. Furthermore, we exclude candidates affiliated with parties not associated with either the INDIA alliance or the NDA alliance. To further enhance our understanding, we conduct a spillover analysis. The rationale behind this approach is that political rallies or campaigns held in a specific constituency often mobilize individuals residing in neighboring areas, thus creating a spillover effect. For the spillover analysis, we map the constituencies within a radius of 50-75 km from the Yatra constituencies. To achieve this, we utilize the India Parliamentary Constituencies Shapefile of year 2024 provided by the Election Commission of India (ECI), accessed through this link. We then merge the data of the Yatra constituencies using the unique identifier created by combining the state ID and parliamentary code. Subsequently, we determine the centroids of the parliamentary constituencies and calculate the Euclidean distance between the Yatra centroids and the centroids of constituencies within the 50-75 km radius. We compare the constituencies falling within this range to those located beyond it, allowing us to assess potential spillover effects from the Yatra events.

3.1.2. BJY and BJNY Route

To find the actual routes traversed by the BJY and BJNY yatras, we conduct a data collection effort utilizing multiple sources. Primarily, we analyze information extracted from the official websites of both yatras (now defunct)⁶. These websites house daily itineraries, presented in the form of yatra news for each day of the respective journeys. For example, the following vignette provides a snapshot of the 25th day of Nyay Yatra: "*Day 25: Rahul Gandhi - 30 Lakhs Forced To Migrate, 30 Allowed To Loot*

The 25th day of the Bharat Jodo Nyay Yatra commenced with a visit to Vedavyas Dham in the Sundargarh district of Western Odisha. It is believed that Sage Vedavyas, the author of the Mahabharata, composed the epic in the cave of this temple. After worshiping, the Yatra continued on its path. The Bharat Jodo Nyay Yatra and Rahul Gandhi's roadshow took place from Uditnagar to Panposh Chowk. Thousands of people participated in the procession, chanting slogans in support of Rahul Gandhi. Upon reaching Panposh Chowk, Congress leader Rahul Gandhi addressed the crowd, targeting both the central and state governments."

In addition to this, we delve into the Indian National Congress press releases issued during the yatra period. The press release section serves as a repository of official announcements from the INC party (link). Furthermore, we supplement our analysis with a thorough examination of relevant archived articles from a leading national newspaper, *The Hindu*. By cross-referencing these newspaper reports with the narratives published on the BJY/BJNY websites, we are able to map the actual routes followed by the yatras.

To assign constituencies to the specific yatra locations, we define a "Yatra constituency"

^{6.} Note: The Android App of Nyay Yatra has the daily itineraries of Nyay Yatra

as the parliamentary constituency encompassing the particular town or locality visited by the yatra. For instance, if the Nyay Yatra visits the town of Sonapur, which falls within the Uttar Dinajpur parliamentary constituency, Uttar Dinajpur is designated as a "Yatra constituency" (e.g., Uttar Dinajpur coded as 1).

The BJY and BJNY yatras experience deviations from their original schedules due to various circumstances. An illustrative example is the cancellation of the second leg of the Nyay Yatra in Jharkhand, which occurs when a senior Congress leader is required to attend a farmers' protest in Delhi(link) and in Uttar Pradesh over the board exams(link). These circumstances result in a shortfall compared to the planned number of constituencies visited by the yatras. In total, the BJY and BJNY yatras cover 131 constituencies. It is important to note that some constituencies are visited by both yatras, such as Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh and Bulandshahar in Uttar Pradesh.

3.2. Summary Statistics

In this section, we present the summary statistics for the *Yatra* and non-*Yatra* constituencies. Table 1 contains the statewise breakup of the number of constituencies visited by the Yatra, vote shares for the BJP and the INC, and the number of seats won by the respective parties. In total, the *Yatra* covered 130 parliamentary constituencies out of which 54 were visited during the first leg or the *Bharat Jodo Yatra* and the *Bharat Jodo Nyay Yatra* covered 78 constituencies. Was the choice of constituencies contingent upon specific characteristics of a constituency? We first estimate the determinants of *Yatra* through Equation 1.

$$Yatra_c = \alpha + \beta X_{c,2019} + \epsilon_c \tag{1}$$

where $Yatra_c$ is the set of three dummy variables (whether either of yatras went through a constituency, whether *Bharat Jodo Yatra* passed through a constituency, and whether *Bharat Jodo Nyay Yatra* went through a constituency) and $X_{c,2019}$ is the vector of 2019 general election-level covariates. We present the determinants in Table 2 showing that the *Yatras* were more likely to go through an ST constituency, constituencies with larger number of electors and those constituencies which had incumbent Lok Sabha members. It does not appear that the *Yatras* were more (or less) likely to go through a constituency won by the INC or the BJP or by any of the alliances in 2019.

Table 3 presents the Yatra-wise vote shares for the BJP and the INC. *Panel A* reports the vote shares and the difference in vote shares for the constituencies covered by either of the *Yatras*. The INC's vote share in *Yatra* constituencies is roughly six percentage points higher than the non-*Yatra* constituencies. The vote-share difference for the BJP is positive as well (around 2.5 percentage points). *Panel B* and *Panel C* present the summaries for the outcomes for each leg of the *Yatra*. While the INC's vote share in *BJY* constituences was 4.5 percentage points higher than the non-*BJY* constituencies, we do not find any statistically significant difference in the vote share for the BJP. In *BJNY* constituencies, INC's vote share was roughly five percentage points higher than non-*BJNY* constituencies. The corresponding numbers for the BJP stood around roughly four percentage points. To summarise, it seems that the INC did better in places visited by the two *Yatras*. However, prima facie, we can rule out that this difference came at the expense of their main opponent, the BJP.

3.3. Estimation Strategy

We estimate three sets of equations for the analysis.

The first set estimates the 2024 outcomes as a function of *Yatra*. Equation 2 estimates the following outcome variables of our interest: vote share of party p in the constituency c as a function of the yatra.

$$Y_{p,c} = \alpha + \beta \times \text{Yatra}_c + \gamma \times X_{p,c} + \delta_{\text{phase}} + \epsilon_{p,c}$$
(2)

where $Y_{p,c}$ is the vote share of party p in constituency c in the 2024 elections, Yatra_c is a dummy variable that takes value one if constituency c was covered under the Yatra,

 $X_{p,c}$ is a vector of candidate-level and constituency-level control variables, δ_{phase} absorbs the phase-level fixed effects, and $\epsilon_{p,c}$ is the error term.

The second set- as shown in Equation 3 involves the change in the vote share of parties as a function of *Yatra*.

$$\Delta Y_{p,c} = \alpha + \beta \text{Yatra}_c + \gamma X_{p,c} + \phi Y_{p,c,2019} + \delta_{\text{phase}} + \epsilon_{p,c}$$
(3)

where $\Delta Y_{p,c}$ is party p's change in vote share between 2019 and 2024 general elections, Yatra_c contains the dummy for Yatra, $X_{p,c}$ is the set of candidate and constituency level controls, and $Y_{p,c,2019}$ is party p's 2019 election vote share. The controls used in the analysis are gender, education-level of the candidate, age, loggged pending cases against the candidate, logged total assets. These are measured at both 2019 as well as 2024 levels. We also include constituency-level controls such as type of constituency (General, SC, ST), number of candidates, number of electors, turnout rate, effective number of parties⁷.

Equation 4 models the probability of BJP/INC winning a Lok Sabha seat in 2024 as a function of *Yatra*, candidate characteristics, constituency-level controls, and whether the party won the seat in the 2019 elections.

$$I_{p,c,2024} = \alpha + \beta \times \text{Yatra}_c + \gamma \times X_{p,c} + \phi \times I_{p,c,2019} + \delta_{phase} + \epsilon_{p,c} \tag{4}$$

where $I_{p,c,2024}$ is the dummy variable which takes value one if party p wins the seat in 2024 and $I_{p,c,2019}$ is the dummy variable which switches on when party p wins the seat in 2019.

4 – Results

We divide the results into three different sections. We first discuss the difference in voteshares, and then describe the differences in vote-shares over time, and close the discussion

^{7.} Some of these variables are not available for the 2024 elections. For instance, the Election Commission of India hasn't yet released the number of electors for the first and the second phase of the 2024 elections.

by presenting estimated probability of party victory in 2024.

4.1. Vote Share in 2024 Elections

Table 5 reports the results where we have estimated 2024 party and alliance vote shares as a function of *Yatra* without controls. Panel A contains the results for the INC and the INDIA alliance whereas Panel B houses the results for the BJP and the NDA. We show that INC's vote share in constituencies covered by either of the *Yatras* was roughly 6.5 percentage points higher than non-*Yatra* constituencies. The point estimates for the association between INC vote share *BJY* and *BJNY* hover around 5.5 percentage points. The INDIA alliance gained roughly 1 to 1.5 percentage points in constituencies covered by yatra, but the confidence interval is too wide for these estimates to carry any meaning. The BJP's vote share in 2024 was around 2.3 percentage point higher in *Yatra* constituencies. When we look at individual *Yatras*, we find that the BJP gained about 3 percentage points in the *BJNY* constituencies and 1.5 percentage points in *BJY* constituencies. However, we note that the reported estimate on *BJY* is statistically insignificant. We also report no statistically significant association between *Yatra* and NDA vote share. While the sign is negative, the reported difference is too small in percentage points terms.

What happens to the 2024 vote shares when we add candidate-level and constituencylevel control variables? We report these results in Table 6. Like the previous results, the estimates are divided in two panels: Panel A (INC and INDIA) and Panel B (BJP and NDA). INC's vote share in *Yatra* constituencies exceeds the vote share in non-*Yatra* constituencies by roughly 5 percentage points. The first phase of *Yatra* yields a gain of around 2.2 percentage points for the INC but the confidence interval for the estimate contains zero. In the *BJNY* constituencies, INC's vote share was around 6 percentage points higher than its vote share in the non-*BJNY* Lok Sabha seats. We do not find any statistically significant difference in vote share for the BJP or the alliances. In fact, statistical(non)significance notwithstanding, the BJP also gains around in the *Yatra* constituencies. The coefficient on *Yatra* is around 2.3 percentage points for the BJP, and for the NDA, the corresponding figure is approximately 0.6 percentage points. To summarize, the INC seems to have done better in the *Yatra* constituencies in the 2024 elections, but this difference has not resulted in the reduction of vote share for its major rival, the BJP. The question, now, should be: how things changed between the 2019 and the 2024 elections? The next section discusses the results.

4.2. Change in Vote Share: 2019-2024

We report these results in Table 7 and Table 8. We start operationalizing Equation 3 by regressing the change in the vote share (for different parties) on the three *Yatra* dummies, the 2019 vote share, and the phase fixed effects. Table 7 contains these estimates.

We show that the vote share of the INC in constituencies covered by either of the *Ya*tras went up by \approx 3.4 percentage points. The corresponding change in the vote share of the BJP stood at around -0.5 percentage points, but this specific estimate is statistically insignificant. We find that *BJY* constituencies saw an increase in the INC's vote share between 2019 and 2024 by 3.23 percentage points and the BJP's vote share too rose by around 0.7 percentage points (not significant, though). In the *BJNY* constituencies, the vote share of the INC went up by nearly 3 percentage points and the BJP's vote share fell by about 1.2 percentage points. The estimates for the *BJNY* constituencies are statistically indistinguishable from zero.

We add all the available controls⁸ for the 2019 and the 2024 elections to our models and report the results in Table 8. The estimated rise in the INC's vote share associated with *Yatra* stands at \approx 3 percentage points and the estimated fall in the vote share of the BJP is statistically insignificant. In the *BJY* constituencies, both INC and BJP saw a (statistically insignificant) increase in the vote share. Finally, in *BJNY* constituencies, the estimated fall in the BJP vote share is about 3.6 percentage points and the estimated fall in the BJP vote share is not statistically significant and around 1 percentage point. In short, it

^{8.} We do not have data for many variables. For instance, we do not have information about the age of candidates for the 2019 elections. Similarly, we don't know the effective number of parties for the 2024 elections.

seems that the INC did benefit from the *Yatra* not just in terms of the 2024 vote share but also when we track the constituencies over time; the gain in vote share over time has once again not come at the expense of the BJP's vote share. Now, the next critical question to ask is: how is the *Yatra* linked to the odds of a party winning a Lok Sabha seat? We detail these results in the next section.

4.3. Probability of Win: 2024 Elections

Following Equation 4, we model the probability of the victory of the INC/the BJP as a function of *Yatra* and report these findings in Table 9 and Table 10. We have used a linear probability model to report the estimates.

Table 9 contains the results where we have only included the phase fixed effects and whether a given party won the seat in the 2019 elections. We find that, if we look at the individual *Yatras*, the odds of the INC winning the election has not improved. The signs on the coefficients in columns (2) and (3) are positive but the confidence interval is wide enough to contain zero. However, when we look at column (1), we show that the passage of *Yatra* increases the probability of INC victory by nearly 10.5 percentage points, but the confidence interval is wide. We also show that there is no association between either of the *Yatras* and the probability of the victory (or loss) of the BJP. When we add controls, none of the *Yatra* variables are significantly related to the probability that the INC or the BJP wins a Lok Sabha seat.

4.4. Additional Analysis

How reliable are the estimated vote share, change in vote share, and odds of winning? We present a few subsample and heterogeneity tests to examine how our estimates change.

4.4.1. Spillover Analysis

We have so far defined a *Yatra* constituency as the one where either the *BJY* or the *BJNY* covered a location within the constituency. It is possible that the *Yatra* may have spatial spillover association with voting patterns. In particular, a constituency which is closer

to a Yatra constituency may also witness similar voting behaviour. We create different buffer zones based on the distance to Yatra constituency. The distance ranges from 55km to 75km. The constituencies within a particular distance band are recoded as Yatra constituencies and we compare the change in the vote share of the two parties as a function of this newly-created *Yatra* variable and all other controls used in the main analysis. The results are presented in Table 11. We show that, for distance bands of 55km, 65km, 70km, there is an increase in the INC vote share between 2019 and 2024. The point estimates range between \approx 2.5 and 5 percentage points. We do not find significant change (the sign remains positive) in the INC vote share for the following distance bands: 60km and 70km. There is limited evidence that the BJP's vote share fell between 2019 and 2024; for larger buffer zones (65km and 75km), we do report statistically significant fall in the vote share of the BJP. However, given the range of the estimates, it is safe to say that the overall estimated change in BJP's vote share is close to zero. We also run this spillover analysis for the win probability of the two parties in the 2024 elections. The results are reported in Table 12. The estimated difference in the probability of INC/BJP victory is statistically insignificant for smaller buffer zones (55km, 60km). We do report a large positive jump in the probability of INC winning a Lok Sabha seat for the distance bands of 65km, 70km, and 75km. We also report a negative and statistically significant fall in the probability of BJP victory.

4.4.2. Heterogeneity Analysis

We have conducted three heterogeneity and subsample analyses. We first divide the data into states that are ruled by NDA and those ruled by the INDIA. Within the NDA ruled states, it seems that INC's vote share has increased by \approx 4 percentage points between 2019 and 2024 in the BJY constituencies. On the other hand, within the INDIA-ruled states, there is a fall in the vote share for the BJP in the BJNY constituencies. These results are reported in Table 13. We interact the *Yatra* dummies with the SC/ST constituencies dummies and present the results in Table 14. We show that while there is no significant

change in INC's vote share, there is a fall in BJP's vote share in ST constituencies covered by BJY by close to 7.5 percentage points; there is an increase in BJP's vote in SC constituencies covered by *BJNY*. Finally, we split the sample into four different regions (East, West, North, South). We have used South as the base category and report these results in Table 15. We find close to 13 percentage points jump in INC's vote share in constituencies in the East covered by either of the *Yatras* and the corresponding figure for the North stood at \approx 6.7 percentage points jump. We don't find any heterogeneity for the BJP's change in vote share. We further interact the *Yatra* dummies with the state variable to examine the individual state effects of the yatra on vote share, vote share change (2019-2024), and the winning probability of a party. Using Rajasthan as the base category, we observe significant negative changes in vote share in states such as Arunachal Pradesh (approximately 20 percentage points), Meghalaya (approximately 40 percentage points), and Telangana (approximately 20 percentage points). These results are presented in Figure 4. There was no effect on the BJP vote share (see Figure 5). Next, we present the state-level variation of the yatra's impact on the vote share change of the INC in Figure 6. In Meghalaya, the yatra had a large negative effect on the vote share, decreasing by approximately 42 percentage points, while Assam experienced positive effects on vote share change. However, for the BJP, Assam saw a decline in vote share where the yatra took place (see Figure 7). Finally, we examined the winning probabilities and show in Figure 8 that, compared to the base state Rajasthan, Meghalaya and Telangana had a negative probability of winning for the INC, while Bihar showed a positive probability. In Figure 9, we see that Assam and Punjab had a negative winning probability for the BJP.

5 – Conclusion

This paper presents fresh evidence on the association between countermovement against the politics of vishwas and election outcomes by studying the 2024 Indian national elections. We show that the *Yatras* run by the Congress achieved limited success. Firstly, the vote share in *Yatra* constituencies is roughly five percentage points higher than non-*Yatra* constituencies. Secondly, there is a three percentage points increase in INC's vote share over time associated with the *Yatras* but these estimates are quite noisy. Thirdly, while there is no association between the *Yatras* and the BJP's performance, we do find that in ST constituencies, the BJP's vote share has declined.

The findings of this paper should be read with the caution that the estimates presented here are not causal. For instance, a lot of political mobilization, over the last few years, has been on the social media. We do not have access to any data that allows us to measure the variation in political engagement on the internet and its correlation with election outcomes. These shortcomings notwithstanding, we are able to demonstrate that countermovements in weaker democracies can work. The future work should focus on the long-run effects of the *Yatra*.

6 – Tables and Figures

6.0.1. Tables

State/UT	# Constituencies	Ya	Yatra			Party Vote Share (2024)		Seats Won (2024)	
State/01	# Constituencies	BJY/BJNY	BJY	BJNY	BJP	INC	BJP	INC	
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	0	0	0	50.58	38.54	1	0	
Andhra Pradesh	25	2	2	0	11.29	2.70	3	0	
Arunachal Pradesh	2	1	0	1	48.53	30.40	2	0	
Assam	14	8	0	8	37.43	37.44	9	3	
Bihar	40	6	0	6	20.52	9.20	12	3	
Chandigarh	1	0	0	0	47.67	48.22	0	1	
Chhattisgarh	11	3	0	3	52.65	41.05	10	1	
DNH & DD	2	0	0	0	52.81	25.08	1	0	
Delhi	7	7	7	0	54.39	18.89	7	0	
Goa	2	0	0	0	50.92	39.62	1	1	
Gujarat	26	4	0	4	61.79	31.28	24	1	
Haryana	10	3	3	0	46.10	43.68	5	5	
Himachal Pradesh	4	1	1	0	56.43	41.68	4	0	
Jammu and Kashmir	5	3	3	0	24.43	19.39	2	0	
Jharkhand	14	7	0	7	44.55	19.25	8	2	
Karnataka	28	5	5	0	46.09	45.39	17	9	
Kerala	20	6	6	0	16.67	35.05	1	14	
Ladakh	1	0	0	0	23.58	27.59	0	0	
Lakshadweep	1	0	0	0	-	52.29	0	1	
Madhya Pradesh	29	10	3	8	59.28	32.44	29	0	
Maharashtra	48	16	5	11	26.18	16.92	9	13	
Manipur	2	2	0	2	16.58	47.63	0	2	
Meghalaya	2	1	0	1	-	34.06	0	1	
Mizoram	1	0	0	0	6.83	20.07	0	0	
Nagaland	1	1	0	1	-	52.83	0	1	
Odisha	21	2	0	2	45.41	12.53	20	1	
Puducherry	1	0	0	0	35.83	52.73	0	1	
Punjab	13	4	4	0	18.56	26.31	0	7	
Rajasthan	25	7	6	1	49.22	37.93	14	8	
Sikkim	1	0	0	0	4.95	0.58	0	0	
Tamil Nadu	39	2	2	0	11.26	10.67	0	9	
Telangana	17	5	5	0	35.19	40.10	8	8	
Tripura	2	0	0	0	70.76	11.51	2	0	
Uttar Pradesh	80	17	2	16	41.36	9.46	33	6	
Uttarakhand	5	0	0	0	56.87	32.70	5	0	
West Bengal	42	7	0	7	38.74	4.67	12	1	
Total	543	130	54	78	36.57	21.98	239	99	

Table 1 – Descriptive Statistics

(1) Note: Total number of seats won by BJP is 240. Surat constituency seat was declared won by BJP before the actual election.

(2) DNH = Dadra & Nagar Haveli, DD = Daman & Diu.

		Depend	lent Variab	le: Yatra
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
INC Won (2019)	0.048			
	(0.071)			
BJP Won (2019		0.053		
		(0.042)		
INDIA Won (2019)			-0.008	
			(0.068)	
NDA Won (2019)				0.069
				(0.045)
SC Constituency	-0.052	-0.055	-0.053	-0.056
	(0.042)	(0.040)	(0.042)	(0.040)
ST Constituency	0.254***	0.238***	0.250***	0.237***
	(0.062)	(0.065)	(0.064)	(0.064)
Incumbent (2019)	0.097*	0.089*	0.097*	0.085*
	(0.051)	(0.049)	(0.051)	(0.050)
Turncoat (2019)	-0.086	-0.089	-0.089	-0.094
	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.058)	(0.060)
Log electors (2019)	0.115**	0.105**	0.110**	0.101**
	(0.049)	(0.045)	(0.052)	(0.048)
Turnout Percentage (2019)	-0.002	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Number of candidates (2019)	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
ENOP (2019)	-0.002	0.000	-0.001	0.000
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
# Constituencies	540	540	540	540

Table 2 – Determinants of Yatra

Note: Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the state level. *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1. In the regression, the main dependent variable is a dummy variable for Yatra that takes value = 1 if either BJY or BJNY went through a constituency. The variable Turncoat refers to political party affiliation changes since the previous election of MP. The variable ENOP is the effective number of parties.

	(1)	(2)	(3)				
Panel A: Yatra							
	Vote S	Share (in %)					
	Yatra Constituency	Non-Yatra Constituency	Δ (Yatra - Non-Yatra)				
Bhartya Janta Party (BJP)	46.2	43.64	2.57*				
Indian National Congress (INC)	39.02	33.15	5.87***				
Panel B: BJY							
	Vote Share (in %)						
	BJY Constituency Non-BJY Constituency		Δ (Yatra - Non-Yatra)				
Bhartya Janta Party (BJP)	44.87	44.21	0.66				
Indian National Congress (INC)	38.73	34.22	4.51*				
Panel C: BJNY							
	Vote S	Share (in %)	(Vetue New Vetue)				
	BJNY Constituency	Non-BJNY Constituency	Δ (latra - Non-latra)				
Bhartya Janta Party (BJP)	47.58	43.71	3.87**				
Indian National Congress (INC)	39.01	33.98	5.02**				
Note: Column (4) of the table report the	t-test results for the estimat	red difference in 2024 vote share betw	een Yatra and non-Yatra constituencies.				
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1							

Table 3 –	·Yatra-wise	Differences i	n Vote	Share ((2024)
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	(1)	(2)	(3)
Panel A: Yatra			
	Vote Shar	e Change (in %)	
	Yatra Constituency	Non-Yatra Constituency	Δ (Yatra - Non-Yatra)
Bhartya Janta Party (BJP)	-3.27	-1.75	-1.51
Indian National Congress (INC)	6.52	3.68	2.84***
Panel B: BJY			
	Vote Shar	e Change (in %)	
	BJY Constituency	Non-BJY Constituency	Δ (Yatra - Non-Yatra)
Bhartya Janta Party (BJP)	-1.53	-2.22	0.69
Indian National Congress (INC)	6.63	4.18	2.45
Panel C: BJNY	Vote Shar	e Change (in %)	
	vote shar		Δ (Yatra - Non-Yatra)
	BJNY Constituency	Non-BJNY Constituency	``````````````````````````````````````
Bhartya Janta Party (BJP)	-4.44	-1.72	-2.71*
Indian National Congress (INC)	6.72	4.06	2.66

Table 4 – Yatra-wise Differences in the Change in Vote Share (2019-2024)

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

	Dependent Variable = Vote Share (2024					
Panel A	Indian N	Vational Co	ongress	INDIA Alliance		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
BJY/BJNY in Constituency(Yes)	6.512***			1.371		
	(1.676)			(1.540)		
BJY in Constituency(Yes)		5.510***			1.576	
		(1.948)			(1.984)	
BJNY in Constituency(Yes)			5.641**			1.053
			(2.191)			(2.056)
Observations	328	328	328	713	713	713
Panel B	Bhart	tiva Ianta I	Party	Nationa	al Democra	atic Alliance
	Dilui	ily a failta i	urty	1 vation		
BJY/BJNY in Constituency(Yes)	2.332*			-0.080		
	(1.309)			(1.443)		

Table 5 – Association	between Bharat	: Jodo Y	atra and	Vote Share ((2024)

Panel B	Bhart	iya Janta I	Party	National Democratic Allian		
BJY/BJNY in Constituency(Yes)	2.332*			-0.080		
	(1.309)			(1.443)		
BJY in Constituency(Yes)		1.488			1.232	
		(2.219)			(2.112)	
BJNY in Constituency(Yes)			3.044**			-0.516
			(1.309)			(1.745)
Observations	440	440	440	530	530	530
Controls	No	No	No	No	No	No
Phase FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.						

	Dependent Variable = Vote Share (2024)					
Panel A:	Indian National Congress			INDIA Alliance		
BJY/BJNY in Constituency(Yes)	(1) 4.916*** (1.659)	(2)	(3)	(4) 0.819 (1.318)	(5)	(6)
BJY in Constituency(Yes)	(1.037)	2.218 (2.330)		(1.510)	1.321 (1.901)	
BJNY in Constituency(Yes)			5.916*** (2.089)			0.276 (1.676)
Observations	328	328	328	711	711	711

Tab	ole	6 - 1	Association	between	Yatra and	Vote S	hare (2024)
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Panel B:	Bhartiya Janta Party			National Democratic Alliance		
BJY/BJNY in Constituency(Yes)	2.281			0.577		
	(1.392)			(1.336)		
BJY in Constituency(Yes)		1.857			1.660	
		(2.028)			(1.982)	
BJNY in Constituency(Yes)			2.610			0.0364
			(1.733)			(1.648)
Observations	438	438	438	528	528	528
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Phase FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Controls: gender, Educational qualification, logged pending cases, Age, logged total assets, type of constituency (SC/ST/GENERAL), number of candidates contesting election in a constituency, and constituency's voter turnout percentage.

	Dependent Variable = Change in Vote Share (2019 - 2024)						
	Indian National Congress			Bhartiya Janta Party			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
BJY/BJNY in Constituency (Yes)	3.368**			-0.573			
	(1.359)			(0.781)			
BJY in Constituency (Yes)		3.230**			0.712		
		(1.539)			(1.226)		
BJNY in Constituency (Yes)			2.847			-1.208	
			(1.851)			(0.834)	
# Constituencies	306	306	306	396	396	396	
Controls	No	No	No	No	No	No	
Phase FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	

Table 7 – Association between Yatra & Change in Vote Share

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. $p{<}0.01,\ ^{**}p{<}0.05,\ ^*p{<}0.1.$

Table 8 – Association between Yatra & Change in Vote Share

	Dependent Variable = Change in Vote Share (2019 - 2024)						
	Indian National Congress				Bhartiya	a Janta Party	
BJY/BJNY in Constituency (Yes)	(1) 2.989**	(2)	(3)	(4) -0.743	(5)	(6)	
	(1.357)			(0.823)			
BJY in Constituency (Yes)		1.717			0.193		
		(1.545)			(1.285)		
BJNY in Constituency (Yes)			3.588**			-1.072	
			(1.802)			(0.906)	
# Constituencies	304	304	304	393	393	393	
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Phase FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Controls: vote share of the respective party in the 2019 elections, candidate-level 2024 controls: gender, educational qualification, age, logged pending cases, logged total assets; candidate-level 2019 controls: gender and educational qualification; constituency-level 2024 controls: constituency type, number of candidates, turnout percentage; constituency-level 2019 controls: number of candidates, effective number of parties, logged number of electors.

			Depende	ent Variab	le = Party W	Vin
	Indian I	Vational (Congress		Bhartiya J	anta Party
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
BJY/BJNY in Constituency (Yes)	0.105^{*}			0.012		
	(0.056)			(0.052)		
BJY in Constituency (Yes)		0.055			0.064	
		(0.075)			(0.076)	
BJNY in Constituency (Yes)			0.107			-0.017
			(0.074)			(0.062)
# Constituencies	306	306	306	396	396	396
Controls	No	No	No	No	No	No
Phase FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 9 – Association between Party Win and Yatra

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1.Controls: Party win in 2019 election (Yes/No)

Table 10 – Association between Party Win and Yatra

	Dependent Variable = Party Win							
	Indian National Congress				Bhartiya Janta Party			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		
BJY/BJNY in Constituency (Yes)	0.060			0.035				
	(0.054)			(0.052)				
BJY in Constituency (Yes)		0.001			0.067			
		(0.075)			(0.071)			
BJNY in Constituency (Yes)			0.086			0.011		
			(0.073)			(0.064)		
# Constituencies	304	304	304	393	393	393		
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
Phase FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Controls: whether party won the seat in the 2019 elections, candidate-level 2024 controls: gender, educational qualification, age, logged pending cases, logged total assets; candidate-level 2019 controls: gender and educational qualification; constituency-level 2024 controls: constituency type, number of candidates, turnout percentage; constituency-level 2019 controls: number of candidates, effective number of parties, logged number of electors.

	Dependent Variable = Change in Vote Share (2019 - 2024)					
	Indian National Congress	Bhartiya Janta Party				
Yatra (55km)	2.539*	-0.412				
	(1.345)	(0.819)				
Yatra (60km)	1.633	-0.675				
	(1.288)	(0.836)				
Yatra (65km)	4.877***	-3.759***				
	(1.664)	(1.028)				
Yatra (70km)	4.545**	-1.364				
	(2.286)	(1.346)				
Yatra (75km)	1.569	-10.87**				
	(3.699)	(4.504)				
# Constituencies	304	393				
Controls	Yes	Yes				
Phase FE	Yes	Yes				

Table 11-Spillover Analysis (Change in Vote Share)

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Controls: whether party won the seat in the 2019 elections, candidate-level 2024 controls: gender, educational qualification, age, logged pending cases, logged total assets; candidate-level 2019 controls: gender and educational qualification; constituency-level 2024 controls: constituency type, number of candidates, turnout percentage; constituency-level 2019 controls: number of candidates, effective number of parties, logged number of electors.

	Dependent Variable = Party Win						
	Indian National Congress	Bhartiya Janta Party					
Yatra (55km)	0.0861	0.0455					
	(0.0572)	(0.0531)					
Yatra (60km)	0.0759	0.0638					
	(0.0573)	(0.0536)					
Yatra (65km)	0.284***	-0.199***					
	(0.0555)	(0.0507)					
Yatra (70km)	0.308***	-0.150**					
	(0.0797)	(0.0710)					
Yatra (75km)	0.331**	-0.472***					
_	(0.157)	(0.118)					
# Constituencies	304	393					
Controls	Yes	Yes					
Phase FE	Yes	Yes					

Table 12 – Spillover Analysis (Probability of Party Win)

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Controls: whether party won the seat in the 2019 elections, candidate-level 2024 controls: gender, educational qualification, age, logged pending cases, logged total assets; candidate-level 2019 controls: gender and educational qualification; constituency-level 2024 controls: constituency type, number of candidates, turnout percentage; constituency-level 2019 controls: number of candidates, effective number of parties, logged number of electors.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Depend	2019 - 2024)				
Panel A NDA ruled states	Indian 1	National (Congress	Bha	rtiya Jant	a Party
BJY/BJNY in Constituency(Yes)	2.530			-0.933		
	(1.871)			(0.962)		
BJY in Constituency(Yes)		4.108^{*}			0.495	
		(2.435)			(1.722)	
BJNY in Constituency(Yes)			1.072			-1.052
			(2.239)			(1.099)
#Constituencies	157	157	157	231	231	231
Panel B INDIA ruled States	Indian I	National (Congress	Bha	rtiya Jant	a Party
BJY/BJNY in Constituency(Yes)	-1.036			-0.935		
	(1.477)			(1.742)		
BJY in Constituency(Yes)		-0.453			1.496	
		(1.667)			(1.728)	
BJNY in Constituency(Yes)			-3.854			-5.807***
			(5.175)			(1.965)
#Constituencies	72	72	72	83	83	83
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Phase FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 13 – Sub-sample analysis (NDA & INDIA ruled states)

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1. Controls: whether party won the seat in the 2019 elections, candidate-level 2024 controls: gender, educational qualification, age, logged pending cases, logged total assets; candidate-level 2019 controls: gender and educational qualification; constituency-level 2024 controls: constituency type, number of candidates, turnout percentage; constituency-level 2019 controls: number of candidates, effective number of parties, logged number of electors.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		
	Depe	Dependent Variable = Change in Voteshare (2019 - 2024)						
	Indian I	National (Congress	E	ta Party			
Yatra (Yes) \times SC Constituency	-0.889			3.185				
	(3.015)			(2.148)				
Yatra (Yes) \times ST Constituency	0.359			-0.525				
	(5.028)			(2.732)				
BJY (Yes) \times SC Constituency		3.159			3.634			
		(3.049)			(2.929)			
BJY (Yes) $ imes$ ST Constituency		3.820			-7.674***			
		(4.151)			(2.944)			
BJNY (Yes) \times SC Constituency			-2.620			3.597*		
			(4.047)			(2.143)		
BJNY (Yes) \times ST Constituency			-2.286			2.571		
			(5.739)			(2.826)		
Observations	304	304	304	393	393	393		
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
Phase FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		

Table 14 – Heterogeneity by Reserved Constituency

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1. Controls: whether party won the seat in the 2019 elections, candidate-level 2024 controls: gender, educational qualification, age, logged pending cases, logged total assets; candidate-level 2019 controls: gender and educational qualification; constituency-level 2024 controls: constituency type, number of candidates, turnout percentage; constituency-level 2019 controls: number of candidates, effective number of parties, logged number of electors. Reference Category for Yatra / BJY/BJNY regression are constituencies where yatra didn't go in general constituency (Yatra (No) × General Constituency). Likewise for BJY and BJNY.

Table 15 – Heterogeneity by Region

	Dependent Variable: Change in Votes Share (2019 - 2024)					
	Indian National Congress	Bhartiya Janta Party				
Yatra (Yes) X East Region	12.89**	-4.557				
	(4.970)	(3.461)				
Yatra (Yes) X North Region	6.717**	-0.858				
	(3.220)	(2.630)				
Yatra (Yes) X West Region	2.921	0.0480				
	(4.152)	(3.318)				
Observations	304	393				
Controls	Yes	Yes				
Phase FE	Yes	Yes				

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1. Controls: whether party won the seat in the 2019 elections, candidate-level 2024 controls: gender, educational qualification, age, logged pending cases, logged total assets; candidate-level 2019 controls: gender and educational qualification; constituency-level 2024 controls: constituency type, number of candidates, turnout percentage; constituency-level 2019 controls: number of candidates, effective number of parties, logged number of electors. Refernce Category for regression is constituencies where yatra didn't go in south region (Yatra (No) × South Region). Likewise for BJY and BJNY.

6.1. Figures



Figure 1 – Yatra (BJY/BJNY) constituency Map.



Figure 2 – Bharat Jodo Yatra (BJY) constituency Map.



Figure 3 – Bharat Jodo Nyay Yatra (BJNY) constituency Map.



Figure 4 – State Level Variation in Vote Share (2024) (INC)

Note: Y-axis shows the interaction coefficient of State and Yatra = 1. The reference category is state of Rajasthan where yatra didn't go.



Figure 5 – State Level Variation in Vote Share (2024) (BJP)



Figure 6 – State Level Variation in Voteshare Change (2024) (INC)







Figure 8 – State Level Variation in Winning Probability (2024) (INC)



Figure 9- State Level Variation in Winning Probability (2024) (BJP)

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