IJCRT.ORG **ISSN : 2320-2882**

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CREATIVE RESEARCH THOUGHTS (IJCRT)

An International Open Access, Peer-reviewed, Refereed Journal

Rise of Regional Political Parties Since Post-Emergency

Lalit Kumar Sharma

Project Officer, Department of Interdisciplinary Studies, Institute of Integrated Himalayan Studies, UGC Centre of Excellence, Himachal Pradesh University, Summer Hill, Shimla-171005

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. The Congress used to be the umbrella Party of OBC, Dalit and Muslim voters for a long time, due to these sections, support, it has dominates entire Indian states till 1967, and except the brief period of Janata Party rule (1977-79) Congress dominant Indian Union till 1989, but now regional parties and BJP have strong support base of these sections and Muslim have shifted towards the dominant regional parties like Trinmool Congress Samajwadi Party, BSP, RJD, BJD, JD(S), JD(U), TRS, NCP and Aam Aadmi Party realising they have potential to take on the BJP, which have become the Principle party of Indian democracy. So far, the regional parties have had their own problems. Without a National Party like the Congress, they do not stand much of a chance to take on the BJP government on foreign policy, defense and economic issues. A Delhi-Centric politician who has offered hope and delivered on the ground can be a good wait for future. It's an open fact that many regional leaders like Uddhav Thackeray, M.K. Stalin, Jagan Mohan Reddy and Naveen Patnaik are happy to be regional players. Just as regional straps in the 1996-1998, United Front era had looked and opted for H.D. Devegowda and Inder Kumar Gujral type of Prime Minister, 2024 may throw a similar situation, but the prior experience of the coalition governments was not in favour of overall development of the country. India saw seven Prime Minister from 1989-1999 and 9th to 15th general elections, witnessed the coalition governments and mushrooming growth of regional parties and the regionalization of the national politics. In 2019 general elections Modi became the first Indian Prime Minister since 1971 to secure a single party majority twice in a raw not since Indira Gandhi's back-to-back majorities in the 1967 and 1971 elections had an Indian leader achieved such a feat. Like the first Modi government creditable achievements, Modi 2.0 government took historical steps within six months on the most prominent achievements of eliminating the Article 370 from J&K with downgrade and bifurcation of J&K into two UT's, Legislating the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Marriage Act 2019) due to that, ban on instant triple talaq, implementation of Supreme Court order for the construction of Ram temple at Ayodhya, passed the citizenship (Amendment) Act CAA, restructuring the medical education regulatory system and committing to 75 new government medical colleges, the list is long, such type of beginning showed that no opposition leader or alliance seems to be challenge Modi government even in 2024 general elections.

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.[1] 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[2].

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,[3] 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.[4] 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,[5] 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.[6] On this Indira Gandhi, described regionalism a very serious threat to the development progress and unity of the country.[7] 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 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 feebler, 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[8].

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 growth of regional political parties is 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.[9] From 9th to 15th general elections witnessed the mushrooming growth of regional parties and the regionalisation of the national politics,[10] 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. It was largest party's coalition government formation at the national level and it served on political accommodation for full terms of Lok Sabha (1999-2004),[11] of the 86 registered parties which contested Lok Sabha elections between 1989 and 2019. 64 continue to exist in 2019. While some dropped off, others have merged with other parties, with the fragmentaion of the party system, there has been a substantial increase in the number of parties contesting and winning seats table 1: Types of Parties 1989-2019.

Table 1: Types of Parties (1989-2019)

Party-Type	1989	1991	1996	1998	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019
Regional	19 (11)	19 (15)	22 (16)	33 (18)	33 (28)	33 (21)	32 (17)	31 (18)	30 (17)
Cross-Regional	3 (15)	3 (14)	4 (11)	4 (9)	3 (9)	2 (6)	3 (17)	2 (6)	3 (7)
Polity-Wide	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Total	24	24	28	39	39	37	37	35	36

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

Source: Calculated from Election Commission reports.

The category of regional parties has been a substantial increase. From 19 parties representing 11 states in 1989,[12] these are 30 parties representing 17 states in the 17th Lok Sabha formed after the 2019 elections. 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 states represented by cross-regional parties.

II. 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 other. 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 necessarily 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[13]. 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[14]. 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[15] 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[16].

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.[17] 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.[18] 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[19]. 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[20]. The regional local parties organised themselves primarily on the basis of four kinds of issues,[21] '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 make 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[22].

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.[23] 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.[24] 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[25] 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 types 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[26] 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[27]. If regionally located parties do bring up the issue of weaking 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.[28] 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 regionalists movemnts[29]. 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 baring Assam had no direct part of the political development that took place in the rest of India during the national movement[30]. 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.

III. 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,[31] 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[32]. 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 2nd 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[33].

The last decade of 20th and the beginning of the 21st 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.[34] 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 infleunce,[35] 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.[36] 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 rise of the BJP from two seats in the Lok Sabha in 1984 to 303 seats in 2019 and vote share of 7.7 percent to 48 percent today. The BJP solo score can compare well with the popular sympathy vote caused by Indira Gandhi assassination in 1984 giving the Congress the highest 415 seats and 49.10 percent vote share[37]. In 16th general elections which were held in May 2014, BJP won two out of every three seats, it contested 428 seats and won 282 has had a clear parliamentary majority since 1984,[38] with 31 percent of total popular votes. The Congress party won only 44 seats, a number of small the India's oldest party of Indira Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru for 54 of the 67 years that the country had been ruled. In 2019 general elections once again prime minister Narendra Modi became the first Indian prime minister since 1971 to secure a single party majority twice in a raw not since India Gandhi's back-to-back majorities in the 1967 and 1971 general election had an Indian leader achieved such a feat.[40] At present, the geographical expansion of this BJP in the Northern, centre and western regions stands from the 1970s onwards. 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 overall India[41], 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[42].

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 patties 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[43]. The BSP and SP in UP and the RJD in Bihar. The past two decades leaders from middle and backward castes became the face of the party at the state level too, about one-third of the OBC'S voted for the BJP and they constituted nearly 40 percent all the voters to BJP got in the 2019 Lok Subha elections. The BJP saw a rise of 8 percent vote among the OBC'S 10 percent among the schedule castes and 14 percent among the scheduled tribes while only 24 percent of the poor, 31 percent lower class, 38 percent of the upper middle classes preferred vote for the BJP in 2019 general elections. The same upper castes that once supported the congress vis-a-vis the middle and backward castes but non abandoned that in favour of the BJP. The 2014 election saw a renewal of the BJP'S strategy to expand its electoral support among the OBC'S and the dalits with a determination to stage a comeback. This was epitomised by the rise of Modi in the party on the eve of elections to become its chief campaigner and the projected P.M. candidate. Modi more explicitly went on referring to his backward caste background. He became very strident in his references to political rights of the backward castes. He said that the BJP was no longer an upper castes party, he emphasized his own lower caste origins and said, the next decade will belong to the dalits and the backward.[44]

IV. 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 liberation's movement in the state, the congress dominates entire Indian states till 1967. In 1967 congress has lost major eight states to the opposition parties.[45] 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. This defeat brought about structural changes in the arena of competitive polities in India. In both 1977 and 1989, various non-congress parties came together to ensure that the congress was defeated within 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.[46] 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 16th and 17th 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. In the context of national politics virtually every non-

NDA political party is looking for an alternative to Modi government, Parties like the Trinamool congress, Biju Janata Dal, DMK, left parties, BSP, S.P., TDP and others are totally disappointed with congress leadership ability to take on the Modi government on foreign affairs, national securing, slow down of economy, vigilantism and rapied development of the country.[47]

V. Conclusion

There are many factors for the rise of the regional political parties in Indian polities since port-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, mabilisation 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 on 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-Bengal and Odisha, proving its potency even in areas where linguistic, politics and cultural factors have historically been unfavorable 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. Rudolph, L. I. and Rudolph, S.H. *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. Singh, B. *Indian Politics: Ideology and Ecology,* Jaipur, Print well Publishers, 1990, PP. 191-92.

3. Gehlot, N.S. *Trends in Indian Politics. New Delhi,* Deep & Deep Publications, 1998, P. 12.

4. Desgupta, J. *India's Federal Design and Multicultural National* construction in Atul Kohli (ed.), The success of India's Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, P. 49.

5. Khilnani, S. *The Idea of India, London,* Hamish Hamilton, 1997, P. 184.

6. Kohli, A. *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. Ghose, S. *(ed.), Congress Presidential Speeches A Selected. New Delhi,* All India congress committee, 1972. P. 480.

8. Paul, B. *The Politics of India Since Independence. New Delhi,* Cambridge University Press, 1990, P. 63.

9. Kaushik, S. *Twelfth Lok Sabha Elections 1998 and coalition making, in S.K. Chaube and Susheela Kaushi*k (eds.) Indian Democracy at the turn of century. New Delhi, Kanishka Publishers Distributors, 1999, P. 69.

10. Ahuja, M. L. *Handbook of Generel Elections and Electoral Reforms, New Delhi,* Mittal Publications, 2000, P. 17.

11. Swain, P. C. *Bharatiya Janata Party: Profile and performance.* New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing corporation, 2001, P. 284-85

12. Kailash, K.K. *Regional Parties in the 16th Lok Sabha Elections.* Economic and political weekly, Vol. XLIX No. 39 September 27, 2014. P. 65.

13. Iqbal, N. *Regional Politics in India, in P.C. Mathur* (ed.), Government and Politics in South Asia. Jaipur, Print well Publishers, 1985, PP. 76-78

14. Narain, J. *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.

15. Chander, P. *Coalition politics in India. New Delhi,* Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd. 2000, P. 187.

16. Vanaik, A. *Communalism contested Religion, modernity and secularization.* New Delhi, Vistaar Publications, 1977, P. 296.

17. Kashyap, S. C. *Time for two party system regional outfits a spoil sport,* The Tribune, March 15, 2004, P. 10.

18. Iqbal, N. *Regional politics in India, in P.C. Mathur* (ed.), Government and politics in south Asia. Jaipur, print well Publishers 1985, P. 77.

19. Chatterji, S. *How cong votes have shifted to dominant regional parties.* Hindustan times, February 19, 2020. P. 9.

20. Lewis, P. and Fickell, Jr. *The politics of regionalism in India. Pacific Affairs,* Vol. XLIV, No. 2. 1971, P. 193.

21. Gupta, D.C. *Indian Government and politics. Delhi,* Vikas Publication, 1982, PP. 470-471.

22. Hartman, H. *Political Parties in India. Meerut.* Meenakshi Prakashan, 1977, P. 145-147

23. Chicherov, Al. *Jawahar Lal Nehru and Indian National Congress.* New Delhi, Allied Publisher Pvt. Ltd. 1985, PP. 108-109.

24. Pushpendra. *Dalit Assertion through Electoral Politics.* In Ghan Shyan Shah (ed.). Caste and Democratic Politics in India, New Delhi, Permanent Black, 2005, P. 356.

25. Paul, W. *General Elections 1996: Regional parties dominant in Punjab and Haryana.* Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XXXII, No. 46, November 15, 1997, P. 2966.

26. Malhotra, V. K. *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.

27. Prasad, K. *NDA loses on governance,* Mainstream, Vol. XLII, No. 16, April 10, 2004, PP. 7-9.

28. Prasad, K. *Electoral verdict at the millennium-end,* Mainstream, Vol. XXXVII, No. 45, June 10, 1999, PP. 7-9.

29. Singh, M. P. and Saxena, R. *India at the Poll, Parliamentary Elections in the Federal Phase.* New Delhi, Orient Longman Pvt. Ltd. 2003, PP. 5-8.

30. Bhambhari, C. P. *Indian Politics 2001-2004, Political Process and Change of government,* Delhi, Shipra Publications, 2005, PP. 9-13.

31. Shastri, D. T. S. (ed.). *Fifty years of Indian Independence and the polity.* New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing House Corporation, 2000, P. 230.

32. Suri, K.C. *Andhra Pradesh Politics of Confrontation.* The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. IV, No. 3, July-September, 1994, P. 199.

33. Chhibber, P. and Nooruddin, I. *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.

34. Rangarajan, M. *Polity in Transition. India after the 2004 General Elections.* Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XL, No. 32, August 6, 2005, PP. 3600-3601.

35. Ghurya, G. S. *Features of the Caste System,* in Ghan Shyam Shah (ed.), *Caste and Democratic Politics in India.* New Delhi, Permanent Black, 2005, PP. 38-39.

36. Omvedt, G. *The anti-caste movement and the discourse of power,* in Ghan Shyam Shah (ed.), *Caste and Democratic Politics in India.* New Delhi, Permanent Black, 2005, PP. 424-25.

37. Mahendra, V. *Modi 2.0 pluralism is out majoritarianism is in.* Mainstream, Vol. LVII, No. 25, June 2019, P. 16.

38. Taseer, A. *Of the Great Democracies to fall populism India was the first. Time,* May 30, 2019, P. 33.

39. Editorial. *Narendra Modi's Land Slide: Bad for India's Soul.* Mainstream, Vol. LVII, No. 24, May 31, 2019, P. 3.

40. Raj, C. *The power of two.* India Today, January 6, 2020, PP. 22-23.

41. Suhas, P. *The BJP's Act East/Moment.* The Hindu, May 28, 2019, P. 9.

42. Jain, A. & Attri, V. *When Schemes translate into votes.* The Hindu, May 27, 2019, P. 9.

43.   Thomas, B. Hansen and Christophe Jaffrelot (ed.) *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India,* New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998, PP. 9-11.

44.   Suri, K.C. and Shikar, S. P. *India's 2014 Lok Sabha Elections.* Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XLIX, No. 39, September 27, 2014, PP. 43-47.

45.   Paul W. *Introduction: The New National Party System and State Politics* in Paul Wallace and Ramashray Roy (ed.) *India's 1999 Elections and 20th Century Politics.* New Delhi, Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2003, PP. 2-3.

46.   Suhas, P. *The Defeat of the Congress.* Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XLIX, 39, September 27, 2014, P. 57.

47.   Kidwai, R. *Congress regional parties not on same page.* The Tribune, 13 February, 2020, P. 9.