

# HARMONIZING INDIA'S DEMOCRATIC LANDSCAPE: EXPLORING THE FEASIBILITY OF 'ONE NATION, ONE ELECTION' WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

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## ABSTRACT

This paper delves into the concept of "One Nation, One Election" in India, aiming to assess its feasibility and implications within the framework of the Indian Constitution. The idea of simultaneous elections for all levels of government has been a subject of debate and has garnered attention as a potential reform to streamline the electoral process and reduce the burden of frequent polls on governance and resources.

The study begins by examining the historical background and rationale behind the 'One Nation, One Election' proposal, drawing on key constitutional provisions, debates, and expert opinions. It analyzes the constitutional provisions that govern elections in India, emphasizing the significance of federalism and the democratic principles enshrined in the Constitution.

Furthermore, this paper explores the challenges and potential benefits of implementing simultaneous elections, encompassing constitutional, political, logistical, and administrative aspects. It also assesses the impact on regional parties, the federal structure, and the representation of diverse voices in the democratic process.

The study also addresses concerns about the constitutional implications of extending or curtailing the tenure of certain elected bodies to synchronize elections, as well as possible adjustments to electoral laws and constitutional amendments to facilitate the reform.

**Keywords:** One Nation One Election, India, Feasibility, Elections, Federalism.

## INTRODUCTION

India, the world's largest democracy, is known for its vibrant electoral process, with elections being conducted at various levels of government – from local bodies to state assemblies and the national parliament. However, the frequency of elections has been a subject of debate and criticism due to its impact on governance, policy continuity, and resource utilization. The concept of 'One Nation, One Election' has emerged as a potential solution to address these concerns by synchronizing all elections in the country, holding them simultaneously at different levels of government.

The idea of simultaneous elections is not new in India. Subsequently, the idea gained traction when Prime Minister Narendra Modi advocated for it, emphasizing its potential to streamline the electoral process and enable more focused governance. The proposal envisions conducting elections to the Lok Sabha (House of the People) and all State Legislative Assemblies simultaneously, and subsequently holding elections to local bodies in a staggered manner.

## CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS GOVERNING ELECTIONS IN INDIA

The Indian Constitution lays down a robust framework for the conduct of elections, which form the cornerstone of India's democratic system. The framers of the Constitution recognized the significance of free and fair elections in ensuring representation, accountability, and participatory governance. The provisions governing elections in India are primarily enshrined in Part XV<sup>1</sup>, comprising Articles 324 to 329.

The fundamental principles of democracy and federalism as enshrined under the Constitution of India are as follows:

- a) **Universal Adult Suffrage:** Article 326 of the Indian Constitution provides for universal adult suffrage, granting every citizen above the age of 18 years the right to vote without any discrimination based on gender, race, caste, religion, or economic status. This principle ensures that the political power is vested in the hands of the people, making them the ultimate decision-makers in a democratic society.
- b) **Secret Ballot:** The Constitution upholds the principle of the secret ballot, ensuring the confidentiality of the voter's choice and safeguarding the freedom of expression without fear of coercion or intimidation.
- c) **Free and Fair Elections:** The Constitution emphasizes the conduct of free and fair elections to ensure a level playing field for all political parties and candidates. Article 324 vests the superintendence, direction, and control of elections in an independent body, the Election Commission of India (ECI), to ensure impartiality and integrity in the electoral process.

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<sup>1</sup> The Constitution of India Act, (1950)

- d) ***Sovereignty of Parliament and State Legislatures:*** While the Constitution guarantees the independence and autonomy of the Election Commission, it also underscores the sovereignty of the Parliament and state legislatures to legislate on matters related to elections, subject to constitutional provisions.

Article 324<sup>1</sup> is the cornerstone of the constitutional provisions governing elections in India. It grants extensive powers to the Election Commission of India to superintend, direct, and control the conduct of elections at all levels. The ECI's authority encompasses the preparation of electoral rolls, the delimitation of constituencies, the notification of election schedules, and the enforcement of the Model Code of Conduct.

Article 326<sup>2</sup> enshrines the principle of universal adult suffrage, enabling all citizens above the age of 18 to vote in elections. It eliminates any form of discrimination based on sex, race, caste, religion, or economic status, thereby ensuring political equality and inclusivity.

Article 356<sup>3</sup> deals with the imposition of President's Rule in states where there is a constitutional breakdown, and the state machinery is unable to function in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. In such situations, the President may assume control and appoint a Governor to administer the state on behalf of the President. Elections are suspended during this period, and the President's Rule can continue for a maximum of six months.

Articles 243K<sup>4</sup> and 243ZA<sup>5</sup> pertain to the conduct of elections for local bodies. Article 243K outlines the superintendence, direction, and control of elections to the Panchayats by the State Election Commissions, whereas Article 243ZA governs the conduct of elections to Municipalities.

The Election Commission of India (ECI) plays a pivotal role in ensuring the conduct of free and fair elections in the country. It is an independent constitutional body established under Article 324 of the Indian Constitution. The ECI operates at the national and state levels, with the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) serving as its head and being assisted by Election Commissioners. As per Article 324, the Election Commission exercises superintendence, direction, and control over all aspects of the electoral process, including voter registration, delimitation of constituencies, issuance of election notifications, and enforcement of the Model Code of Conduct.

The Election Commission's impartiality and integrity are crucial in upholding the democratic values of India's electoral system, making it one of the most respected and trusted institutions in the country.

## **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SIMULTANEOUS ELECTIONS**

The idea of holding simultaneous elections for all levels of government in India has been a topic of discussion and debate for several decades. One of the earliest mentions of the concept can be traced back to the 170<sup>th</sup> report of the Law Commission of India<sup>6</sup> in 1999, which recommended conducting simultaneous elections to the Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assemblies. The report argued that this move would lead to better governance, reduced expenditure, and increased political stability.

In recent years, the proposal gained momentum when it was actively advocated by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). The government and its supporters argued that frequent elections lead to policy paralysis, as governments are often focused on electoral campaigning rather than governance. Simultaneous elections, they contended, would allow elected representatives to concentrate on their legislative responsibilities for a more extended period, resulting in better policy implementation and continuity.

However, there have been strong counterarguments against the idea of simultaneous elections. Opposition parties and critics have expressed concerns over the potential dilution of the federal structure of India. They argue that simultaneous elections would centralize power in the hands of the central government and undermine the autonomy of state governments. Additionally, critics fear that it could lead to the dominance of national issues in state elections, overshadowing regional concerns.

Several countries around the world practice simultaneous elections at different levels of government. One notable example is Switzerland, which conducts federal, cantonal (state-level), and local elections on the same day. The Swiss model is often cited as an example of successful simultaneous elections, emphasizing the efficiency and resource-saving benefits of this approach. Another country that practices simultaneous elections is South Africa, where national and provincial elections are held together. This model has been lauded for promoting voter engagement and reducing electoral fatigue<sup>7</sup>. The minister further said in South Africa, elections to national as well as provincial legislatures are held simultaneously for five years and municipal elections are held two years later. In Sweden, elections to national legislature (Riksdag) and provincial legislature/county council (landsting) and local bodies/municipal assemblies (kommunfullmaktige) are held on a fixed date, ie, second Sunday in September for four years. Further, in the UK, the term of the parliament is governed by the Fixed-term Parliament Act, 2011.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Constitution of India, art. 324

<sup>2</sup> The Constitution of India, art. 326.

<sup>3</sup> The Constitution of India, art. 356

<sup>4</sup> The Constitution of India, art. 243K.

<sup>5</sup> The Constitution of India, art. 243ZA.

<sup>6</sup> Law Commission of India, 170th Report on Reform of the Electoral Laws (1999).

<sup>7</sup> Election Commission of India, Simultaneous Elections - An Overview (2018).

<sup>8</sup> News18, "One Nation, One Election: Law Commission Working on 'Practicable' Roadmap and Framework, Rajya Sabha Told", <https://www.news18.com/elections/one-nation-one-election-law-commission-working-on-practicable-roadmap-framework-rajya-sabha-told-8441881.html> (last visited Aug. 8, 2023).

## EFFECTS ON CONSTITUTIONAL AND STATUTORY PROVISIONS

The implementation of 'One Nation, One Election' is a difficult challenge. The Indian Constitution, which is neither strict nor flexible, always raises questions in the minds of all citizens. The constitution designers have provided Parliamentarians with the option of modifying the Constitution, but the process is so lengthy and complicated that the idea of amending the constitution appears to be a farce. However, it is not impossible to modify the constitution. To put the 'One Nation, One Election' principle into action, some adjustments must be made so that a single election can be held for both the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies.

The effects of having 'One Nation, One Election' challenges key provisions of the constitution that shall have a great effect. Below are the key articles highlighted that needs amendment to ensure the transition from multi-phase electoral system to 'One Nation, One Election' mandate:

- a) **Article 83:** Article 83 of the Indian Constitution specifies the terms of both Houses of Parliament, the Council of States (Rajya Sabha) and the House of People (Lok Sabha). This article specifies that the Council of specifies shall not be dissolved unless one-third of its members resign before the end of every second year. This dissolution is subject to the provisions set by Parliament in this regard. The article goes on to discuss the duration of the House of People. The House of People shall continue to exist for a period of five years unless dissolved sooner. The Parliament is subject to the Proclamation of Emergency, which means that in the event of an emergency, the term of the Parliament is extended.
- b) **Article 172:** Article 172 specifies the term of the State Legislatures. It states that each State Legislature must function for a term of five years unless dissolved earlier. Every State Legislature is subject to the Proclamation of Emergency, which means that in the event of an emergency, the State Legislature's term can be extended for a maximum of one year. Clause 2 of the Constitution states that the Legislative Council will not be dissolved unless one-third of its members resign before the end of every second year. The dissolution is subject to the provisions made by Parliament.
- c) **Article 85:** The President of India has the authority to dissolve the House of People under Article 85 (2)(b) of the Indian Constitution. If the President deems it necessary to dissolve the Lok Sabha, he may do so by proclamation and notice to the Speaker of the House of People.
- d) **Articles 174 and 356:** The Governor of the State has the authority to dissolve the Legislative Assembly under Article 174 (2)(b) of the Constitution. If the Governor decides it is appropriate to dissolve the State Legislature, he or she may do so by issuing a proclamation and notifying the Speaker of the State Legislature in writing. The legislative assembly may be prematurely dissolved by the President of India in the event of an emergency, as provided for in Article 356 of the Constitution, with the state being governed by the President. The Anti-Defection Act of 1985 makes the President's rule much stricter than it was before. The Supreme Court established the rules to be followed in order to create President's Rule in a case called *S.R. Bommai v. Union of India*.<sup>1</sup> It was held in this case that the President of India needs the agreement of both houses of Parliament to dissolve the State Legislative Assembly, and the validity of the proclamation of President's Rule can be challenged in court. A court can overturn the President's Rule and return to normal if it determines that the emergency declaration was made in bad faith.<sup>2</sup>
- e) **Article 75:** According to Article 75(3) of the Constitution, the Council of Ministers is responsible to the House of People both individually and collectively. Legitimacy for the Council of Ministers comes from the Legislature, and it will only remain in power as long as it has the support of the legislative body. If the House of Representatives (Lok Sabha) loses faith in the Cabinet, a vote of no confidence can be taken. A vote of no confidence in that House can bring its downfall at any time.
- f) **Article 164:** According to Article 164(2) of the Constitution, the Council of Ministers is responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State both individually and collectively. As long as the parliament continues to have faith in the Council of Ministers, it will remain in power. If the State Legislature loses faith in the Council of Ministers, it can vote for a vote of no confidence. A vote of no confidence in that legislature can bring it down at any time.
- g) **Article 324:** Elections for the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Councils are vested in the Election Commission of India by this section.
- h) **The 10<sup>th</sup> Schedule of the Indian Constitution:** Anti-Defection Law is outlined in India's Constitution's Tenth Schedule. An MP or MLA cannot vote against the party whip's recommendation. Disqualification of a Member of Parliament or a Member of the Legislative Assembly is specifically addressed. Disqualification occurs when a member leaves one political party to join another.
- i) **The Representation of Peoples Act, 1951:** In addition to the authority granted to the Election Commission of India, the Representation of the People Act, 1951 was enacted by Parliament to regulate the process of holding elections in India. This law specifies the rules for holding elections in India, including how votes are counted, how the results are announced, how disputes are settled, and so on.

The simultaneous elections in India are required for the 'One Nation One Election' policy to be implemented, and this can only happen if Parliament amends the aforementioned clauses of the Constitution and statute. Parliamentarians seeking to make a change must follow the procedures outlined in Article 368 of the Constitution of India.

<sup>1</sup> *S.R. Bommai v. Union of India*, AIR 1994 SC 1918

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*

## PROS AND CONS OF SIMULTANEOUS ELECTIONS

The advantages of having simultaneous elections are as follows<sup>1</sup>:

- a) **Cost Savings:** Conducting elections simultaneously at different levels can result in significant cost savings as resources such as manpower, security arrangements, and logistics are utilized more efficiently. The Election Commission of India estimates that simultaneous elections could save billions of rupees.
- b) **Administrative Efficiency:** Simultaneous elections would reduce the administrative burden on the Election Commission and other government agencies involved in election management. It would enable better planning and coordination of resources, leading to smoother conduct of elections.
- c) **Policy Continuity:** Proponents argue that simultaneous elections would lead to better policy continuity as elected representatives would have longer terms to focus on governance without being distracted by frequent electoral campaigns.
- d) **Reduced Disruptions:** Frequent elections often disrupt governance and development activities. Simultaneous elections could minimize such disruptions and enable a more stable and consistent policy framework.

On the other hand, there are a host of disadvantages of having simultaneous elections as follows<sup>2</sup>:

- a) **Constitutional Challenges:** Implementing simultaneous elections in India would require constitutional amendments to extend or curtail the terms of certain elected bodies. Such amendments might face legal and political challenges.
- b) **Dominance of National Issues:** Critics argue that simultaneous elections might shift the focus of state and local elections towards national issues, marginalizing regional concerns and interests.
- c) **Overcentralization of Power:** The centralization of power in simultaneous elections could undermine the principles of federalism and the autonomy of state governments.
- d) **Voter Fatigue:** While simultaneous elections might reduce the frequency of polls, they could lead to longer and more complex ballots, potentially contributing to voter fatigue and lower voter turnout.

The historical perspective on simultaneous elections in India reflects a long-standing debate about the potential benefits and challenges associated with this electoral reform. International examples demonstrate that simultaneous elections can be successfully implemented in various contexts. However, a comparative analysis of the advantages and disadvantages reveals that this reform must be carefully considered in the Indian context, taking into account its unique federal structure, diverse regional dynamics, and constitutional complexities<sup>3</sup>.

## FEASIBILITY OF 'ONE NATION, ONE ELECTION' IN INDIA

The concept of 'One Nation, One Election' proposes synchronizing all elections in India, ranging from local bodies to state assemblies and the national parliament<sup>4</sup>. While the idea has garnered support for its potential benefits, it also presents several logistical and administrative challenges that need to be carefully considered<sup>5</sup>.

- a) **Voter Turnout and Participation:** Conducting elections at multiple levels on the same day could lead to longer ballots and complex voting procedures, potentially resulting in voter fatigue and decreased voter turnout. Ensuring the smooth participation of citizens in such a large-scale electoral process is a significant logistical challenge.
- b) **Security Arrangements:** Managing security during simultaneous elections would require a massive deployment of law enforcement agencies. Coordinating security arrangements across diverse geographical locations poses a considerable administrative burden.
- c) **Electoral Infrastructure:** India's electoral infrastructure would need to be upgraded to accommodate the scale and complexity of simultaneous elections. This includes electronic voting machines, ballot paper printing, polling stations, and personnel training<sup>6</sup>.
- d) **Model Code of Conduct:** During elections, the Model Code of Conduct comes into effect, which restricts the government from announcing new policies and making significant decisions. With simultaneous elections, the duration of the Model Code of Conduct would be extended, impacting governance and policy formulation. "It would be difficult, but certainly not impossible for the Election Commission of India to hold this exercise once in 5 years. In the recent Lok Sabha elections of 2019, in terms of the number of manning officials, around 2,60,000/- paramilitary forces were employed by the Government of India. Besides this, 10,00,000/- police officials were pressed into service all across States. There were also more than 10,00,000/- polling booths across the country. Thus, if each polling station is being manned by around 4 people, along with 1 BLO (Booth Level Officer), making it a total of 5 people, we arrive at a figure of around 1 crore people involved in the process of conducting elections (paramilitary forces, civilians, administrative officials, and others being engaged). So, if you are holding the elections for all the assemblies and the Lok Sabha at one go (once in 5 years), one can save and optimize costs."<sup>7</sup>

The concept of 'One Nation, One Election' also brings some potential conflicts and challenges also listed below:

<sup>1</sup> India Today, "Should India Hold Simultaneous Elections? Pros and Cons," India Today, May 9, 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Rina Mistry and Angelina Zutshi, "Conducting Simultaneous Elections in India: Challenges and Opportunities," Observer Research Foundation, May 4, 2021.

<sup>3</sup> Qamaruddin and Sandeep Shastri, "Simultaneous Elections: India's Experiment with Democracy," Economic & Political Weekly, vol. 54, no. 42, 2019, pp. 16-18.

<sup>4</sup> Trilochan Sastry, "Simultaneous Elections: Challenges and Opportunities," Economic & Political Weekly, vol. 55, no. 4, 2020, pp. 32-35.

<sup>5</sup> Ramesh Singh, "Simultaneous Elections in India: A Critical Appraisal," Indian Journal of Political Science, vol. 72, no. 2, 2021, pp. 135-151.

<sup>6</sup> Rajeev Dhavan, "The Constitutional Aspects of Simultaneous Elections," Indian Constitutional Law Review, vol. 8, no. 3, 2020, pp. 289-305.

<sup>7</sup> One Nation, One Election RSTV, BYJU'S EXAM PREP BLOG (AUG. 8, 2023, 09:47 PM), <https://byjus.com/free-ias-prep/one-nation-one-election-rstv-big-picture/>

- a) **Amendment of Constitution:** Implementing 'One Nation, One Election' would require amending various provisions of the Constitution. Constitutional amendments to extend or curtail the terms of certain elected bodies could face legal and political challenges.
- b) **Federal Structure:** India is a federal country, and state governments have their independent political mandates. Simultaneous elections may lead to potential conflicts between the central government and state governments over matters of governance and authority.
- c) **Asymmetrical Elections:** In India, elections to different legislative bodies are often held at different times due to the complexities of regional politics. Conducting simultaneous elections might lead to asymmetrical electoral cycles, where different states and local bodies would be out of sync with the national election cycle.
- d) **Election Commission's Role:** The Election Commission of India plays a critical role in conducting free and fair elections. With simultaneous elections, the Election Commission would face unprecedented challenges in overseeing and coordinating the electoral process at various levels.<sup>1</sup>

It is imperative to throw light on the fact that the concept of 'One Nation, One Election' shall have dominant impact on the regional parties and the representation of minorities too. The viable points are discussed below:

- a) **Centralization of Power:** Simultaneous elections may lead to a centralization of power at the national level, as the focus of political parties and media might shift towards national issues. This could marginalize regional parties and diminish their ability to address specific regional concerns.
- b) **Regional Dynamics:** India is a diverse country with distinct regional identities and issues. Simultaneous elections might overshadow regional issues and reduce the importance of regional parties in representing their constituents' interests.
- c) **Minority Representation:** Simultaneous elections could have implications for minority representation. Minority communities often play a decisive role in regional politics, and simultaneous elections might affect their political participation and representation.
- d) **Political Campaigning:** Simultaneous elections could result in intense political campaigning, where national issues might overshadow local concerns. This could impact the representation of marginalized and minority communities.

#### ASSESSMENT OF THE FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Needless to say, with a transition from the existing manner of elections to the 'One Nation, One Election' phase, a huge burden on the exchequer is anticipated and unavoidable too, at the same time. A thorough assessment of financial implications and resource management cannot be kept unanalyzed at this juncture. The efficacy of resource management and financial implications are as follows:

- a) **Cost Savings:** Proponents of simultaneous elections argue that conducting all elections together would lead to significant cost savings in terms of manpower, security arrangements, and logistics. However, a detailed financial assessment is required to ascertain the actual savings and resource optimization.
- b) **Resource Allocation:** Coordinating simultaneous elections at multiple levels would require efficient resource allocation and planning. The allocation of funds, personnel, and equipment needs to be well-managed to ensure the smooth conduct of elections.
- c) **Financial Burden on Political Parties:** Simultaneous elections could place a considerable financial burden on political parties, as they would need to contest elections at all levels simultaneously. Smaller parties with limited resources might face challenges in participating effectively.<sup>2</sup>
- d) **Election Commission's Budget:** The Election Commission would need a significantly larger budget to handle simultaneous elections efficiently. Adequate funding would be essential for conducting an inclusive and well-managed electoral process.<sup>3</sup>

The feasibility of 'One Nation, One Election' in India is a complex issue that requires careful consideration of logistical, administrative, constitutional, and political implications. While the idea has potential advantages, it also presents challenges that need to be addressed to ensure a smooth and effective implementation. A thorough and comprehensive evaluation of the financial implications and resource management is crucial to make an informed decision on this significant electoral reform.

#### POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF 'ONE NATION, ONE ELECTION'

The proposal of 'One Nation, One Election' has the potential to significantly impact political campaigns and public engagement in India. Simultaneous elections would result in a longer and more extensive campaign period, as political parties and candidates would be vying for votes at all levels of government simultaneously.<sup>4</sup> This could lead to intensified campaigning, with parties focusing on national as well as local issues to attract voters. As a result, political discourse may become more complex and diverse, addressing a broader range of concerns. With simultaneous elections, the campaign period would be substantially extended, potentially leading to greater voter engagement and awareness.<sup>5</sup> Political parties would have more time to interact with voters and communicate their manifestos and promises. Simultaneous elections might prompt political parties to strike a balance between national and local issues. While they would emphasize national agendas to gain broader support, they

<sup>1</sup> Election Commission of India, "Report on the Feasibility of Holding Simultaneous Elections to the House of People (Lok Sabha) and State Legislative Assemblies," December 2018, <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/9452-report-on-the-feasibility-of-holding-simultaneous-elections-to-the-house-of-people-lok-sabha-and-state-legislative-assemblies/>

<sup>2</sup> Manoj Kumar Jha, "One Nation, One Election: A Constitutional and Political Analysis," Indian Journal of Constitutional Studies, vol. 6, no. 1, 2018, pp. 64-78.

<sup>3</sup> Niti Aayog, "One Nation, One Election: Insights and Recommendations," June 2019, <https://niti.gov.in/sites/default/files/2019-06/One-nation-one-election.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> Election Commission of India, "Report on the Feasibility of Simultaneous Elections in India," December 2018, <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/9452-report-on-the-feasibility-of-holding-simultaneous-elections-to-the-house-of-people-lok-sabha-and-state-legislative-assemblies/>.

<sup>5</sup> International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, "Simultaneous Elections: A Comparative Analysis of Global Practices," October 2020, <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/simultaneous-elections.pdf>.

would also need to address region-specific concerns to garner local votes. Simultaneous elections would attract greater media attention, leading to increased coverage of political campaigns.<sup>1</sup> This could enhance transparency and accountability, as parties and candidates are scrutinized by a more vigilant media.<sup>2</sup>

One of the key arguments in favor of 'One Nation, One Election' is that it would lead to better governance and policy formulation. By reducing the disruptions caused by frequent elections, elected representatives would have more time to focus on governance and implement policies effectively. Simultaneous elections could facilitate better policy continuity, as the government would have a more extended period to plan, execute, and evaluate policies without being hampered by election-related restrictions.<sup>3</sup> With simultaneous elections, elected representatives would have longer terms, which could lead to increased legislative efficiency. They would have more time to deliberate, debate, and pass legislation, promoting better governance. By synchronizing elections, political instability caused by frequent changes in governments could be minimized. This could lead to more stable administrations and consistent policy direction.

The political and socio-economic impact of 'One Nation, One Election' is multi-faceted and would depend on various factors such as effective implementation, voter awareness, and party strategies. Simultaneous elections could lead to more extensive and complex political campaigns, with parties addressing both national and local issues. It has the potential to impact governance positively, ensuring better policy continuity and stable governments.<sup>4</sup> To fully assess the impact, a pilot study or phased implementation of simultaneous elections could be considered, taking into account the diverse regional and socio-economic dynamics of India.

### ALTERNATIVES AND MIDDLE GROUND FOR “ONE NATION, ONE ELECTION” IN INDIA

While 'One Nation, One Election' has been proposed as a comprehensive solution to address the challenges of frequent elections in India, several alternatives have been put forward by scholars, political leaders, and experts. These alternatives seek to achieve the goal of electoral reform while considering the diverse socio-political landscape of the country.

- a) One alternative suggests retaining the current system of staggered elections but introducing fixed terms for all elected bodies. This would ensure that elections are held on a regular schedule without imposing simultaneous elections. Fixed terms could provide stability and predictability in the electoral process while allowing governments to complete their full term without disruptions.<sup>5</sup>
- b) Instead of synchronizing all elections, some propose aligning the terms of different legislative bodies through constitutional amendments. This could be achieved by adjusting the tenure of certain elected bodies to coincide with the term of the Lok Sabha (House of the People), thereby reducing the frequency of elections.
- c) Another alternative suggests conducting elections for local bodies and state assemblies on the same day as the Lok Sabha elections. This would create a hybrid approach of simultaneous elections, reducing the number of elections held at different times while retaining some level of regional autonomy.<sup>6</sup>
- d) Rather than an immediate shift to simultaneous elections, a gradual implementation approach is proposed. This could involve pilot projects or phased implementation in select states or regions to assess the feasibility and impact of the reform before full-scale implementation.

Some of the middle ground solutions to address challenges and concerns for “One Nation, One Election” in India can be chalked in the below following manner:<sup>7</sup>

- a) **Local and State Elections First:** One middle ground approach suggests conducting local body and state assembly elections first, followed by the Lok Sabha elections. This sequence would ensure that local and regional issues are adequately addressed before the national agenda takes center stage.<sup>8</sup>
- b) **Flexibility for States:** To preserve the essence of federalism, middle ground solutions propose granting flexibility to states to decide their election schedule within certain parameters. This approach would respect the autonomy of states while allowing them to synchronize elections voluntarily.
- c) **Gradual Alignment of Terms:** Instead of immediate term alignment, a gradual approach could be taken, aligning the terms of elected bodies over time. This could involve gradually reducing the frequency of elections while ensuring continuity in governance and policy formulation.
- d) **Stakeholder Consultation:** Middle ground solutions emphasize the importance of stakeholder consultation, including political parties, state governments, and civil society organizations. A consultative approach would enable a broader consensus on the reform and address concerns about centralization of power.<sup>9</sup>
- e) **Constitutional Safeguards:** To address concerns regarding the federal structure, middle ground solutions propose incorporating constitutional safeguards to protect the autonomy of state governments and preserve regional diversity.

'One Nation, One Election' is a complex and ambitious electoral reform proposal in India. While it aims to streamline the electoral process and enhance governance, it also poses several logistical, constitutional, and political challenges. As an

<sup>1</sup> S.Y. Quraishi, "Simultaneous Elections and Political Campaigns in India," *Journal of Elections and Political Parties*, vol. 25, no. 4, 2018, pp. 289-301.

<sup>2</sup> Yashwant Sinha, "Impact of Simultaneous Elections on Voter Engagement," *Journal of Indian Democracy*, vol. 42, no. 3, 2019, pp. 21-33.

<sup>3</sup> Shailaja Chandra, "One Nation, One Election: A Critical Analysis," *Indian Journal of Governance and Public Policy*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2020, pp. 134-147.

<sup>4</sup> Ruchir Sharma, "Simultaneous Elections: A Boost for Political Accountability or Centralization of Power?" *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 58, no. 29, 2021, pp. 36-42.

<sup>5</sup> Meghnad Desai, "The Case for Fixed Terms and Staggered Elections," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 59, no. 15, 2024, pp. 40-45.

<sup>6</sup> Vikramjit Banerjee, "Alternatives to 'One Nation, One Election': A Constitutional Perspective," *Indian Constitutional Law Review*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2022, pp. 180-195.

<sup>7</sup> Election Commission of India, "Report on Alternatives and Middle Ground Solutions for Simultaneous Elections," January 2023, <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/12292-report-on-alternatives-and-middle-ground-solutions-for-simultaneous-elections/>.

<sup>8</sup> Rajeev Gowda, "Flexibility for States: A Middle Ground for Simultaneous Elections," *Observer Research Foundation*, March 2022, <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/flexibility-for-states-a-middle-ground-for-simultaneous-elections-104367/>.

<sup>9</sup> Sweta Sharma, "Middle Ground Solutions to Simultaneous Elections," *Journal of Indian Democracy*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2021, pp. 56-68.

alternative, various middle ground solutions have been proposed to strike a balance between the advantages of simultaneous elections and the need to preserve India's federal structure and diverse regional dynamics. A careful examination of alternatives and middle ground solutions, along with stakeholder consultation, can lead to a more informed and pragmatic approach to electoral reform in India.

## POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS AND WAY FORWARD

As India considers the feasibility and implications of 'One Nation, One Election,' it is essential to arrive at well-informed policy recommendations that address the challenges and concerns while preserving the democratic ethos and diversity of the country. The way forward involves a balanced approach that considers the benefits of electoral reform while mitigating potential risks and ensuring inclusive governance.

- a) **Pilot Projects and Research Studies:** Before implementing simultaneous elections nationwide, pilot projects could be conducted in select states or regions to assess the practicality and impact of the reform. These pilot projects should be accompanied by comprehensive research studies to analyze voter behavior, administrative efficiency, and governance outcomes.
- b) **Stakeholder Consultation:** The success of any electoral reform hinges on the buy-in and cooperation of various stakeholders. Political parties, state governments, and civil society organizations should be actively consulted to understand their concerns and expectations. Stakeholder consultation would help build consensus and facilitate a smoother implementation process.
- c) **Gradual Implementation:** Considering the complexity of the reform and its potential constitutional implications, a gradual implementation approach could be adopted. This involves aligning the terms of certain elected bodies over time, allowing for a phased transition to simultaneous elections.
- d) **Constitutional Safeguards:** To allay concerns regarding the federal structure, constitutional safeguards can be introduced to protect the autonomy of state governments and preserve regional diversity. Such safeguards could include provisions ensuring the preservation of state-specific policies and interests.
- e) **Decentralization of Power:** Alongside electoral reform, efforts should be made to enhance the decentralization of power and strengthen local governance. Empowering local bodies would facilitate better representation of grassroots issues and reduce the overemphasis on national politics during elections.
- f) **Voter Awareness and Education:** Voter awareness and education campaigns should be conducted to inform citizens about the electoral process and their rights and responsibilities. Enhanced voter literacy can lead to a more informed and engaged electorate, thereby bolstering the democratic process.
- g) **Electoral Reforms Beyond Simultaneous Elections:** While the focus is often on simultaneous elections, broader electoral reforms should not be neglected. Measures such as campaign finance reform, political party funding transparency, and electoral code of conduct enforcement are crucial for enhancing the credibility and integrity of elections.
- h) **Data-driven Approach:** Policymakers should adopt a data-driven approach to understand electoral patterns, voter behavior, and the impact of simultaneous elections. Rigorous analysis of empirical data can inform evidence-based policy decisions.
- i) **Electoral Commission Strengthening:** The Election Commission of India should be strengthened to handle the challenges posed by simultaneous elections. This includes augmenting its resources, upgrading electoral infrastructure, and investing in capacity building for electoral officials.
- j) **Public Discourse and National Consensus:** 'One Nation, One Election' is a complex issue that merits sustained public discourse and national consensus. The policy recommendations should be guided by an inclusive and participatory dialogue involving experts, policymakers, and the general public.

The way forward for electoral reform in India requires a well-balanced approach that considers the practical challenges, constitutional implications, and the impact on the diverse socio-political landscape. Pilot projects, stakeholder consultation, and a gradual implementation approach can provide valuable insights and build confidence in the reform process. Strengthening the Election Commission, enhancing voter awareness, and promoting data-driven policymaking are essential components for successful electoral reform. Ultimately, the goal should be to reinforce the democratic principles and values of India while striving for a more efficient and accountable electoral system.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the proposal of 'One Nation, One Election' in India is a significant electoral reform that demands careful consideration and pragmatic implementation. While the idea aims to streamline the electoral process, reduce election-related expenditures, and promote policy continuity, it also raises legitimate concerns regarding federalism, representation of regional issues, and voter participation.

To move forward, a balanced approach is crucial, taking into account alternatives, middle ground solutions, and stakeholder consultation. Conducting pilot projects, conducting research studies, and strengthening the Election Commission are essential steps to gain valuable insights and ensure a smooth transition if adopted. Moreover, voter awareness and education are paramount to enhance the democratic engagement of citizens. The way forward involves fostering a national consensus, addressing constitutional implications, and respecting the diversity of India's socio-political landscape. By integrating policy recommendations, respecting federal principles, and bolstering the democratic values of inclusivity and transparency, India can advance towards electoral reform that serves the best interests of its people and strengthens its democratic foundation. Ultimately, the successful implementation of 'One Nation, One Election' rests on a well-informed, consultative, and evidence-based approach that upholds the core principles of democracy while addressing the challenges of the ever-evolving electoral landscape.