

## **Growth of Regional Political Parties in India since Post-Emergency**

Lalit Kumar Sharma<sup>1</sup>

---

### **ABSTRACT**

*Post of era of party fragmentation in India, there has been an exponential rise in the number of regional parties. Many of them have been coalition partner of central governments since 1996. One trend that is becoming evidents is that Indian polity has undergone a fundamental transformation-from the Congress at pole position to strong regional satraps in key states (especially in the post-Mandal era; and most of these grew at the expense of the Congress) who existed along with the Congress, the strong regional satraps that now co-exist with the BJP. From West-Bengal to Odisha, Uttar Pradesh to Bihar and Telangana, Jharkhand to Delhi it is becoming clear that if there's a strong regional force to take on the Bharatiya Janata Party in future elections, the Congress gets reduced to a poor third.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Bharatiya Janata Party, Trinmool Congress, Telgana Rashtriya Smiti, Biju Janta Dal, Shiv Sena, Akali Dal (Badal)*

---

### **I. INTRODUCTION:**

Indian Federalism is unique, in the sense that it created a space for reconciliation of regional aspirations with the imperatives of national policy.<sup>1</sup> The federal character of our constitution left no alternative but to recognize the territorial identity of the regions. India before 1947 was divisible into two distinct territorial segments, the British India and the Princely India, with the lapse of Paramountacy. India faced the problem of integrating these princely states into the Indian union to prevent country's balkanization. After independence several states such as those of Tranvan core and cochin, Hyderabad, Bhopal, Junagarh and Jammu and Kashmir, tried to create problems by delaying integration with the Indian Union, over six hundred princely states covering an area of 3,87,893 sq. miles of territory an having population of 60 million people that joined the Indian union. The people of the princely India were politically backward as compared to British Indian provinces which has passed through successive waves of democratization as gives by the government of India Acts of 1909, 1919 and 1935 respectively. It was further decided that old British Indian provinces will be kept in Part a states category and after 10 years the distinction between Part A, B and C states will disappear in 1957 through the seventh amendment of the constitution.<sup>2</sup>

Regionalism and sub-regionalism in Indian Politics is related to a struggle for the redressal of economic and social grievances. Its aims to seeking social and economic justice within the framework of the Indian constitution. In most of the cases the agitations or movements for regional demands have given birth to some regional political parties or pressure groups, against established national parties, for the cause of regional interests in their respective states or regions,<sup>3</sup> thus India has emerged as a creative experiment of combing 'democratic responsiveness to cultural differences, with a federal conciliation of regional community, identity and autonomy claims and a nationally concerted promotion of regional capability.<sup>4</sup> Regional demands were no longer filtered through party channels, but began to be asserted with rising irritations against the centre. These demands were initially confined to these endorsing their identities as distinct social-cultural entities in the party, but later they were articulated as demands for full scale autonomy and separatism, as evident in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir,<sup>5</sup> the demand of regional autonomy, the Union government, continues to be challenged and forced to succumb to pressure. This indicates, interalia, the weakening of the centre and the gradual strengthening of the states.<sup>6</sup> On this Indira Gandhi, described regionalism a very serious threat to the development progress and unity of the country.<sup>7</sup> The fourth general elections to the Lok Sabha and the state assembly elections in February 1967 radically altered India's political landscape, with the Congress losing its hegemony in as many as nine states (i.e. Kerala, West Bengal, Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Union Territory of Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Odisha) except in the case of Madras, where the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) won an absolute majority and C. Annadurai became Chief Minister, governments were formed in other states through coalition. The most significant feature of its elections was, coming together of non-Congress parties when the Congress system seemed to have developed serious cracks due to a complex

---

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Lalit Kumar Sharma, Project Officer, Institute of Integrated Himalayan Studies, UGC Centre of Excellence, H. P. University, Summer Hill, Shimla-H.P

unfolding of socio-economic circumstances. The outcome of this election clearly suggests a meta morphaosis in Indian politics that produced a tendency in the form of demands from several states for greater regional autonomy and in somewhat more feeble, but recurrent, proposals from politicians who continue to draw inspiration from the Gandhian tradition for greater decentralization of institutions in India right down to the district and village level as well.<sup>8</sup>

Soon after Nehru's demise, the gradual decline of Congress party and rise of regional political parties in Indian politics are directly responsible for the emergence of coalition politics in India. It is fact that the growths of regional political parties are directly linked to the decline of Congress popular support of the regional level. Most of regional parties are depends upon caste, language, region, religion for their survival and they do not give up their parochial approach and therefore are narrow in their outlook. A large number of regional political parties have proliferated since 1989 and playing a big role to form central governments with national parties.<sup>9</sup> From 9<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> general elections witnessed the mushrooming growth of regional parties and the regionalization of the national politics,<sup>10</sup> in these seven general elections, no single party has been able to achieve majority in the Lok Sabha and all centre governments were formed with the help of the regional parties. In 1999 BJP, made pre-poll alliance with 24 smaller/ regional political parties of diversified character and back ground and won 300 plus seats, under the leadership of Atal Behari Vajpayee, 24 parties National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government was formed.

**Table 1: Types of Parties (1989-2009)**

Party-Type	1989	1991	1996	1998	1999	2004	2009
Regional	19 (11)	19 (15)	22 (16)	33 (18)	33 (28)	33 (21)	32 (17)
Cross-Regional	3 (15)	3 (14)	4 (11)	4 (9)	3 (9)	2 (6)	3 (17)
Polity-Wide	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Total	24	24	28	39	39	37	37

A figure in parentheses denotes states. Union Territories have also been counted as States.

**Source:** Calculated from Election Commission reports.

At their peak in 1999 there were 33 parties which representing 28 states-while the number of polity-wide parties and cross-regional parties has remained stable, there has been substantial decline in the number of state represented by cross-regional parties.

**Distinguishing Regionally-Located and Regionalist Parties:** The term regional is commonly used very loosely to denote a wide variety of parties, often very different from each others. While some within this category trace their lineage to the period much before independence other were post-emergency and recent vintage. Significantly, many in the grouping do not necessary have a regional agenda or programme. While some distinctly claim and cater to particular region or state interests and identities other are regional because they are relevant only in a particular region.<sup>13</sup> Regional parties are those which generally or exclusively operate within a limited geographical area, which represent the interests of particular linguistic, religious ethnic or cultural groups, the respect of their narrowly defined interests regional parties stand in sharp contrast to the broad ranging diverse concern of national parties.<sup>14</sup> The plural character of our society, witnessed the feeling of regionalism may arise either due to the continuous neglect of a particular area or region by the ruling authorities, it may spring up as a result of increasing political awareness of forth backward people that have been discriminated against<sup>15</sup> one party dominance. Since 1990's a large number of regional parties have proliferated, and resulting in the emergence of a confederation of regional parties. These regional parties are increasingly playing an important role in deciding the strength of the national player. The general trajectory has been visible for a long time, beginnings in the late sixties but the gradient of its decline was not still recently sleep.<sup>16</sup>

In multi-party competition, most of the regional parties with support of parochial caste, communal or regional identities and short term sectarian interests are a cause of offense to national unity and integrity and struggle of power politics, sometimes regional parties become of brinkmanship, bluff and blackmail, they spoil of democratic principles and the leading alliance partner devoted to struggle for good governance is weakened due to coalition politics.<sup>17</sup> The regional parties can largely be attributed to the suppression of the political social and economic aspirations of the people of various regions in the country.<sup>18</sup> Since 1990s major transformative changes occurred in India such as assertion of Dalit politics, the emergence of the right wingers and liberalisation of the economy have resulted in rise of local parties and difference between the regional parties in south and north India. While southern parties come with specific regional agenda, northern parties strive for a larger role in national politics.<sup>19</sup> The development of regional forces is a natural consequence of the given tremendous heterogeneity of Indian society which is a continent of many communities united through shared experiences but powerfully motivated by parochial and regional consideration.<sup>20</sup> The regional local parties

organised themselves primarily on the basis of four kinds of issues,<sup>21</sup> 'a' demand of secession of state from the country as demanded by the DMK party in Tamil Nadu in South and other regional parties in North-East party of the country like Nagaland and Assam, 'b' demand for separate statehood as made by late Master Tara Singh the founder member of the Akali Dal at Punjab 'c' demand for more autonomy with regard to financial and administrative matter at local or regional level, 'd' demand for concessions on the basis of language, religion, culture and caste, so as to protect the rights and interests of a particular community.<sup>22</sup>

The zone-based classification scheme (North, South, East and West) which implicitly combines insights from both institutionalism and political sociology is a useful analytical tool to map party support patterns. It brings together states which share a common history, geographic space and language, except their respective region they did not play a notable role on the all-India level.<sup>23</sup> The gradual decline of the Pan India Party Congress leaving behind its murky shadow, of one party dominance to shift the growing strength of the BJP and the emergence of the regional and local parties since Post-Emergency, rapidly increase important political players in a number of states, with their specific group, it changes party politics, in Indian traditional society today.<sup>24</sup> Punjab is a clear example of a single state party like Akali Dal (Badal) entered into a formal alliance with Bharatiya Janata Party since 1996<sup>25</sup> and continue till today. India is acclaimed as the largest democracy in the world, it is also a nation with a very large number of parties, i.e. distinction between three type of parties on the basis of their electoral performance (in Lok Sabha election, across region-North, South, East and West. The classification of the parties are polity-wide parties are those parties which contest and won seats across all the four regions. Class regional parties are those that win seats in more than one region, finally, the regional parties won seats only in one region or state. At present there are about 750 registered parties in India out of which 4 are national and about 44 are recognised as state or regional parties, the regional parties have become over bearing both for the BJP and the Congress. The country requires the rise of two major national parties or alliances, both the BJP and Congress should realize each other relevance. The best way to accomplish the idea of two major party system at the national level would be to consider favourable the reform proposal that only a party securing more than five percent votes in more than a half of the states should be recognized as a national party there is no place for state, local or regional parties to contest the election more than one state. There parties will be free to have relevance and legitimacy to contest state legislatures elections<sup>26</sup> centre state relations are a key issue on the agenda of regionalist parties.

Regionalist parties essentially make three types of claims, one, the so called national parties are not addressing the interests of particular states or region and they can do it better to regional or state pride, honour, culture, identity and so on must be protected, they make demands on the centre to relinquish power on certain subjects and areas. Regionalist and local parties essentially vary on the degree of their claims, especially the third, while some regionalist and local parties make strong claims in terms of challenging the existing state structure, suggesting radical reordering of the existing centre-state-frame work and demanding more autonomy, relaxation, others make soft demands like protection, greater devolution and decentralisation of powers.<sup>27</sup> If regionally located parties do bring up the issue of weakening centre-state relations. It is in more general terms rather than with respect to any particular state. Regionalist and small parties on the contrary involve loyalty and emotion to a particular identified region or areas, all regional or local parties do not necessarily have a regionalist agenda.<sup>28</sup> Compare to other regions the northern region has seen a relatively lower number of regionalist parties and it is always associated with the centre, the northern region is terms of language, history, culture, social, political and economic background has also not allowed the idea of being different to be manufactured. The other regions geographically distanced from the centre have witnessed a greater number of regionalist movements.<sup>29</sup> Historically, the other regions have not only been away from centre power, but are also culturally, emotionally, linguistically different from the north. For instance notes that some regions like Punjab and Madras developed a self-identity of their own by the time of independence. Similarly North-Eastern states including Sikkim but barring Assam had no direct part of the political development that took place in the rest of India during the national movement.<sup>30</sup> It has consequently been relatively easier for parties in other regions to politicise differences and use it as a mobilisational tool. Based on this difference among regions it is possible to make a distinction between states with space for a regionalist or local political agenda.

**Strategy and Competition Space:** The two dominant approaches in party and party system research in India, the sociological and the institutional traditions are not very helpful in explaining short-term swings in party support indifferent areas, led to multi-cornered contests,<sup>31</sup> within the broad multi-ethnic national matrix of India. India is a sub-continent exhibiting diversity in language, religion, castes, culture and region. The popular base of one party dominant (Congress-I) which ruled India during since independence 1947-1989 (except 1977-79) it used to be the umbrella party of OBC's, Dalit and Muslim voters for a long time.<sup>32</sup> The Congress may have at one time or the other, ruled 18 of the current 28 states in the Union, when Indira Gandhi was the PM, but over the past two decades, its performance has dipped. The deep-rooted anti-Congressism has existed for decades when the grand old party was in power and the Congress task of leading from the front has been more

wishful then based on ground realities. The most distinguishing characteristic of Indian electoral system in the 1990s that increase the party competition in India. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> general elections since 1957, the winning differential has dropped from an average of 20 percent for all constituencies through 1989 to about 10 percent in 1998. The drop in the winning differential is however not due to changes in the percent of votes received by a largest party, the share of votes received by the winning party had indeed dropped, but this change is not as large as the drop in the winning differential.<sup>33</sup>

The last decade of 20<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century have witnessed growing fragmentation of social mobilization. The all-catch party politics is challenged by sectional and segmentary party politics, now regional parties and BJP have strong support base of OBC, Dalit and Muslim, sections and the Muslim have shifted towards the dominant regional parties in the majority. It witnessed the steady decline of the Congress as the dominant formation in Indian politics. The caste-based mobilization has run its course through the implementation of mandal commission reports. Which reserved 27 percent of the jobs in union government for the other backward classes? It has also opened the new spaces for debate on core and social issues that had earlier been marginal. In this period Hindutva groups launched conservative cultural movement among, adhivasia, dalits and peasant out castes which change the competitive space among national and regional parties.<sup>34</sup> The competition space in regionalist and non-regionalist states is very different. A regionalist agenda which gives importance to a particular state, region, language religion, culture and so on is often at odds with the framework of a polity-wide party. In a non-regionalist space, polity wide parties may actually have an advantage by leveraging its weight, spread and influence,<sup>35</sup> it primarily revolves around caste and community identities. They have witnessed roughly similar trajectories. Since the late 1980s and through the 1990s, there was an upsurge of backward and lower castes in the northern states of India, almost similar to that of what southern states Tamil Nadu and Kerala had witnessed in the late 1950's and 1960's.<sup>36</sup> Most of the regional parties representing backward and lower-caste groups soon emerged and they not only brought a new style politics but also made social justice and dignity an integral part of the lexicon of Indian politics.

The BJP strategically exploited coalition opportunities by leveraging its pivotal position as third party and offering a share of power at the centre to expand itself in states where it was weak. This strategy fulfilled the needs of there in the coalition (or those who sought one) who wanted a say in national-level decision-making and also helped bridge territorial deficits of the coalition maker. While this alliance strategy has played a key role in the expansion of the BJP in over all India,<sup>41</sup> Consequently, competing in a regionalist agenda space is sticky business for the BJP for two reasons. First, an alternate line might not find any takers especially when the existing competition in a state is only about different degrees of the regionalist agenda. Second, endorsing the agenda alliance with regionalist parties may expose contradictions and lead to loss of credibility in other states. In a non-regionalist space, polity wide parties may actually have an advantage by leveraging its weight-spread and influence.<sup>42</sup>

How the strategy of the BJP gave greater leverage to the regionalist parties on compared to the regionally-located parties. The regionalist parties who had an alliance with the BJP also did well. In Punjab the SAD-BJP alliance has been mutually beneficial. The Siromani Akali Dal is probably the oldest regionalist party in the country and held strong views on the restructuring of centre-state relations at one point of time. Regionally-located parties are primarily concentrated in Uttar Pradesh (UP) and Bihar in both states U.P. and Bihar, Political competition since the late 1980s has primarily revalued around building viable social coalition. Ideology and issue-based appeals have not been able to hold their ground. Political Parties have been constantly drawing and redrawing caste and community lines to find a social combination that holds. In both states, the BJP while consolidating its own social base has been strategically targeting the groups left out by the main regionally-located parties.<sup>43</sup> The BSP and SP in UP and the RJD in Bihar.

**The Decline of the Congress:** The Congress used to be the umbrella party of all sections of the society. It had faced no real challenge from outside itself. Even before independence different political parties or groups existed with the congress. During Nehru's period only opposition party that assumed office in a state was communist party at (1957-59) in Kerala state but it was dismissed from office in the wake of the liberations movement in the state, the congress dominates entire Indian states till 1967. In 1967 congress has lost major eight states to the opposition parties.<sup>45</sup> It has been defeated at the parliamentary election starting with 1977. The 1989 defeat as the beginning of the post congress polity, the 1977 defeat itself marked the sharp decline in the ability of the party to continue its hegemonic hold over the polity. It must also be born in mind that the 1977 and 1989 defeat took place under the leadership of much stronger leaders who were themselves leading the government. These defeat brought about structural changes in the arena of competitive politics in India. In both 1977 and 1989, various non-congress parties came together to ensure that the congress was defeated with in the framework of the simple plurality system. During the 1990s along with structural changes in the system of competition, the process of social reconfiguration occasioned by major churning it terms of social blocs getting redefined and tending to realign also began to take shape.<sup>46</sup> The rise of Hindutva since the 1980s had a parallel-a

new wave of backward caste mobilisation in parts of northern and western India, which challenged the Nehruvian elite's grip on power.

The last time Bihar had a congress chief minister in 1990, India's Most populous state Uttar Pradesh saw the exit of its most recent C.M. Narayan Dutt Tiwari in 1989, in west Bengal, the third largest electoral state after U.P and Maharashtra, the party has not had a C.M since the emergency ended in 1977, Tamil Nadu, which oscillates between the two regional parties the AIADMK and the DMK, last saw a congress C.M when it was still called Madras state and yet to be renamed as Tamil Nadu in 1967. The congress may have at one time or the other ruled 18 of the current 28 states in the union when Indira Gandhi was the prime minister, but over the past two-decades, its performance has dipped in the majority states and centre, when 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha elections witnessed the steady decline of the congress party with 44 and 51 seats, not enough to even be recognised as the official opposition in the Lok Sabha.

## II. CONCLUSION

There are many factors for the rise of the regional political parties in Indian politics since post-Emergency. Major transformative changes occurred in India, such as implementation of Mandal commission Report, Emergence of the right wingers, liberalisation of the Indian economy and rise of Hindutva since the 1980s had a parallel- a new wave of backwards caste, Dalit, mobilisation in parts at northern and western India, which questioned the Nehruvian elite's grip on power. While parties based on social justice politics or regional pride weakened the congress party, they also viewed the BJP with scepticism despite their occasional association with it. Through deft coalition-building with regional parties, the BJP used many non-congress outfits to further its own growth and gobbled them up in several states of Northern, Western and north-east states, such as Gujarat, U.P Bihar, Jharkhand, Haryana, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh West-Bangal and Odisha. In Southern states, barring Karnataka, remained unimpressed by Hindutva, but the BJP made impressive inroads, in West-Bangal and Odisha, proving its potency even in areas where linguistic, politics and cultural factors have historically been unfavourable to it. BJP's strategy of blurring and muting regionalist aspiration indicates that polity-wide parties also want to be seen as a cohesive programmatic unit. In regionalist states, the BJP focused more on issues like development, good leadership and corruption rather than positional issues like restructuring, centre-state relations and regional pride. The congress party has adopted the approach of allying with strong regional outfits and consolidating the party's base in other states.

## REFERENCES

- [1]. L.I. Rudolph and S.H. Rudolph. *Redoing the constitutional design : From an interventionist to a regulatory state* in Atul Kohli (ed.), *The success of India's democracy* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, P. 129.
- [2]. Bhawani Singh. *Indian Politics : Ideology and Ecology*, Jaipur, Print well Publishers, 1990, PP. 191-92.
- [3]. N.S. Gehlot. *Trends in Indian Politics. New Delhi*, Deep & Deep Publications, 1998, P. 12.
- [4]. Jyotirindra Desgupta. *India's Federal Design and Multicultural National construction* in Atul Kohli (ed.), *The success of India's Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, 2001, P. 49.
- [5]. Sunil Khilnani. *The Idea of India*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1997, P. 184.
- [6]. Atul Kohli. *Power and powerlessness : India's Democracy in a comparative perspective*, in Joel Migdal, Atul Kohli, and Vivienne Shue (eds.) *State power and social forces : Domination and Transformation in the third world*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, P. 44.
- [7]. Sankar Ghose. (ed.), *Congress Presidential Speeches A Selected. New Delhi*, All India congress committee, 1972. P. 480.
- [8]. Paul Brass. *The Politics of India Since Independence. New Delhi*, Cambridge University Press, 1990, P. 63.
- [9]. Susheela Kaushik. *Twelfth Lok Sabha Elections 1998 and coalition making*, in S.K. Chaube and Susheela Kaushik (eds.) *Indian Democracy at the turn of century*. New Delhi, Kanishka Publishers Distributors, 1999, P. 69.
- [10]. M.L. Ahuja. *Handbook of General Elections and Electoral Reforms, New Delhi*, Mittal Publications, 2000, P. 17.
- [11]. Pratap Chandra Swain. *Bharatiya Janata Party : Profile and performance*. New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing corporation, 2001, P. 284-85
- [12]. Iqbal Narain. *Regional Politics in India*, in P.C. Mathur (ed.), *Government and Politics in South Asia*. Jaipur, Print well Publishers, 1985, PP. 76-78
- [13]. Jai Narain. *The Emergence of regional Political parties and the Problem of national integration*, in Ramji Lal (ed.), *National integration A symposium Haryana*, Dayal Singh College Karnal, 1987, PP. 115-116.
- [14]. Prakash Chander. *Coalition politics in India. New Delhi*, Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd. 2000, P. 187.
- [15]. Achin Vanaik. *Communalism contested Religion, modernity and secularization*. New Delhi, Vistaar Publications, 1977, P. 296.
- [16]. Subhash C. Kashyap. *Time for two party system regional outfits a spoil sport*, *The Tribune*, March 15, 2004, P. 10.
- [17]. Iqbal Narain. *Regional politics in India*, in P.C. Mathur (ed.), *Government and politics in south Asia*. Jaipur, print well Publishers 1985, P. 77.
- [18]. Lewis P and Fickell Jr. *The politics of regionalism in India. Pacific Affairs*, Vol. XLIV, No. 2. 1971, P. 193.
- [19]. D.C. Gupta. *Indian Government and politics. Delhi*, Vikas Publication, 1982, PP. 470-471.
- [20]. H. Hartman. *Political Parties in India. Meerut*. Meenakshi Prakashan, 1977, P. 145-147
- [21]. Alexander Chicherov. *Jawahar Lal Nehru and Indian National Congress*. New Delhi, Allied Publisher Pvt. Ltd. 1985, PP. 108-109.
- [22]. Pushpendra. *Dalit Assertion through Electoral Politics*. In Ghan Shyan Shah (ed.). *Caste and Democratic Politics in India*, New Delhi, Permanent Black, 2005, P. 356.
- [23]. Paul Wallace. *General Elections 1996: Regional parties dominant in Punjab and Haryana*. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXII, No. 46, November 15, 1997, P. 2966.

- [24]. Malhotra Vinay Kumar. *Coalition government in India: A critique of prevalent theories*. Journal of Political Science. DAV College Jalandhar, Vol. 1, No. 1, February 2005, PP. 63-65.
- [25]. Kamala Prasad. *NDA loses on governance*, Mainstream, Vol. XLII, No. 16, April 10, 2004, PP. 7-9.
- [26]. Kamal Prasad, *Electoral verdict at the millennium-end*, Mainstream, Vol. XXXVII, No. 45, June 10, 1999, PP. 7-9.
- [27]. M.P. Singh and Rekha Saxena. *India at the Poll, Parliamentary Elections in the Federal Phase*. New Delhi, Orient Longman Pvt. Ltd. 2003, PP. 5-8.
- [28]. C.P. Bhambhari. *Indian Politics 2001-2004, Political Process and Change of government*, Delhi, Shipra Publications, 2005, PP. 9-13.
- [29]. D.T. Suryanarayan Shastri (ed.). *Fifty years of Indian Independence and the polity*. New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing House Corporation, 2000, P. 230.
- [30]. K.C. Suri. *Andhra Pradesh Politics of Confrontation*. The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. IV, No. 3, July-September, 1994, P. 199.
- [31]. Pradeep Chhibber and Irfan Nooruddin. *Party Competition and Fragmentation in Indian National Elections: 1957-1998*, in Ramashray Roy and Paul Wallace (eds.), *Indian Politics and the 1998 election regionalism, Hindutva and state politics*, New Delhi, Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 1999, PP. 39-40.
- [32]. Mahesh Rangarajan. *Polity in Transition. India after the 2004 General Elections*. Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XL, No. 32, August 6, 2005, PP. 3600-3601.
- [33]. G.S. Ghurya. *Features of the Caste System*, in Ghan Shyam Shah (ed.), *Caste and Democratic Politics in India*. New Delhi, Permanent Black, 2005, PP. 38-39.