SOCIETAL JUSTICE AND DEMOCRATISM IN INDIA: 
WITH REFERENCE TO 2019 GENERAL ELECTIONS

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ABSTRACT

Programs for Social Justice make political institutions lively and vice versa. If it is recognized that the democratic process is a political mobilization for involvement in electoral exercise to select members and the successful running of public institutions, so the influence of social justice policies is primarily beneficial for the government and target population, all social sector reform programs enable the target population to engage in democratic reforms. In the other hand, successful social sector interventions can also lead to the return to power of the ruling dispensation. A review of some of the social sector services at union level between 2014 and 2019 and in the state of Bihar since 2005 is an example. Under the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), social sector initiatives such as Aushman Bharat, Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana and Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana were launched and implemented at the union level, among others.

Since 2005, social sector reforms have been targeted by policies such as freecycle and schoolwear for school-going girls, the quota for women in local representative institutions and state government work, hostel s for students from the socially and economically backward groups in Bihar. The paper claims that the NDA’s high-performance rate in the state of Bihar in the 2019 general election was primarily attributed to union-level social sector reforms. As the coalition head, BJP preferred to support its coalition partners such as Janata Dal-United (JDU) and Lok Janashakti Party (LJP), the coalition partners acquired in the state. However, it is possible to apply a disclaimer that the role of leadership will prove to be the catalyst in the whole process.

KEYWORDS: Pradhanmantri Jan Dhan Yojna, Ujjwala Yojna, Beti Bachao- Beti Padhao, Law, Social Justice, Democracy

INTRODUCTION

Democratic mechanisms are intricately tied to reforms in the social sector. However, where, even with partially successful outcomes, social sector reforms are pursued in democracies, the governing dispensation is expected to exploit its advantages in the form of electoral gains. In the aftermath of the post-policy / programme elections, electoral gains in the form of a percentage of total votes cast or a number of seats gained which prove to be vital for the political party/coalition in power to retain its governing role. This is not an absolute
prerequisite that will guarantee total victory for a party or alliance, but it is definitely a required condition for the governing party’s survival. In other words, if dramatic incidents such as graft cases against the members of the ruling dispensation or interventions that may be negatively related to national feelings do not arise, the party may have a smooth continuity of power.

In this research, the emphasis on social policy or improvements of the social sector was made with the understanding that these are ways by which the state guarantees social justice for its citizens. Social justice refers to the aspect of socially conceived or built justice in which, in terms of society’s rules and regulations, individuals in a state will be viewed fairly and they would experience inherent equality in circumstances and opportunities in life. This illustrates that social justice is embedded in the concerted actions of a state-represented community directed at addressing significant economic or social disparities. In order to do this, it would be necessary to redistribute some of society’s valuable capital in order to provide people with a fair playing field. The state maintains this by means of its social policies. The definition is governed by an overarching theory that such acts are important to create an atmosphere where each person can follow his or her interests and express him or herself. Since its creation, such instances have been contained in the Constitution of India in the form of social provisions such as the elimination of the tradition of untouchability and the promotion of social inclusion and ensuring access to temples, work and basic needs such as water for people belonging to ‘lower’ castes.

Social justice, so recognized, includes public life in society and the manner in which public life is ordered. The values according to which social goods and social obligations are divided among the various members of society are also concerned. The democratic state, however, wants to ensure social justice rather than justice alone. The state would treat equal and unequal equals arbitrarily. In India, though in Part III the Constitution guarantees the security of human rights and dignity, facets of social justice are incorporated in Part IV. However, it is important to give substance to the constitutional provisions by the means of social policy, and to that substance, the legislation will be required.

At the union or state level, the introduction or implementation of social policies is not new. Although this has occurred since India gained independence in 1947 under various governments at the all-India level and in different states, the change that occurred during the time under review in Bihar or at the level of the union is the selection of the sectors in which reforms or policies were implemented, the framework put in place to achieve the goals and target population that were the potential. In the reforms of the social sector, the government’s emphasis on women and disadvantaged industries and industries such as education, electricity and healthcare is a case in point. The restoration of the national NDA alliance led by the BJP and the JDU-led coalition after 2010 in Bihar reinforces the theory that there is a clear correlation between government social policies and the electoral success of the ruling parties.

CONTEXTUALIZING SOCIAL JUSTICE: WESTERN PERSPECTIVES

The understanding of social justice can be correctly influenced by justice perceived in its social context. While the definition may have been interpreted in various ways and on different premises, different cultures and beliefs have addressed the questions of justice. Justice was related to dharma in ancient Indian culture. It was felt that the task of preserving dharma or a just social order was a primary duty of the state/kings. While in the following
section the Indian perspective on social justice will be discussed separately, it can be stressed here that the element of social justice that was the hallmark of ancient Indian society was decided with respect to the collective social values of the time. Philosophers like Plato and Aristotle understood justice in ancient Greece using various standards. In the case of former justice, all people and the state must be pursued and there must be the same standards that will determine justice in a person and a state. For Aristotle, the allocation of offices and positions will constitute justice according to one’s capacity. Although these are symbolic ideas from ancient western civilization, perhaps John Rawls is the most influential statement that influenced the debate in modern times and in the 20th century. In the following paragraphs, an attempt has been made to carry out the ideas of these thinkers/philosophers.

To produce a harmonious relationship between the classes, Plato defined justice in terms of the functional separation of classes in the state and their interdependence. The 'right' that can only be done in the society, according to Plato, consists of each of the three classes fulfilling their own duties and not messing with others' work. The instructors of the courses are ideally qualified to do their work, and this suitability is because of their personality. Thus, Plato writes, I believe that justice is the prerequisite we laid down as a universal application at the beginning when we formed our state, or else some unique form of it. If you remember, we lay down, and have always reiterated that one man was to one job in our state, the job for which he was naturally best fit. (Plato, 1987) Plato often adds, "Justice consists of minding your own business and not messing with other people. Justice is dealing with one's own business. Finally, for Plato, justice would be accomplished if each class made a commitment to the city state's excellence.

It would be the primary responsibility for Aristotle to uphold justice in the state and Aristotle found equality to be key to social justice (Mukharjee and Ramaswami, 1999, p120). According to Aristotle, man is the greatest of animals when mastered, but he is the worst of all when removed from law and justice; because armed injustice is the most dangerous, and he is fitted with weapons at birth, designed to be used by intellect and goodness, which he can use for the worst ends. Proportionate equality would consist of distributive justice. Owing to the worth of the beneficiaries, this may be interpreted in terms of only prizes or equivalent securities. Therefore, according to Aristotle, duties and financial obligations should be granted in proportion to one’s just deserts. To this, remedial or punitive justice would be given in circumstances when a person's merit was not a factor and a court would grant justice. This may concern matters such as criminal law or contracts. Aristotle considered that justice in the states is the contract between men. According to him, the administration of justice requires the judgment of what is right and this is the civil society’s theory of order.

If the discussions in the above paragraphs offer some interpretation of social justice in Western literature, John Rawls (Rawls, 2000) was the most powerful statement, as mentioned above. The theory of Rawls develops an understanding of justice that will depart from the definition of justice embedded in the moral ideals of Western civilization during the medieval period or that of the contemporary century where human autonomy was the most critical element in the justice delivery system of the state. Rawls argued that this concept would not actually oppose the concept of fair treatment, because the principle of equal treatment could mean that persons who are
not equal in some ways could be treated accordingly. Thus, in specific regard and worthy of special assistance, individuals or organizations with special needs or disabilities may be considered unfair. Rawls concluded that if we imagine ourselves to be in a situation in which we have to make decisions about how society should be structured, unaware of the role we ourselves should hold in that society, we will arrive at a fair and just law. He believes that thus put, each person will determine in the manner as if he might be the worst off, defining this as living under a ‘veil of ignorance’. Rawls proposed that reasonable reasoning could be the basis for equal care and justice, not morals.

Thus, the concept of social justice by Rawls forwards two basic principles as follows:

First, each person has an equal right to the most comprehensive freedom that is consistent with other people's comparable freedom.

Second, social and economic disparities should be arranged in such a manner that they are both (a) equally intended to favour all and (b) connected to roles and offices open to everyone.

The goal of Rawls is to offer a philosophy of justice that generalizes and brings the familiar principle of the social contract to a higher degree of abstraction, as contained, claim, in Locke, Rousseau, and Kant (Ibid: 11).

It should be noted that the perception of what is right is directly related to the perception of what is owed to and person as a human being, to end the debates on the western viewpoints of social justice. A variety of various concepts have been set forward to justify this. The concepts used include the principle of treating equals equally and granting equal justice and equal consideration to persons. Justice would also include maintaining equal human rights, such as rights to life, equality and land, and democratic rights, such as the right to vote and to engage in political processes, and some social rights, including the ability to enjoy the equal opportunity with other members of society. Furthermore, on grounds of ethnicity, caste, race or gender, people should not be discriminated against. For another cause, fairness would mean rewarding individuals in proportion to the size and nature of their efforts. The third theory of justice, discussed in relation to Rawls' theories, demands that people's special needs should be considered when distributing benefits or obligations that would be equal to pursuing social justice.

**SOCIAL JUSTICE IN INDIAN LITERATURE**

Justice in the Indian sense, as mentioned above, is often perceived to be rooted in social values. In ancient India, the idea of justice would mean preserving Dharma by the King and each member of society fulfilling his or her duties as Dharma demanded from him or her. Justice was exercised by the King in matters of settling the wrong that might have resulted in a citizen. According to Altekar, however, the administration of justice did not form part of the duties of the state. (Altekar, 1958:245) This was because each citizen understood his or her role to be played for the benefit of society. Despite this, King played a role as the state's highest authority in the administration of justice. For eg, the king retained and used authority as the head of the state and the upholder of the Dharma of law during the Vedic period. Later, with those of Sabha and Samiti, the judicial and administrative roles of the kings were matched. Via ministers and legal experts (possibly Purohit), King used to manage justice. There was a royal officer to oversee the sentence that would be awarded under state rule. (Majumdar, 1970:494) During the ancient period, justice remained a cardinal concept in Indian civil life. The King's court, as Sabha, took charge of the legal affairs, according to Manusmriti. The King himself presided over the
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Sabha. (Manusmriti, Cha VII) As stated in the text: A king, eager to investigate law cases, must enter his court of justice together with Brahmanas and experienced councilors, preserving a dignified demeanor.

In compliance with the laws of the Shastras (Manusmriti, Ch II,12) and the customs of the land, Manusmriti orders the king to determine the law. Manu wanted the King and the Judges to ask about the cases very diligently. Manu also made a very heavy fine (1000 Panas) provision for those who resolve cases inappropriately. (Manusmriti, Ch VIII 3) The court of law helped preserve civil order as between individuals and individuals and between individuals and association owners such as businesses in a village or area, or herdsmen. (Ibid, 219,232) Thus, the focus in Manusmriti, in addition to retaining Dharma w w. As all would contribute to the preservation of the Dharma, this was a joint obligation, but it would be the duty of the King and his Council to ensure that this continues and that peace is maintained in society.

Rajyadharma, Dandaniti and Nitishashastra were among the numerous names for politics used throughout ancient India. (Singh 2005: 7) This is an indicator that justice was an important part of ancient Indian politics, and hence a social virtue. This view is further backed by literature regarding ancient Indian politics. For eg, Mahabharata refers to the dialogue between Bhisma and Yudhishthira in which the former states that in the past there was no Danda (law) or Dandakartta (law enforcer). The people themselves adopted the law of Dharma and people used to defend each other. (Ibid: 33) Resulting degeneration of morals existed in society, however, and to resolve the planning of Brahmadeva A systematic code of law consisting of one lakh chapter (Nitishashastra). (Ibid:34)

The State has undertaken the defense of society and the individual by the coercive implementation of the principles of justice as its responsibility based on the principle of 'Dharma'. Justice and justice formed the core values of Indian culture during the Vedic period. Justice was a moral philosophy founded on the belief that their acts would be spontaneously equal if men were true to nature. With distributive fairness, moral justice, social justice and procedural justice, the concept of justice was holistic. Justice was often considered one of the King’s key responsibilities and he was considered to be the fountain of justice. The core values have not changed with the growth of society and culture in India, but the way in which different entities are linked to the right social order appears to have undergone some transformation. For instance, the sovereign (the king) himself administered justice during the Gupta era. Alternatively, in order to carry out this duty, the King can appoint a high official in the center of the provinces. Prominent figures at the local level, like members of the commercial and official classes, will help the officer in charge of the administration of justice. With the help of the members of village assemblies, justice was also administered by royal officials. There may be a jury structure in South India. (Majumdar and others, 1970:187)

In the subsequent stages of the growth of Indian politics, the notion of justice is a lengthy discussion and the reach of the paper does not allow it to go through every stage of its development. Some important aspects, however, can be discussed here, especially with regard to the evolution of the idea in the writings of some modern Indian thinkers, such as M K Gandhi, B R Ambedkar and Amartya Sen. The choice of thinkers may be random, but they reflect numerous intellectual streams that have had a major influence on Indian politics, especially the relation between democracy and
social justice. It is important to look at the important features of the judicial system in India during the Medieval era and in the British period before going into these specifics. The presence of the Muslim rule in India was technically explained by the needs of religion. The power of the Sultan was limited by the Holy Law of the Quran, but the Muslim king in India was an autocrat in fact and his words became law. Even the Mughal legal system adopted only the Quranic injunctions or precepts, the fatawas or prior interpretations of the Holy L.

Their legal system had largely been devised to sustain their imperial organization. Following the enactment of the Regulatory Act of 1773, the Supreme Court of Judicature was established in Calcutta (now Kolkata) in 1774. Later, the Bombay (now Mumbai) and Madras (now Chennai) Supreme Courts were created. Following the High Court Act of 1861, under which provisions were made for the establishment of high courts in different provinces, these courts were abolished. Lastly, under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Federal Court of India was established. The new Supreme Court was established in 1950, after independence and the inauguration of the Constitution of India. As the days of British rule is based on the codification of laws and the justice system, including the judiciary systems in India, the new legal system follows the guidelines of the Constitution.

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES IN INDIA

Democratic structures and programs for social justice strengthen and enrich each other. If vibrant democracy is understood as democratic institutions that are open and transparent, public institutions should be geared to the wishes and demands of the public. Therefore, the democratic method may refer to institutional arrangements for political decisions in which people acquire the power to decide by the competitive struggle for the vote of the people (Schumpeter, 2011: 269), but the decisions must reflect the public’s larger aspirations and potentially aim at achieving those aspirations. Therefore, popular involvement may be restricted directly or indirectly to the appointment of members, but civic mobilisation depends on the way the political leadership of the day tends to be geared towards popular expectations.

Thus, social justice programmes that a government introduces creates an environment in which political mobilisation of the masses becomes possible, which, in turn, pushes them towards democratic participation, which, in the present case is participation in elections to choose their representatives. Thus the process could be cyclical as shown in Figure 1.

When in office, the government launches social programs aimed at benefiting the target demographic, as seen in Figure 1, which can be construed as social justice. As a result of these measures, people are mobilized or mobilized, understanding that some system for their protection has been set up by the government of the day. This will, in essence, stimulate political mobilization among the parts of the population that have gained from the program, resulting in greater political consciousness among the broader population. Therefore, people tend to participate in democratic processes, particularly in elections, believing that the government’s policies are oriented towards their welfare. As a consequence, when elections take place, the government or the parties in control gain the patronage of voters who will help them maintain their status or return to power.
If this can serve as a theoretical model, the discussions below provide proof that the social justice initiatives and electoral success of the parties have positive relations with the aid of electoral data from past elections and the specifics of social policies implemented at the level of the Union and in the State of Bihar. Only if the latter were trapped in the quagmire of graft or other such controversies or is seen to go against national feelings in the public opinion, as mentioned above, will the result of elections be negative for the governing dispensation.

SOCIAL POLICIES AND ELECTORAL PERFORMANCES

The general elections in the past, particularly the general elections in 2019 and the assembly elections in the state of Bihar since 2005, have clearly identified a positive correlation between a successful social policy and favorable electoral results for the ruling party or coalition. In order to understand this statistically, it is important to examine the 2019 elections in light of evidence from previous elections. This is why the data from past polls and polls to the state assembly are used. As the BJP and the ruling JDU in Bihar were coalition allies in the 2005 and 2010 elections, the data on the Bihar assembly elections will be all the more relevant for this reason, but the alliance faced a temporary split before the end of the term. On the one hand, the 2015 election was contested by the BJP-led NDA and on the other by the JDU-Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD). JDU and RJD, however, parted ways and JDU is back as a member of the NDA coalition and had significant gains in the general elections of 2019, which was not the case in the general elections of 2014.

The success of the BJP and other political parties with an emphasis on votes cast and seats gained in Bihar is seen in Table 1 (below). Although the BJP and its alliance partners (JDU and LJP) have clear gains, RJD performance has decreased both in terms of the number of seats won and the percentage of valid votes cast. In fact, the RJD was unable to gain one seat in the 2019 elections. In another aspect, the data in Table 1 is significant. As stated above, as an alliance partner of the BJP, JDU did not contest the 2014 election. In 2014, the number of total votes cast (16%) and seats gained (two) by JDU was much smaller than in 2019, when the party cast nearly 22% of the total valid votes cast and gained 16 seats.

Although there was a kind of Modi surge in the 2014 elections, the JDU’s dismal results can also
be attributed to the fact that Bihar had begun to step on the road of growth in public expectations because, since 2005, BJP and JDU had worked together towards that end. On the other hand, the BJP had a lower percentage of votes and seats in 2019, but this was also due to the fact that its alliance partners, mainly JDU and LJP, were given more space by the party. The latter owe their performance, most notably, to the BJP alliance. As a group that worked for the progress of the country and advocated for the cause of the oppressed sections of society, including Muslim women (on the topic of triple talaq) and economically deprived among the upper castes (10% reservation in government employment and educational institutions), the BJP had managed to give an impression of itself to the public. However, the BJP strengthened its performance in the 2019 elections from the 2014 elections at the all-India level, as can be seen in Table 1. In 2014, the party won 31.34 percent of the total valid votes and 282 seats, while its share of votes in 2019 was 37.38 percent and 303 seats.

This is an indication that the BJP was a major factor in the 2019 elections, and the success of the BJP in the 2019 elections was largely due (if not solely) to the social sector reforms initiated and implemented by the party / NDA during the five years between 2014 and early 2019. At this point, it is fitting to look at some of the social policies adopted by the NDA and the recipients of those policies.

### Table 1: Performance of various political parties in 2014 and 2019 general election ([www.eci.gov.in](http://www.eci.gov.in))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th>% Vote polled</th>
<th>No of seats</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>BJP (In India)</td>
<td>31.34</td>
<td>37.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BJP (In Bihar)</td>
<td>29.86</td>
<td>23.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>JDU</td>
<td>16.04</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>RJD</td>
<td>20.46</td>
<td>15.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>LJP</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>7.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the early reviews of the polls established that good governance was the driving force of the BJP-led coalition's electoral performance. It was stated in a study by Dr Rituparna Bhattacharyya and Dr Venkat Pulla that the 2019 electoral mandate was undoubtedly a mandate given by the poor for good governance. The three constructive Ns (Niyat-intention, Niti-policy and Neta-Leader) were clearly understood by the poor of the world, who made up the majority of the population. (Bhattacharya and Pulla, 2019:11) This was reflected after coming into power in 2014 in some of the NDA government's social structures at the union level. For example, under Ujjwala Yojana, Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) links were given free of charge to poor households in large numbers. This was a form of cleaner energy for fuel and was primarily intended for disadvantaged women. Nine out of 10 homes are estimated to have LPG connections now, compared to five out of 10 homes in 2014 and 7, 23, 25, 948 LPG connections have been made covering 714 districts under the scheme. (Ibid).

While the scheme above was to provide clean energy to the poor household and women were concerned primarily the beneficiaries, Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana was introduced as a scheme of financial inclusion of the poor. Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (PMJDY) is one of the world's main financial inclusion programs, the official website says. The scheme was revealed on 15 August 2014 by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and was released on 28 August 2014. The occasion was described by the Prime Minister as a festival to celebrate the
emancipation of the poor from a vicious cycle. The official website reports that in one week, the majority of bank accounts opened as part of the initiative for financial inclusion is 18,096,130 and was completed by the Government of India from 23 to 29 August 2014. (Ibid) Available figures show that under this program, over 318 million bank accounts have been opened with a deposit of Rs. 792 billion (Bhattacharya et al . 2019)

It is therefore clear from the nature of the schemes launched by the government that the targeted beneficiaries of the scheme were women and the poor. It was clear that, if adequately publicized, such schemes would contribute to political mobilization and awareness among the parts of the populace that have gained from the scheme and would also constitute the source of support for the ruling dispensation. While the list of social policies would be lengthy, the health system under the Ayushman Bharat Yojana could be mentioned here. On 23 September 2018, the scheme was implemented. According to data available, in more than 15,623 empanelled hospitals, 29,16,040 beneficiaries were admitted. The Director-General of the World Health Organization has appreciated this project. (See https:/www.pmjay.gov.in/) for details,

As stated above, the list of social policies may be long, but policies such as those mentioned above and others such as Swatch Bharat Abhiyan, Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana and Beti Bachao, Beti Padhoao, among others, have addressed the basic needs and requirements of the target population, the vast majority of which are women, the poor, the elderly, the sick and the homeless. The schemes were also intended to assist beneficiaries, among others, to overcome their daily problems related to hygiene, health care, shelter and clean fuel energy. It is also believed that the BJP could build a support base that was larger than its previous support base through these schemes, and this was attributed to the social sector reforms initiated by the NDA, headed by the BJP.

Similarly, if one looks at the electoral details of assembly elections in Bihar, the government’s emphasis on development seems to the main reason for the continuity of JDU-led coalition/alliance in the state. And the collective effort of BJP and JDU was seen to be successful on the development front, as RJD carries a dismal image among the public on that front. As seen in Table 2 below, over the past three (four) polls, both BJP and JDU success has remained almost constant.

Table 2: Performance of political parties in the assembly elections in Bihar

<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Votes*</td>
<td>Seats</td>
<td>Votes*</td>
<td>Seats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>10.97</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15.65</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(24.91)</td>
<td>(103)</td>
<td>(35.64)</td>
<td>(102)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RJD</td>
<td>25.07</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>23.45</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(28.35)</td>
<td>(215)</td>
<td>(32.63)</td>
<td>(175)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JDU</td>
<td>14.44</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20.46</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(26.41)</td>
<td>(138)</td>
<td>(37.14)</td>
<td>(139)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Compilation based on data collected from Election Commission of India at https://eci.gov.in/)

*Numbers in brackets show the per cent votes polled for the seats contested #Numbers in bracket show the total number of seats contested by the party
However, in 2015, RJD managed to ride on the piggyback of JDU and won a significant number of seats, after the latter broke up with the BJP briefly. Later, as the old alliance partners reunited, RJD’s performance returned to a dismal level in terms of the number of seats won. RJD was unable to win one seat in the 2019 parliamentary elections, as already discussed in the above sentences.

It is evident why the public wanted to favor the party/coalition that had a stronger reputation and image of carrying out construction works and introducing schemes that culminated in changes in the social sector. Apart from the development of infrastructure and improved law and order conditions, schemes such as Mukhya Mantri Cycle Yojana have made a difference. The programme was introduced by the government of Bihar in 2008 to provide bicycles for all students studying in class nine, subject to the student getting at least 75% attendance by the month of Sept of the year. The scheme was initiated as the Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) sub-programme. An allocation of Rs. 2000 per student (now Rs. 2500) was made under the scheme and the amount was transferred directly to the beneficiary by the government in the presence of members of the panchayat, villagers, guardians and students (http:/www.educationbihar.gov.in/PSchemesPdf/08Jan201443442.pdf.)

Similarly, since 2009–10, under the Mukhyamantri Poshak Yojna, the government has provided all students who will be admitted to V in class with Rs. 500 rupees for school uniform. The scheme is for students who are admitted to complete government, government-assisted and minority (govt. assisted) schools. In addition, since the financial year 2013–14, girl students from IX to XII also get Rs. 1000 for their uniform. (Ibid.)

There are other schemes such as 35% reservation in each category for women in state government jobs (SC / ST / EBCs / OBCs) and 50 percent reservation in local bodies for women in their respective categories. Other government social welfare schemes include hostels for students of OBC and EBC (Karpoori Thakur Hostels for EBC students) (See http://ekalyan.bih.nic.in/) and Bihar Ma Ma.in/)

Therefore, it can also be seen in the case of the Bihar government that social welfare schemes seek to reach out to the poor and oppressed parts of society, which constitute the majority and whose support could be critical for an electoral victory to be registered. Moreover, the community and future buyers, in general, will be drawn to improved law and order and infrastructure.

**CONCLUSION**

The study in the paragraphs above indicates that strong social policies are essential to the development of a support group that will potentially vote for the party that is perceived to be the policy representative. The United Progressive Alliance (UPA), which was in force for two consecutive terms between 2004 and 2014, was unable to build such a base of support because the alliance was trapped in the middle of corruption charges, even though the then PM Manmohan Singh may have held a clean picture for himself. Furthermore, there were definitely conflicts relating to the leadership of the congress. Prime Minister Narendra Modi, by contrast, was seen as a strong and charismatic leader who, in the interests of the people of India, could provide a clean administration. The people also trusted in the BJP-led NDA’s ability to have a corruption-free and open government. This, combined with the NDA’s effective social policies, created a support base during 2014-early 2019, which voted for the BJP and its alliance. This largely
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describes the NDA-led governing coalition’s return to power.

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