Politics, Parties, People: Field Notes from Electoral Campaigns in Odisha|India

Dr. Priti Sriranjan

HOD, Psychology

SCS, College, Puri, India

Bikram Keshori Jena

EDLC Fellow, USA

Director, CARD, Odisha, India

"In the end, that's what this election is about? Do we participate in a politics of cynicism or a politics of hope?" – Barack Obama

Abstract

This report is about a critical analysis of elections in Odisha over the past few decades. Diverse social groups in the state have been politicised and mobilised for electoral purposes based on social cleavages, rather than common economic interest, ideology or leadership. A theoretical framework has been developed in almost every district to analyse and trace the processes of tradition and reconfiguration of the electoral landscape. It answers the questions: What message does the state hold for Parliament or assembly elections? How do the people, who belong to a state, respond to national and state leaderships? Our state has been receiving appreciation as a platform where mainstream politics unfolds and, in a significant way, shapes the national politics including the formation and stability of the government at the Centre, a trend that started in the post-Congress polity. But it may raise a lot of questions among the political pundits and strategic gurus about how the new style of election mechanism and campaign approach should be re-looked. "Naveen Raj" continues in Odisha with chief minister Naveen Patnaik's unmatched leadership not only registering successive wins in elections but also touching minds and hearts. My paper does not waste so many words on the defeat the Congress, India's oldest political party, in successive elections in the

state. It does not also focus much on the Bharatiya Janata Party, which has been not accepted by people in Odisha despite changing election slogans from 'vikash' (development) to 'kabastan' (burial ground) and 'Pakistan' from one election to another. My paper attempts to study how leadership and style of approach in electoral politics causes landslide wins for Patnaik and the Biju Janata Dal. In 2019 general and state assembly elections, the Congress was on the backfoot from day one. The fight in Odisha was directly between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and chief minister Patnaik. The first was known for his outstanding skill of 5P (passion, propaganda, promotion, publicity and progressiveness) and the second for his 3D effect (decency, discipline and difference). I will, however, also take look at lack of 3I (infrastructure, identity and ideology) in the electoral process.

1. Introduction

India has received worldwide acclaim for being a successful democracy. But before coming to Odisha, let us refer to a general criticism the election studies in the country have faced. Succinctly referred to as 'the fallacy of electroralism' (Jayal, 2001), quite a few studies of elections, especially the ones based on survey-based or library/ web-based researches (Website of the Election Commission of India, 2019), have been too empirical, mostly concerned with presenting the facts and figures related to voting in the polls. The researches mainly focus on the nature of campaigning, electoral issues, poll strategies of different parties in the fray, number of votes polled, electoral verdicts, formation of government, and so on and so forth. However, the relationship between media and politics can change dramatically in different societies. Ethnographic studies can deepen and broaden the ways theories of political communication engage with issues of media and globalisation. In today's 'post-truth' societies, imaginary and baseless things can be accepted worldwide. Ethnography offers grounded accounts of the actors (voters and leaders) including ethnic, indigenous communitarian and sexuality-based groups to promote local political agendas at regional, national and even global levels (Thussu, 1999). Dominated by quantitative methods and rational choice theories, contemporary works of political development or programme related to election marketing continue to be far more influenced by traditional sender-message-receiver-response models of communication. Starting with few presumptions about how media works, ethnography often reveals links between media consumption and the broader web of social relationships within which people are embedded. The promotional events of national and local levels are widely marketed by all parties as the best campaigning tools during elections. Ethnography also offers insights into the complex ways that engage people's imaginations with the political ideologies embedded in seemingly political texts, which subsequently gives rise to micro-political concepts of citizenship and national belonging (Dickey, 1993b). In Odisha, the concept of 'tactical voting' was used first time in the state media in 2019. The young and fresh minds were ignited with tactical voting pattern in favour of the aspirational prime minister at the Centre and ambitious chief minister in the state. Fight was seemingly between welfare schemes like the Centre's Ujjwala and state's KALIA and PEETHA (The Samaja, 2019).

2. Popular Slogans

Aapana Mane Khusita? (Are you all happy?)

Naveen Mora Parivar Sankha Mora Chinha (Naveen Patnaik is my family member and Biju Janata Dal symbol 'conch' my symbol)

Chun Chun KE Marunga!

Modi Chodeganehi Gharme Ghuskar Marega! (Modi will not spare, kill opponents by entering their houses)

Pulwama Attack Re Odia Jawan Saheed (Odia soldier killed in Pulwama attack)

Phir Ekbaar Modi Sarkar (elect Modi government yet again)

(The first slogan was meant to direct Odia voters towards the second slogan, which is voting in favour of Modi's party)

Paribartan Hei Jau!

The Congress got sandwiched between high-decibel campaigns by the BJP and BJD. It slid from the second to third positive after the assembly election. In the Lok Sabha, held simultaneously, it got just one seat out of the total 21. Probably, the first political party of independent India's fixation with Gandhi-Nehru family has led to lack growth of political leadership at the state levels and more so in Odisha where the party has been out of power for the last two decades. Without strong state level leadership, organisation and, maybe, funding, the Congress lagged behind in event management.

The BJP and BJD, however, did not lose any opportunity to try to connect with the mass national and sub-national pride, whether genuine or false. Take for example the 200th anniversary of Paika Rebellion. Public relation blitzkrieg by both parties went overdrive to attract the Khandayat (Paika), an Other Backward Class, who are a major vote bank in Odisha. Both the parties organised big events like seminars and celebrations in Odisha as well as New Delhi to commemorate "the sacrifice of the warriors" of the Khandayat caste like Baxi Jagabandhu. The nomination of sculptor Raghunath Mohapatra and Odissi dancer Sonal Mansingh, both Khandayats, to Rajya Sabha by the President was in a way a message to the dominant political force that the national party was there to protect their interests (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i8iLauaQsi4).

Amidst these event management exercises that pitched two main leaders against each other, party ideology and party system were a complete washout. Politicians crossed over to rival parties that they were criticising till quitting their own party. One of the glaring instances may be that of Naba Kishore Das, a senior Congress leader and two-time MLA of Jharsuguda who joined the BJD just before the 2019 elections and got elected for the third time from the assembly seat. Bhupinder Singh, former leader of the opposition in the assembly, and another Congress leader Rohit Pujari had joined the BJD in similar fashion just before the 2014 elections. Even Patnaik, who has maintained his "spotlessly clean" image with his white shirt, had also started his chief ministership by aligning his party with prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's BJP in 2000 (Interview with Sr. Journalist Mr.Rabi Das, 2019). In 2009, he dumped the national party on the basis of "equidistance from both the BJP and Congress". Was it an ideological stand or sheer opportunism by a showman of 21st century?

On the other hand, the BJP shared power in the state with the BJD from 2000 to 2009. Its leaders got several important portfolios in the coalition government headed by Patnaik and equally enjoyed power. But the national party forgot to spread their presence in rural pockets of Odisha, while Patnaik slowly and steadily enhanced his image among the people in grassroots. By the time, both the parties broke off in 2009 following the killing of Vishwa Hindu Parishad leader Swami Laxmanananda in Kandhamal and subsequent anti-Christian riots, BJD had build up a strong organisation at the grassroots level, thanks to BJD's former number two leader Pyarimohan Mohapatra (Interview with K. V. Singdeo, 2014). Patnaik sacked Mohapatra in 2012 from the party accusing the latter of fuelling rebellion against him

but one has to give him credit for creating a robust multi-layered party structure, which has made Patnaik invincible so far (https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/elections/assembly-elections/odisha-assembly-election-result-live/articleshow/69453976.cms?from=mdr,Assesed).

In 2019, Odisha saw a different kind of electoral battle. While the whole country was being swept by 'Modi wave', there was a distinct 'Naveen wave' in the state. However, the younger voters in urban areas seemed to tilt towards the national leader's charisma and that explained tactical voting in some places, which benefited the BJP in Lok Sabha polls. Now top election managers like Prasant Kishore may also learn some lessons from Odisha and need to capture methods applied by the BJD to implement them elsewhere for success.

The choice of Pramila Bisoyi, a leading self-help group (SHG) leader, as the BJD candidate for Aska Lok Sabha seat had a reverberating effect on women in general and SHG members in particular across the state. Bishoyi became the ambassador of women's empowerment and the state government's Mission Shakti. Projecting her as a leader who came up from the grassroots drew electoral dividends for the BJD. During the campaign, the BJP was quite visible due to its vast resources in term of manpower and material, and was thought by many as a serious challenger to BJD. But mostly invisible were the women voters, a strong electoral force and Patnaik's silent backers. Almost a half of voters in Odisha are women. The women SHG members mobilised the women in favour of the BJD and ensured all women participated in the voting process. They clearly played a major role in the BJD getting landslide win in the assembly elections. Much before the elections, the same SHGs were the major catalysts in implementation of various government welfare schemes meant for women like Mamata and for rural poor Harischandra Yojana and thereby ensuring Patnaik's strong grip over the underprivileged people. The women were ably backed by the members of Biju Yuba Bahini formed before the elections to attract the youth with the concept of 'Make in Odisha'. As a result, during the election campaigns, Patnaik's slogan in the form of "Aapan Mane Khushita?" touched a chord with women, youth and first-time voters. In fact, as an event, the Make in Odisha concert created major impact in aspirational young minds. They youth looked forward to getting considerable job creation and it made the BJD easier to pushits electoral agenda forward (Interview with finance minister, Government of Odisha, Sashi Bhusana Behera, 2019). Not surprisingly, Naveen got absolute majority and became the chief minister of Odisha for the fifth time. The BJP took the solace of dislodging the Congress as the main opposition party in Odisha and increasing its Lok Sabha seats from one in 2014 to eight Lok Sabha seats.

3. Look East Policy

Though Patnaik helped the BJD repeat its overwhelming win in the assembly and maintain its supremacy in Lok Sabha elections in 2019, it was his toughest electoral battle since he came to power in Odisha in 2000. Resource-wise, the BJP was equal to, even superior than, the BJD. The charisma of Modi was all over India and it was very difficult for Patnaik to protect his political turf. For Modi and his deputy Amit Shah, Odisha was part of their Look East policy. Over the years, both had visited the state to build up a strong party organisation.

Along with West Bengal, Odisha was targeted to secure Modi's position in the Centre. Besides, more MLAs from Odisha would mean more seats in Rajya Sabha. Patnaik had never campaigned as extensively as he did in the 2019 elections, making whirlwind tour of the entire state in a bus specially designed for him at a time the temperature touched 45 degree Celsius. His campaign was almost door to door (https://medium.com/@cpnanda/of-crowd-chemistry-moral-society-and-digital-subjectivities-indian-elections-2019-bfff49e8af8a). Many so-called election experts at the national levels had started predicting huge gains for the BJP in Odisha and projected Union minister Dharmendra Pradhan as a big threat to Patnaik. Besides Modi and Shah, all most all central ministers campaigned for BJP candidates in Odisha. But the outcome of the elections shocked the national pundits. Though the BJP dislodged the Congress as the main opposition, its tally in the assembly elections was much behind the BJD's to offer any serious threat. The distribution of ticket played a major role in the BJD's emphatic victory. All the candidates were personally scanned and chosen by Patnaik. The candidates were meticulously selected by him considering their winning capacity, grassroots hold and popularity (Interview with Mahesh Barik, General Secretary, BJP, Koraput district at Balasore, 2019). That was not with the case of the BJP and Congress. The BJP had the resource but lacked grassroots organisation while the Congress' did not have resources and its organisational set up had eroded considerably over the years. Naturally, most of their candidates did not have appeal in their respective areas.

Patnaik formed his fifth consecutive government in Odisha after the election. His party, BJD, has 113 MLAs in the state assembly, which has a total strength of 147 seats. In fact, the BJD increased its vote share marginally from 43.35% in the 2014 assembly polls to around 45%. Despite a remarkable BJP victory across most parts of India, the BJD held on to its pocket borough, even in the parliamentary elections (https://thewire.in/politics/elections-2019-results-odisha-naveen-patnaik-bjd.ASEES). With around 43% vote share – a drop of around one percentage point compared to its performance in 2014 parliamentary polls – it got 14 out of 21 Lok Sabha seats. However, the BJP has replaced the Congress as the principal opposition party in both assembly and parliamentary polls. Its vote share has increased from around 18% in 2014 to more than 30% in 2029. The BJP's parliamentary performance is better. From 21.54% in 2014, it has increased its vote share by almost 18 percentage points in 2029. It could be safely said that its campaign "Vote Modi for PM" worked. The Congress became the main casualty in the process. Its vote share came down to nearly 16% from 26% in the same period. Despite minor losses, both in terms of seats and vote share, the BJD beat anti-incumbency sentiments through multiple strategies. It became the first party to reserve 33% seats for women, a measure, many said, Pattnaik took to consolidate his popularity among women voters. Then it also announced a farmers' support programme KALIA (Krushak Assistance for Livelihood and Income Augmentation) and changed more than a half of the BJD's incumbent MLAs. As part of a strategy, Patnaik also adopted a pacifist approach towards the BJP. He maintained that he had and would remain equidistant to both the national parties. In most of his speeches and interviews, he strongly asserted that the BJD was an Odisha-centric party concerned only with the state's interests (Ongoing Paper by

Prof. Umakanta Misra).

Perhaps, this is the reason why Odisha voted for him yet again despite the fact that Modi was very popular in the state. Over the years, Patnaik has implemented various populist programmes for the poor and developed a world class disaster management programme. Such factors have led to his successive victories. In contrast, Mamata Banerjee, the Trinamool Congress chief minister of the neighbouring West Bengal, confronted the BJP strongly as it gained ground in the state. The aggressive campaign from both sides helped the saffron party build up its campaign against the state government. The BJP, which won a significant number of seats in Bengal, projected Mamata's aggression against opposition parties as anti-democratic, which further fuelled the anti-incumbency sentiment against her. Patnaik, on the other hand, refused to be caged in the BJP's narrative and built his own state-centric political campaign.

During the fourth and final phase of the Lok Sabha and assembly elections in Odisha, there was clearly a growing clamour for Modi as the prime minister and Naveen Patnaik as the chief minister, especially in urban and semi-urban areas. But despite the growing buzz around the BJP, there were reasons why even die-hard BJP supporters were wary of predicting the number of seats the party might win in Odisha due to the national party's 'weak' organisational infrastructure. The buzz around Modi might have gained momentum in the state, but the party's organisational infrastructure on the ground failed to match the hype. BJP leaders in Odisha told The Print that the party not only lacked "well-heeled election machinery" like the BJD's, but it also a strong leadership in the state to convert the support for Modi into votes. "We have traditionally been strong in western Odisha. So, we have some organisational infrastructure there. Otherwise, as of now, we do not have the infrastructure to take on the organisational heft of the BJD. The BJD's network at the grassroots is very strong," said a BJP leader, who did not wish to be named. The leader added that while the BJD's organisation had penetrated into the ward level, the BJP only managed to reach up to the panchayat level. Also, unlike the BJD, which had Patnaik as its face, the BJP did not have strong leadership in the state (Ibid).

"This did not give much confidence to the voters. The BJP only built its poll narrative around PM Narendra Modi, which was not enough," said another leader of state BJP unit, requesting anonymity. "With the Congress relegated to the sidelines, the BJP has come to occupy the opposition space in Odisha, but not to the extent of forming the government (in the state)."

A senior BJP leader, who held a position in the state unit, said the problem began after Union petroleum minister Dharmendra Pradhan was given the responsibility to prepare the party's strategy for the 2019 elections. "Infighting started between Pradhan's faction and the old guard who were sidelined by the former. There is a lot of resentment against Pradhan as he is seen as someone who is arrogant and intolerant," said the senior BJP leader.

The infighting, he added, intensified as elections got closer. "Many of the state unit leaders who had contested in 2014 were either denied ticket or replaced from their old constituencies," he said. Among the leaders who left the BJP after falling out with Pradhan and being denied tickets were Rajkishore Das and Subhas Chouhan, both of whom were from the RSS and

among the handful involved in setting up the BJP in Odisha in the early 1990s. "I was with the BJP from 1992 onwards and worked hard to prepare the base for the BJP. But since the last four years, the new party leadership in the state has been doing things their way. They sidelined us," Das said, when he was denied ticket to contest from Morada assembly seat in Mayurbhanj. Das had lost from the seat in 2014. "After working selflessly for the party for 25 years, I could not take the humiliation and quit. I joined the BJD as there was no other alternative," Das said**.**

"In the last five years, though the BJP-led NDA government had been generous to Odisha and showered the state with central funds to implement schemes like Ujjwala, Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana, among others, people, especially in rural areas, who were benefitted the most from Patnaik government's schemes, were his most loyal supporters," said professor R.K. Satapathy of North-Eastern Hill University, who closely tracks Odisha politics and is also part of Lokniti, the research wing of Centre for the Study of Developing Societies. The then Union tribal affairs minister Jual Oram, who was the sitting MP from Sundergarh, however, said the BJP had succeeded in making people aware that majority of the doles given by the BJD dispensation was funded by the central government. "The state government on its own has just funded a handful of schemes. Naveen Patnaik does not run the administration in Odisha. It's his close cadre of bureaucrats, who run the show for him. People are now fed up and want change," Oram, who sought re-election from the same seat and won (The Print, 2019).

4. Triangular Contest and Past Elections

A senior BJP leader in the state said that in a triangular fight, technically speaking, the party should have an edge because of the division of votes between the BJD and the Congress. "But a weak Congress, which has been relegated to the sidelines in the state, ended up playing spoilsport, which favoured the BJD," said the leader (Ongoing Paper by Prof. Umakanta Misra, Ravenshaw University, Cuttack, Decoding Naveen's invincibility).

The BJP had won just one seat in Odisha in 2014 Lok Sabha elections and came third with a vote share of 21.88%, up from 16.89% in 2009. The BJD had won 20 seats with a vote share of 44.7% while the Congress did not win any seat but had a vote share of 26.3%. In the 2014, assembly elections, the BJP won 10 of the 147 seats against the BJD's 117 seats. The Congress secured 16 seats (https://theprint.in/politics/why-love-for-modi-in-odisha-may-not-convert-into-votes-for-bjp/ 228874/ASSES). However, after 2014, the BJP's renewed focus on Odisha saw the party gaining ground in the state. In the 2017 rural elections, the BJP won 297 of the 854 zilla parishad seats, coming second to BJD, which won 650 seats. In the 2012 rural elections, the BJP had won just 36 seats. "There is a strong undercurrent for the BJP. We have it in us to win all the 21 Lok Sabha seats, but let's wait for the results on May 23 to see," Oram said before the 2019 polls (Ibid).

It was becoming increasingly clear that Odisha figured prominently in the Bharatiya Janata Party's (BJP) scheme of things for 2019. It had emerged as a key state in the party's Look East policy. The BJP top brass was hopeful of making major gains here, both

in Lok Sabha and assembly elections.

Nothing else can explain the keen interest being shown in the state by Prime Minister Modi and his lieutenant-in-chief and BJP president Shah. Modi's repeated visits to Odisha to address public meetings and lay the foundation for several projects in the run-up to the elections spoke volumes about his seriousness about conquering Odisha.

Two factors appeared to have boosted the BJP's confidence: Its credible performance in the rural elections and the decline of the Congress, which appeared more divided than ever despite a change of guard. But the saffron party was unable to build on its zila parishad gains, as was evident from its defeat in the Bijepur assembly by-poll in 2018 and subsequently in the by-election for Bijatala zilla parishad in Mayurbhanj district. In both these places, the BJD proved its superiority again (https://medium.com/@cpnanda/of-crowd-chemistry-moral-society-and-digital-subjectivities-indian-elections-2019-bfff49e8af8a).

The defeat in Bijatala was particularly embarrassing for the BJP as it had been making tall claims about its hold on tribal dominated districts like Mayurbhanj. Besides, the BJD was able to snatch away the seat despite its local MP Ramchandra Hansdah, a chit fund scam accused, virtually missing from the action during the campaign.

5. Western Belt Stronghold

Equally significant was the fact that the BJP had moved away from core issues like development of western Odisha. It was this promise, which made it a force to reckon with and eight of the party's ten MLAs were from the state's western belt. The party had once built up popular movements to highlight the poverty and under-development of western Odisha, an area known for droughts and starvation deaths. However, it was seen as compromising on these issues when it shared power in the state with the BJD from 2000 to 2009. Despite sharing power for almost a decade, the party failed to ensure fiscal autonomy for the Western Odisha Development Council (WODC), an independent body formed to boost infrastructure in the western parts of the state (Ibid).

In sharp contrast to the BJP, the BJD had been choosing issues carefully with an eye on the elections, which was likely to be a duel between the two parties. Patnaik played the regional card deftly on the 21st foundation day of his party on December 26 in 2018 by raising the demand for fiscal autonomy to Odisha. He held the Centre squarely responsible for the state's failure to develop railways, national highway network and telephone connectivity. The clever politician that he is, Pattnaik invoked Biju Patnaik, his father and an iconic figure in Odisha, at the event. The senior Patnaik was the first to demand fiscal autonomy for the state, raising the slogan of Odia pride. Echoing his father, Naveen Patnaik sought to subsume his earlier demand for special category status to Odisha under the overarching fiscal autonomy issue. "If we have fiscal autonomy, we will neither require special category status nor central grants. We can develop Odisha with our own resources," he said in a deliberate bid to whip up regional passions. Seen in the context of his meeting with Telengana chief minister K. Chandrasekhar Rao, who was

trying to forge a federal front of regional parties, Pattnaik's demand assumed a special significance (https://thewire.in/politics/bjp-odisha-bjd-2019-elections). Hidden in it was also a message for Modi, who had virtually launched his party's campaign for the 2019 elections in Odisha two days earlier. Patnaik was fiercely protecting the BJD's turf to snuff out any chance of the lotus blooming in Odisha. The chief minister also contested from two assembly seats – Bijepur in western Odisha in addition to his traditional coastal constituency of Hinjili – for the first time to check the BJP's growing influence in the western parts of the state (https://medium.com/@cpnanda/of-crowd-chemistry-moral-society-and-digital-subjectivities-indian-elections-2019-bfff49e8af8a).

6. Top Developments in Odisha in Politics

1). Patnaik became Odisha CM for fifth-time consecutive time.

2). The BJP secured second position pushing the Congress to third.

3). Pattnaik's BJD kept growing with each election since 2000 defying anti-incumbency factor. It won 61 seats in 2004, 103 in 2009, and 117 in 2014. In 2019, it lost just four assembly seats but increased vote share from 43.35% in the 2014 to around 45%.

4). The state went to polls in an unprecedented four phases and registered a voter turnout of 73.1% compared with 73.79% in 2014.

5). Patnaik became the seventh longest serving chief minister in the electoral history of the country with over 20 years of rule.

6). In the 2017 rural elections, BJP strengthened its position by winning 297 zila parishad seats out of the total 851, a significant improvement from 36 in 2012. The saffron party relegated the Congress, which got just 60 seats compared with 128 in 2012, to the third position. Though the BJD won the majority of 473 seats, it was a major fall from the 651 seats it had won in 2012. The BJP's success in rural elections was due to the fact that the party had changed its strategy by holding protests and demonstrations at panchayat and mandal levels instead of the usual state and urban levels earlier.

7). The BJP's success in rural polls forced the BJD to reorganise and rejuvenate its party organisation keeping in mind 2019's simultaneous general and assembly elections.

8). The BJD's restructuring paid up in February 2018 when the bypoll for the Bijepur assembly seat in Bargarh was held. The regional party won the seat with a margin of over 40,000 seats.

9). With the Congress out of the contention in coastal Odisha, the BJP looked forward to a direct fight with the BJD and engineered a number of defections weeks before the 2019 elections to make inroads into new areas (https://www.news18.com/news/politics/odisha-assembly-election-results-bjd-crosses-100-seat-mark-in-signs-of-a-landslide-in-patnaiks-favour-2156005.htmlASSES). BJP president Shah repeatedly visited Odisha. A bureaucrat observed at that time: "The BJP has never

emphasised on the state like this."

10). Vote share comparison: In Lok Sabha elections, the BJP cornered 38.37% of the votes polled in 2019, a 16.49 percentage point rise from 21.80 percent in 2014, data showed. BJD's vote share weakened lightly—from 44.77% in 2014 to 42.76% now. The Congress, saw a steeper drop — from 26.38% in 2014 to 13.67% in 2019 (https://www.bloombergquint.com/elections/odisha-election-results-2019-bjp-improves-showing-bjd-still-in-controlASSES).

7. Results of Jeypore Assembly Seat

The result of Jeypore assembly constituency was in excepted lines. Congress candidate Taraprasad Bahinipati won the seat defeating his BJD rival Rabinarayan Nanda with a margin of more than 5,500. Bahinipati managed to win despite strong campaigns by more resourceful BJD and BJP due to his personal popularity. His aggressive campaigning also helped the Congress' Koraput Lok Sabha candidate Saptagiri Ulaka win. In Odisha, the Congress could win only in Koraput Lok Sabha seat.

Table 1. The result of Jeypore assembly constituency

Party	Votes	Votes(%)	Candidates Name
INC	59,785	37.87%	TraprasadBahinipati
BJD	54,334	34.42%	Rabinarayana Nanda
BJP	33,805	21.41%	Goutam Samantray
BSP	2,876	1.82%	Krushna Chandra Sagaria
NOTA	2,397	1.52%	NOTA
APOE	1,275	0.81%	Pradeep Mohan Takri
IND	1,216	0.77%	B. Hari Rao
IND	1,103	0.70%	Subash Chandra Gouda
ABHM	1,071	0.68%	Mahendra Kumara Patro

8. Results of Jatani Assembly Seat

Table 2. The result of Jatani assembly constituency

Party	Votes	% of vote	Name of the candidate
INC	68,841	42.94%	Sures Kumar Routray
BJD	61,319	38.25%	Bibhuti Bhusan Balabantaray
BIP	26,256	16.38%	Biswa Ranjan Bdajena
IND	484	0.70%	NOTA
NOTA	550	0.34%	Naba Kishore Paikaray
BSP	1,121	0.70%	Basanta Kumar Nayak
AITC	484	0.30%	Jadumani Pradhan
IND	458	0.29%	Kishore Kumar Mangaraj

9. Tactical Voting

Two of the best examples of tactical voting – Modi for PM and Naveen for CM – were seen in Bhubaneswar and Bargarh Lok Sabha constituencies. The BJP's Lok Sabha candidate Aparijita Sarangi won from Bhubaneswar though not a single MLA candidate from her party won in the assembly segments of the constituency (Table 3). Similarly, in Bargarh Lok Sabha seat, BJP candidate Suresh Pujari won despite all the assembly segments were bagged by the BJD (Table 4). In Balasore Lok Sabha constituency, the BJP won because the personal popularity of its candidate Pratap Sarangi at local level was added by the Modi factor (Table 5). Sarangi was helped by two other factors: First, the narrative that the sitting BJD MP Rabindra Jena would go to jail due to his alleged involvement in financial irregularities even if he won and Sarangi would be a central minister if he won clicked with the voters. Second, Congress leader Srikant Jena, who had lost to Jena in 2014, was expelled from his party before the elections. A triangular contest between with Srikant Jena in fray would have made it difficult for Sarangi (Santosh, 2019).

9.1 Bhubaneswar

Table 3. The voting in Bhubaneswar

Party	Votes	% of votes	Name of the candidate
BJP	486,991	48.47%	Aaparajita Sarangi
BJD	463,152	46.07%	Anup Kumar Patnaik
CPI (M)	23,026	2.29%	Janardan Pati
NOTA			
KRPP	2,816	0.28%	Biswanath Rout
IND	2,665	0.27%	Susil Kumar Jena
IND	1,497	0.15%	Biswanath Ramachandra
BSP	2,780	0.28%	Lalita Kumar Nayak
AITC	2,360	0.23%	Jayant Kumar Das
FPI	2,344	0.23%	Subhranshu Sekhar Padhi
IND	1,491	0.15%	Mahesh Chandra Sethi
CPI(ML)R	1,482	0.15%	Pramila Bisoi
KLS	1,382	0.14%	Bhakta Sekhara Roy

9.2 Baragarh

Table 4. The voting in Baragarh

Party	Votes	% of votes	Name of the Candidate
BJP	581,245	46.58%	Suresh Pujari
BJD	517,306	41.45%	Prasanna Kumar Acharya
CONG.	109,417	8.77%	Pradeep Kumar Debata
NOTA	14,167	1.14%	NOTA
BSP	11,056	0.89%	Kousika Suna
IND	8,346	0.67%	Kulamani Uma
IND	6,375	0.51%	Md.. Nizamudin

9.3 Balasore

Table 5. The voting in Balasore

Party	Votes	% of votes	Name of the Candidate
BJD	470,902	40.675	Rabindra Jena
CONG	179,403	15.49%	Nabajyoti Pattnayak
IND	816	0.07%	Jagannath Das
AITC	3,900	0.22%	Haji Sheikh Abdul Istar
IND	2,582	0.21%	Basantalata Pattanayak
IND	2,454	0.14%	Saroj Kumar Panda
IND	1,676	0.12%	Ramanath Barik
IND	1,422	0.12%	Jadunath Sethi
ANC	1,356	0.11%	Mohammad Ali
PJP (S)	1,241	0.07%	Ramakanta Panda
PSP(L)	825	0.07%	Subash
NOTA	7,436	0.34%	NOTA

9.4 Puri (Lok Sabha)

Table 6. The voting in Puri (Lok Sabha)

Party	Voted Polls	% of votes	Name of the Candidate
BJD	538321	47.40%	Pinaki Misra
BJP	526607	46.37%	Dr. Sambit Patra
CONG.	44734	3.94%	Satya Prakash Nayak
NOTA	7217	0.64%	NOTA
BSP	6283	0.55%	Nrusingha Charan Das
ABHM	5008	0.44%	Jya Prakash Sethi
CPI (ML) L	2651	0.23%	Mandakini Sethi
KLS	2487	0.22%	Sabyasachi Mohapatro
CPI (ML) R	2312	0.20%	Ranjan Misra

Table 6 shows that the Lok Sabha fight in Puri was between two heavyweights, the BJP's Sambit Patra and BJD's Pinaki Misra. Patra was a young and attractive face from the BJP and Misra the most trusted face of Naveen Patnaik's team. The voting percentage of the BJP increased unexpectedly. Congress candidate Satya Prakash Nayak being absent from campaigning also helped the BJP but in the end Misra scraped through with a slender margin.

9.5 Kendrapara

Table 7. The voting in Kendrapara

Party	Votes	% of votes	Name of the Candidate
BJD	628,939	50.87%	Anubhaba Mohanty
BJP	476,355	38.53%	Baijyanta Panda
CONG	113,841	9.21%	Dharanidhara Nayak
NOTA	6,588	0.53%	NOTA
SP	5,138	0.42%	Rabindra Nath Behera
IND	2,281	0.18%	Santosh Kumar Patro
KRPP	1,868	0.15%	Srikanta Samal
IND	1,456	0.12%	Santosh Kumar Das

Table 7 shows that Kendrapara Lok Sabha constituency was very crucial for the BJD. Patnaik wanted a BJD win at any cost because it was a prestige issue for him. The party made top Odia film actor Anubhabha Mohanty as its candidate but I found nothing in favour of Baijyanta Panda, who represented Kendrapara thrice as a BJD MP, Mohanty delivered a humiliating defeat on him.

10. Young Minds with New Tools of Communication

The people of Odisha earlier depended on newspapers for news and information. After the ETV group started its regional news and entertainment channel in the state, it was able to attract a large number of viewers. Subsequently, the family of Baijayanta Panda, who was in the BJD, launched OTV, now Odisha's No.1 news channel. OTV contributed to creating Patnaik's larger than life persona. It also helped Panda's growth politically. However, after Panda left the BJD and joined the BJP, the latter got extensive coverage in the channel in the run up to 2019 elections. On the other hand, the BJD managed to get Soumya Ranjan Patnaik, who owns large circulated Odia daily Sambad and news channel Kanak TV, to its fold.

Across India, the media – print, electronic and social – has played a big role in swinging public opinion in favour of one party or another. In the last few years, a sizable chunk of the so-called mainstream media has transformed itself to be a propaganda machine for the ruling dispensation. Instead of providing news and information, many television news channels and newspapers serve agenda driven contents to influence the voters to vote for a particular party. The young people are vulnerable to such malicious propaganda wrapped as news. Besides, social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram have become potent

tools at the hands of the political class to target young voters and lure them to their folds. The mainstream and social media are also misused to polarise voters, especially youth, on caste and religion lines. Such tactics were also visible in Odisha during the elections. Sadly, there is no platform to educate the young minds and make them aware of right choices while casting their votes. Real development of people has hampered due to agenda driven and event based elections. We always lack in Odia pride and our identity in big national canvas. Odias are criticised all over. While states like Gujarat and Tamil Nadu have six air ports each, Odisha's second air port at Jharsuguda was inaugurated by Prime Minister Modi before the 2019 elections. All these need to be addressed by the Naveen regime. Why Odisha lags behind in development despite repeatedly electing strong governments? Are the young voters aware of political changes? How public intellectuals in the state behave? What kind of political psychology we possess? (Jena, 2019).

11. Politics of Development and Determination

Any kind of development needs sensitive thought of determination and political willingness to take it forward to the next level of understanding. Without much facts and theoretical information, how can one expect for a healthy society, based on a strong political philosophy and public intellectuality? There is a huge gap between public intellectuals and policy intellectuals and there is not much insight into public philosophy (Dialogue with Samarendra Das, 2019). In post-truth society, can we think politics of development to refigure as "policy for social change"? These are my own limited understanding about all new imagination for any region or geographical boundary – public policy through the dynamics of public sphere and new public discourse in the public arena. If you look back to the initial phase of modernity, we in Odisha always lacked our position as a region without identity. Despite endowed with rich culture, language, literature, philosophy and history, we do not have a prominent voice from the past to present. I will be documenting the story of political philosophy and politics of development in a project, "Odisha since 200: Focusing on Naveen Rule" (Interview with former PCC member at his residence Jeypore during elections, 2019).

Patnaik was successfully projected as a Messiah of Development with the state government organising high profile events like Make in Odisha, World Cup Hockey, Hockey India League and Asian Athletic Championship. Two of India's biggest film stars Salman Khan and Shah Rukh Khan came to Odisha when the World Cup Hockey began and endorsed Patnaik's 'vision' and 'simple' lifestyle. During election campaigns the image was sold to the voters by the BJD to counter Modi's persona. The BJD also successfully retained the Adivasi and Dalit voters. It made Achyuta Samanta, the founder of Kalinga Institute of Social Sciences (KISS), an exclusive school for thousands of Adivasi and Dalit students, as the MP candidate for Kandhamal, where Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes are in a majority. It was at a time when Jual Oram, the tribal poster boy of the BJP was being ignored by his party. Oram was a big influencer to draw tribals from the Congress to the BJP. It is doubtful if poll experts will delve into such dynamics. However, it is imperative that social scientists take a serious look at such changes at macro and micro levels through, dialogue, debate and discussion, and then build database accordingly (Palshikar & Suri, 2014).

12. Conclusion from Mythology

Ramayana is considered one of the sacred books of Hinduism. The main character Lord Rama is the ideal man who practises ideal politics. He is made to rule over a state to develop the status of the citizens. The king is considered to be the chief servant of the state who has the responsibility to make the state better with the resources of the state. The king has more duties than rights. He is accountable for each of his actions. Politics can be ideal if it is combined with accountability. On the contrary, the ideal politics got polluted over years. A time came when politics became the right by birth (Rahul Gandhi, Priyanka Gandhi, Naveen Patnaik and many more in contemporary politics). In Mahabharata, on the other hand, the example of polluted politics is observed. The reign is mixed with diplomacy and treason. Mahabharata's power struggle starts from the day when Pitamaha Bheesma takes an unbreakable vow for his father's love. He is the most talented and powerful man of the dynasty but does not occupy the throne. Pandu occupies the throne though he is not the eldest. His elder brother Dhritarashtra thinks it is an injustice with him whereas it is nothing like that. After the death of king Pandu his elder brother comes to power and changes the real picture of politics. He is not only visually impaired but also impaired by his ambition. For the ambition of making his son the king he can go to any extent. But the royal court is bestowed with many wise and righteous people. His younger step-brother and prime minister Virura is a man of righteousness and integrity. He advises the king against such acts. But the king has only one ambition, to make son the king and eventually it destroys the whole kingdom. Vidura knows what is good for the state but he has no rights or power to implement anything. Bheesma has the power and knowledge to save the state but he thinks the love for his father is more important than his state. When people think their personal affairs more important than the state affairs, murky situation beyond control occur. Vidura advises appropriately to king Dhritarastra, Bheesm, Drona and other great people. But these great men are afflicted with a disease called 'nistha' (loyalty). They have loyalty towards the king and not the state. It is their private affair, which is going against state but they give it more importance, which results in mass destruction of state and its citizens. So having knowledge is not enough. One should have the power and honesty to stand for truth. Whenever the motto of politics is only for individual gain and power the state will be in danger. So if one wants ideal politics then one has to follow Ramayana and for tricky diplomacy go for Mahabharata (Suvendu, 2019).

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