

many coalitions such as 1967, 1977 etc. and all these coalitions were unsuccessful due to factions in the party. After 10-12 year of militancy Punjab politics changed, after 1992 there was stable governments of Akali-BJP 1997, Congress – 2002 etc. The role of Akali Dal in re-organisation of state is important. Akali Dal made such demands which were against the Indian constitution. The party passed Anandpur Sahib Resolution which set the path for the other regional parties for the demand of greater power within the Union. Akalis and Congress rivalry resulted in political instability in Punjab. Another point which is proved by the above discussion is that the Dal was always against the Centre or the Congress. The Akalis always have had alliance with the party having its base in Hindu community. There were some tensions between the both partners but they do not have any other option to keep Congress out of power.

STATE POLITICS OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

Himachal, known as 'Dev Bhumi' in the ancient times is situated in the heart of the Western Himalayas. The word 'Himachal' derives its origin from two Hindi words, 'Him' and 'Anchal' meaning 'snow' and 'lap' respectively. Etymologically, it stands for the region which lies in the slopes and foothills of snow (Sharda 2010, pp.48-62). To its north lies the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Uttaranchal. Uttar Pradesh in the South East, Haryana to the south and Punjab in the west, whereas on the east it forms India's border with Tibet.

At the time of its birth on 15th April 1948 as a part 'C' state of the Indian union Himachal Pradesh consisted of about 30 princely states was totally undemocratic, the society was highly feudal and the economy was extremely primitive, almost tribal. People lived in abject poverty and servility scarred their psyche, centuries of oppression had rendered them too weak and too passive to aspire to break their chains. They had very little interaction with the outside world except through soldiers supplied for the defence of British rule during the two World Wars. It was only towards the late 1930s and early 1940s that the Praja Mandal movement for the liberation of these states from the feudal princely order began to gain ground. However, the movement was limited to only a microscopic minority of political activities. The movement never acquired a mass character. It

was after the integration of princely states into Himachal Pradesh and the holding of the first General Elections in 1952 (Sharma 1999, pp.2465-2471).

The state's journey on the democratic road began in 1952 but, the democratic process got a setback when the status of Himachal Pradesh was downgraded to that of a Union Territory without Legislative Assembly, in the wake of 1956 reorganization of states. In fact the very survival of Himachal as separate political unit was threatened. It was in 1963 that the Legislature was restored. The years later, in November 1966, the hilly areas of Punjab-Kangra, Kullu, Lahaul Spiti etc. were transferred to Himachal, at the time of the linguistic reorganization of Punjab into being on 1st November 1966 (Ibid).

The electoral politics in the Himachal Pradesh revolves around the Congress and the BJP. There is clear cut two party system in the state. Till 1977 Himachal Pradesh had one dominant party system. Other parties were not able to compete with Congress as state holders. Although 1967 General Elections made a watershed in the electoral history of the state. Jana Sangh for the first time, made an impressive showing though it did not win any seat to the Lok Sabha, it polled 19.1 percent vote which was higher than the percentage of votes polled for any other political party except the Congress. In the Vidhan Sabha Elections, its performance was even better than the Parliamentary election (Ibid). The party failed to pose a serious challenge to ruling Congress. Other parties i.e. Communist, Praja Socialist Party, Swatanta Party also failed to Challenge the Congress, because Congress was better organized as compared to the rest of the parties. These parties failed to adopt the policy of 'Catch all' and were not able to develop mass base immediately after independence. At that time the state Congress was led by the leaders (Y.S. Parmar and Padam Dev) who were known for their contribution to Praja Mandal movements in the area (Sharda 2010). It helped the Congress to gain huge majority to form the government in the state. During the 1971-72 Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha poll, Congress's popularity graph was very high because in January 1971 Himachal Pradesh accorded statehood. The population graph of the Congress further improved because of India's role in the liberation of Bangladesh in late 1971 and the Congress won with huge majority in 1972 Vidhan Sabha Election (Sharma 1999).

The period from (1971 to 1977) brought drastic changes in the working of national government which affected the systems in the state also. Imposition of national emergency, dictatorial attitude of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, repressive policy, evasion of democratic values proved fatal to the Congress in 1977 (Sharda 2010). The Congress lost power at Centre in 1977 election and the State Assembly Elections, the Congress was completely routed. It could win only 9 seats and opposition won 53 seats. The Janta party in state was the combination of Jan Sangh Congress (0) and Congress for Democracy (Sharma 1999.) The Shanta Kumar of Jana Sangh was sworn as first Non-Congress Chief Minister of the state. The Government formed by the Janta party in 1977 was the first coalition government of the state.

Election results of 1977 indicate many developments of the Himachal Pradesh politics. The state was mostly “derivative” and national choices were “principal”. Secondly, organized opposition proved challenge to the one dominant party system. 1977 can also be considered as land mark period in the political history of Himachal when one dominant party system came to an end and two competitive party system emerged (Sharda 2010).

When the Janta Party finally split under the weight of internal decision the BJP was able to walk away with most of the organizational work. However, it could retain only 23 of the 53 party legislators and was reduced to a minority in the assembly. Despite its broad support base it was unable to retain any of the four Lok Sabha seats during the 1980 parliamentary elections even though it polled 36.4 percent vote which was quite impressive vote share with the Congress having polled 52.1 percent vote. The two main political parties accounted for 88.5 percent of the votes polled. The Janta party’s performance was very poor and its vote share was only 5.3 percent in the Parliamentary Elections from the state, coupled with the return of Indira Gandhi to power at the centre had its fallout and Shanta Kumar government had to bow out. Soon the Congress was able to form its government. Although in 1977 it had won only nine seats in the house of 68, it managed to secure a majority by admitting large number of Janta Party legislators. The congress continued to rule the state for about two years through this make shift arrangement (Sharma 1999).

In 1982 Vidhan Sabha Elections both the parties made a serious bid for power. But it was a hung assembly. Both BJP and Congress parties were almost evenly balanced, the Congress bagged 31 seats, the BJP got 29 and the Janta Party won only 2 seats. BJP 20 seats came from the new areas, while only nine seats came from the old areas. On the other hand, out of 31 seats won by the Congress only 10 were from the new areas. The remaining 21 came from old areas. The 1982 Vidhan Sabha clearly established the fact that the BJP had been able to sell the argument that the new areas were getting a step motherly treatment from the Congress government and only the BJP could protect the legitimate interests of this region. These fact shows that the regionalism was raising its head in the state on the base is of old and new Himachal. The BJP was considered as the party of new area and the Congress as the party of old Himachal. It was the time when Centre Government had dominant role. The Congress formed its government with the help of independents and the BJP emerged as a strong opposition party in the state. In this election voters discarded the one party dominant system (Sharda 2010). The Congress for first time formed a coalition government in the state.

1984 Lok Sabha Elections and the 1985 Vidhan Sabha Elections were held after the assassination Mrs. Indira Gandhi, which gave a massive victory to the Congress, it won 58 seats all time high and the BJP won only 7 seats in the house of 68. The Congress fully recovered the ground that it had lost in 1977 and 1982 to the Janta Party and the BJP (Sharma 1999). This election once again highlighted the impact of the national politics on the state. After 1985 drastic change took place in the national front framed corruption charges against the Congress leaders. These factors had clear effect on the state politics.

In Himachal, the Congress's performance was poor and it had only one out of four seats. It was reserved seat that was Shimla, it was in the old Himachal. All the remaining three seats those were general seats, won by BJP, one of them Mandi, falls largely in old areas, while the other two- Kangra and Hamirpur fell in the new areas (Sharma 1999). Thus once again the regional factor played its role. BJP was expanding its support base and won maximum seats in the Lok Sabha Election.

During the 1990 Vidhan Sabha Elections, to avoid division of the non-congress vote the BJP entered into electoral alliance with the state unit of the Janata Dal. This alliance got 57 seats, BJP won 46 out of 51 and the Janta Party won 11 out of 17 seats it contested. The Congress won only nine seats. Thus, the party was pushed once again to its humiliating position of 1977. The BJP having massive majority, did not opt for a coalition government and form its own government. The JD won 11 seats and expected to be emerging as the third force. However, after the poll it was neither a part of the government nor a part of the opposition because it had been BJP's electoral ally. The JD remained afloat to a while but slowly gravitated towards the Congress. (Ibid) Thus the party system in the state remained two party system. The BJP was not able to complete its term because Centre Government imposed 'emergency' under Article 356. The State assembly was dissolved after the demolition of Babri Masjid (Sharda 2010). In 1993 in Vidhan Sabha Elections the Congress got 52 seats and the BJP got only eight seats. This was due to the fact that, the Congress was ruling at the Centre and it helped the congress to gain majority.

But, other important issue was wrong and unimaginative policies of the Shanta Kumar Government because which the BJP had to face voters' wrath. Two powerful lobbies which the BJP Government had annoyed during its rule were horticulturists and government employees. The BJP withdrew apple support price which the Congress governments had all along given to the growers. Instead, it came out with market intervention scheme. This led to the annoyance of orchardists. The BJP Government was also lukewarm on the issue of supply of various inputs to the fruit – growers and soft pedaled the provision of infrastructural support to them. When the orchardists agitated, there was police firing which resulted into the casualties. Thereafter, the whole fruit grower and government employees went on the strike in support of their demands, the BJP Government invoked the 'No Work, No Pay'. Some employee leaders were dismissed, terminated and a large number were transferred to the punishment stations (far flung tribal areas). The BJP became so unpopular that Shanta Kumar and several of his ministers had to face humiliating defeat in 1993 (Sharma 1999). The above discussion indicates that besides the national factor the state politics

was also affected by the orchardists and agriculturist class. The employee class also played a crucial role in the state politics. In case of common interests the regional factor subsided.

To keep the BJP at back seat the Congress paid special attention to the development in the new areas of Himachal Pradesh. In 1998 Election BJP won twenty nine seats with the help of Himachal Vikas Congress (HVC) which was formed by dissident leader Pt. Sukh Ram of the Congress. He was able to form the non Congress Government in the state for the third time. BJP changed its leader. Prem Kumar Dhumal became the Chief Minister of the State.

The reason for the change of leadership was the people's disliking to the Shanta Kumar's policies and programmes. But, the other reason for the change of leadership was the caste factor. Shanta Kumar ex-Chief minister from BJP was Brahmin and in Himachal, political leadership always remained with the Rajputs, because total Rajput population of the state is approximately 28%. Other reason is social acceptability of Rajputs as leaders in Himachal. During its tenure BJP made sincere efforts to develop infrastructure in the entire State Elections of (1998-2003) indicate that people in Himachal wanted change in the Government after every five years for the betterment. In 2003 they voted for the Congress and in December 2007 again they voted for BJP (Sharda 2010). In 2008, the BSP tried its luck in the state but failed to reckon the state politics. The Two Party system which emerged in 1977 still remained in the state. It is clear that the politics of Himachal Pradesh revolved around the two parties i.e. BJP and Congress. The other parties are totally avoided by the people.

Third force (HVC in 1998) and BSP in (2003 and 2007) were not able to affect the alternative party system in the state. Although it was able to manage 4 to 5 percent votes of the main parties. Mainly it affected the Congress because HVC was the party of the Congress dissident and BSP had its base in the lower castes and tribes which was mainly vote bank of the Congress. The total population of (SC/ST and OBC is 25%, 5%, 25.34%, respectively Total SC/ST and OBC population is 55.34 percent. But caste based Party (BSP) was not able to get more than ten percent. It substantiates the point that in Himachal people intended to

have only two parties. Despite the fact that they offer moderate or limited range of choices. In this system there are choices within defined limits. The main parties do not offer anything better than the other. Sharp ideological differences are avoided by the principal political parties (Ibid).

STATE POLITICS OF HARYANA

Haryana was carved out in 1966 out of Punjab. Prior to its creation the people of Haryana had a feeling that they were culturally and politically dominated by the Sikh community. This region had poor infrastructure and industrial sector was not evolved to satisfactory level. Society had heterogeneous character. Caste and class consciousness were very strong factors. Nature of the party system was decided by the caste factor. Defections in the congress and emergence of regional parties was outgrowth of traditional factors. The electoral politics till today is determined by caste and class configurations.

Haryana has various political parties Viz Indian National Congress, BJP (national parties) and Indian National Lok Dal, Haryana Vikas Party, Haryana Janhit Congress etc (regional parties). Emergence of number of political parties in the State resulted in coalition politics in the state. Since 1967 the state has a wide experience of coalition governments and politics.

The state witnessed and experienced coalition government and politics in 1967, 1977, 1987, 1996, 1999, 2000 and 2009 Elections. (Dalal, 2010, pp. 18-29) Like national politics in the state coalitions politics emerged due to the emergence of regional parties. When the separate state of Haryana was created, Bhagwat Dayal Sharma from Congress was installed as Chief Minister of the State, although he was one of the vehement opponents of the linguistic reorganization of the state. In first Assembly Election held in 1967, the Jat leaders (Devi Lal and Sher Singh) were completely cornered by the State Congress leadership. (Fadia, 1984, p.74) Bhagwat Dayal formed the Government, but after a week the ministry collapsed. Rao Birender Singh formed the first coalition government. But newly formed coalition failed to work for full term, because there was no specific agenda to make coalition, except, to topple the sitting Chief Minister. The Government was dissolved and in 1968 Midterm Poll was held in Haryana and the Congress

formed the government under the leadership of Bansi Lal. The Vishal Haryana Party (HVP) of Rao Birender Singh was main opposition party at that time.

In 1972 Assembly Election congress once again came to the power in the state because of the national wave in favour of the Congress. The Congress completed its full term under the leadership of Bansi Lal. In 1977 Assembly Election, Congress lost the power in State. BLD (Devi Lal), Jan Sangh made an alliance under the Janata Party banner, it got a revolutionary support from the people and swept the national and state elections. All the 10 seats of Lok Sabha and 82 out of 90 State of assembly were won by this alliance. The Congress won only 3 Seats, Vishal Haryana Party (VHP) won 5 seats and independent won 7 seats (Dalal, 2010) Janata Party formed the Government under the Chief Minister ship of Ch. Devi Lal. It was the first time in Haryana politics that the Congress was defeated by any alliance so firstly the BLD was dominant in that coalition. Secondly, the main opposition party was also a regional party (VHP).

In 1982 when Assembly Election held in Haryana once again regional parties showed their impressive presence. The Congress (I) got 36 seats, Lok Dal 31 seats; BJP 6 seats; Congress (j) 3 seats and 12 by independents (Fidia 1984, p.79.). The seat share of the Congress clearly indicates that the Congress came in power due to the national factor. The seat difference in the Congress and Lok Dal was meager. The Lok Dal emerged as a strong opposition party in the State.

After a decade in 1987 the BJP and the Lok Dal coalition once again came to the power and the Congress won only 5 seats. This election was fought on the issue of Nayay Youdh launched by Ch. Devi Lal against the Rajiv Longowalae pact of 1985. The people believed the Lok Dal-BJP coalition as the mentor of Haryana's interests (Dalal, 2010). It was the first time when national factor failed to influence the voting behaviour in Haryana. The people chose the Lok Dal and BJP coalition.

The Lok Dal and the BJP got 60 and 17 seats respectively with vote percentage 38.88 and 10.53. However, this coalition government could not complete its tenure due to the over ambition of leaders particularly Ch. Devi Lal and his son Om Prakash Chautala, who made unsuccessful attempts for coronation

of Chautala as CM. Besides this, the escalating factionalism among the ruling parties in coalition led to its demise (Ibid.). It was the second time when the coalition government of regional and national party proved unsuccessful due to faction and lust for Power. In 1991 Assembly Election the Congress formed the government under the leadership of Bhajan Lal. He remained Chief Minister till 1996.

In 1996 once again the coalition was instituted between the Haryana Vikas Party (HVP) of Ch. Bansi Lal and the BJP during the Assembly Election. It was also a pre-election coalition having a solid agenda of all round development of the state with imposing a complete ban on the sale of liquor in the state. This coalition got almost majority by winning 33 and 11 seats with vote share of 22.86 percent and 8.88 percent of the votes by the HVP and BJP respectively. Ch. Devi Lal's party got 24 seats with a vote percentage a 20.57 percent and the Congress was reduced to only 9 seats with 20.80 percent of total votes. The HVP-BJP led coalition came into power under the Chief Ministership of Ch. Bansi Lal... In 1999 due to large scale defection in HVP and withdrawal of support by the BJP, the government fell before completing its full tenure due to over ambition and desire of its components (Dalal 2010).

On the ruin of this coalition, Om Prakash Chautala of Indian Lok Dal (INLD) forged another coalition government with the BJP in 1999. Om Prakash Chautala created an environment for election in favour of his government and pushed the state in assembly elections 8 months before the due time. The INLD and the BJP coalition turned victorious in 2000 Assembly Election with 47 and 6 seats respectively and their vote share was 29.64 percent and 8.9 percent. The Congress won 21 seats, HVP 2 seats and Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) 1 seat (Ibid.).

Chautala's populist promise of free supply of electricity and water to the agriculturists proved very useful for the INLD. Secondly, the promise to change the name of Kurukshetra University to Guru Govind Singh Kurukshetra University helped in consolidating its hold on the Sikh voters (Singh, 2003, p.355). Chautala

was sworn as Chief Minister of state. This government worked till 2004. It was the first coalition government which worked for full term in the state.

For 2004 Assembly and Lok Sabha Elections, there was no alliance between the INLD and BJP because during the Assembly Election of 2000 and fourteenth Lok Sabha election of 2004, the INLD pitted a number of proxy candidates against the BJP candidates (Dalal, Ibid.). Secondly, the BJP had probably anticipated a strong anti incumbency wave against the Chautala and broke off the alliance (Joshi, Rai 2004, pp. 5445-5448). This helped the Congress to form the government in the state. The 2004 elections indicate that the pre-election alliance is necessary for both the parties (BJP and INLD) to form the government in the state.

Another factor which facilitated the Congress to win 2004 election was Bhartiya Kisan Union (BKU) factor. The Congress leader Bhupender Singh Hooda was often seen in processions organized by the BKU. In the recent past it is observed the parties which were closely related to BKU won the election and formed the governments in Haryana. But governments of Bansi Lal (1996) and OM Prakash Chautala (1999) ignored the demands of BKU. In 2001, the BKU declared that the farmers would pay electricity bills and they started agitation against the government for providing free electricity to farmers. This agitation reached to its zenith in May 2002 when in Kandela village of Jind district, the BKU protesters blocked highways and kept two policeman as hostages. The government failed to negotiate and ordered police fire on protesting farmers in several different locations in Jind and Rohtak districts. The way in which the Chautala government handled the issue spread discontent in the farming community of Haryana. The Congress made it as election issue and it worked in its favour ... Jats are the strongest community in the state and majority of them are agriculturalists. The INLD has strong support base amongst Jats but in 2004 elections only 38 percent Jats voted for the INLD, 26 percent for the congress and 20 percent for BJP (Joshi, Rai, 2004).

For 2009 Lok Sabha Election coalition was forged between the INLD and the BJP but broke down at the eve of state assembly election on the petty issues of

distribution of the seats. Before the 2009 assembly election three coalitions were emerged i.e. BSP + HJC, BJP + HJC and INLD + BJP. But the coalition could not sustain even upto the date of nomination filing. Due to the same issue of (2004) equal distribution of seats. No coalition was forged in Haryana politics for 2009 Assembly Election (Dalal 2010).

State politics of Haryana provides evidence that the national politics and state politics is not identical. In the state like Haryana where the society is predominantly rural the traditional factors have dominant position in the social political set up of the state. Demographically, urban population of Haryana is twenty percent. Mostly urban Haryana supports the congress and the BJP. In case of rural Haryana total population is eighty percent. Caste configurations, class interests both are significant in determining the party politics in the state. The Lok Dal, one of the most important regional party of the state is supported by the Jat agriculturist community of the state that comprises twenty percent of the total population of the state. The INLD always depends upon the alliance partner to challenge the Congress in the state. The other party in the state is BJP. The INLD tries to align with the BJP to gain the urban vote, in the State Assembly and the Parliamentary Elections. The party also tries to maintain its identity at the national level through alliance with the national party. Since 1967 it is evident that many times defection took place in the Congress but it has always been important party in Haryana backed by the heterogeneous interests. It is supported partially by urban population, high caste agriculturists and non agriculturist's artisans, Ahirs, Bisoni and Scheduled Castes.

All these castes and classes consider the INLD as their opponent party. Hence, they support the Congress. The class interest is also important factor of Haryana politics, Bhartiya Kisan union (BKU) an association of the agriculturist possess capacity to tilt the electoral politics in the state. Its favour and disfavour determines the power politics in the state. Last three elections of the state indicate that the state politics is the combination of traditional and modern factors. Development activities of the Chautala government failed to bring positive results because of the malfunctioning of his government during the five years (1999-2004). In 2004, Bupinder Singh Hooda the congress leader became the Chief

Minister. His development activities along good governance helped him to win the next assembly elections and parliamentary election in 2009. The performance of the BSP, Haryana Janhit Congress in the 2009 elections indicates that the caste cannot be the single factor to determine the electoral politics. Development as modern factor has immense role in the party politics. Hence, the anatomy of the state politics indicates that the bi-nodal party system is emerging in the state. Where there are two main parties rest of the parties align with the two main parties to register their presence in the state and national politics.

Analysis of the state politics of four states clearly indicates that regional parties have become permanent phenomenon at the states level. Every state has its own party system which evolved according to its socio-cultural economic set up. System varies between two party system and multiparty system. In the states the importance of national parties and regional parties also depends upon the acceptability of the masses. One thing is clear about all the states that only those parties are popular among the masses that protect and promote the mass interests along the regional and national interests. People are less concerned about the universe of the party and more concerned with its capabilities to articulate the development goals. Regional parties in different parts of the country emerged due to traditional factors. But it is general observation that persistence and popularity is determined by its performance to win the confidence of the national government and run the government successfully at the state level.

REFERENCES

BOOKS

- Anand, J.C, "Punjab: Politics of Retreating Communalism" in *State Politics of India* ed. Iqbal Narain (Meenakshi Prakashan, 1976).
- Bombwall, K.R., "Regional Parties in Indian Politics: A Preview" in *Regional Political Parties in India* ed. S. Bhatnagar & Pradeep Kumar (New Delhi : ESS ESS Publication, 1988).
- Datta, Prabhat, *Regionalisation of Indian Politics* (New Delhi : Starting Publishers Pvt. Ltd. 1993).
- Fadia, Babulal, *State Politics in India*, Vol. II (New Delhi: Radiant Publisher, 1984)
- Kumar, Ashutosh & Ravi Ranjan, *Indian Government and Politics* Vol. IV (New Delhi : K.K. Publication, 2009).
- Kumar, Pardeep, "Akali Dal in Punjab" in *Regional Political Parties in India* ed. S. Bhatnagar & Pradeep Kumar (New Delhi: ESS ESS Publications, 1988).
- Misra, Madhu Sudan, *Politics of Regionalism in India: With Special Reference to Punjab* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publication 1988).
- Mitra, Subrata K., *The Puzzle of India's Governance* (London: Routledge Taylon & Francis Group, 2006).
- Narang, A.S., *Punjab Politics in National Perspective* (New Delhi: Gitanjali Publishing House, 1986).
- Nayak Pandav, "Tamil Nadu: Politics of Pragmatism" in *State Politics of India* ed. Iqbal Narain (Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1976).
- Sharma, Sadhna (ed.) *States Politics in India* (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1995).

Singh, Ranbir, "Social Cleavages and Politics Alignments in Haryana" in *India's 1999 Elections and 20th century Politics*, ed. Paul Wallace & Ramashray Roy (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003).

Thakurta, Pranjoy Guha & Shankar Raghuraman, *Divided We Stand: A time of Coalition* (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2007).

Thandavan, R., "AIADMK in Tamil Nadu: Its Emergence and Unprecedented Growth" in *Regional Political Parties in India* ed. S. Bhatnagar & Pradeep Kumar (New Delhi: ESS ESS Publication, 1988).

Wallace, Paul & Ramashray Roy (ed.), *India's 2004 Election* (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2007).

Wallace, Paul & Ramaswray Roy (ed.), *India's 1999 Elections and 20th Century Politics* (New Delhi, Sage Publication, 2003).

Yadav, Yogendra & Suhas Palishikari, "Ten Theses on State Politics in India" in *Electoral Politics in Indian States: Lok Sabha Electronics in 2004 and Beyond* ed. Sandeep Shastri, K.C. Suri & Yogender Yadav (New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 2009).

Yadav, Yogendra & Suhas Palshikar, "Party System and Electoral Politics in the Indian State, 1952-2002: From Hegemony to convergence" in *India's Politics Parties* ed. Peter Rohold deSouza & E. Sridharan (New Delhi : Sage Publications, 2006)

ARTICLES

Dalal, Ranbir Singh, "Coalition Government and Politics in Haryana: A Historical Perspective" in *Journal of Political Science* (Volume VI, No. 2, D.A.V. College, Jalandhar, November, 2010)

Joshi, Dhananjai & Praveen Rai, "Haryana: Landslide Victory for Congress", *Economic and Political Weekly* (Volume 39, No. 51, December, 2004)

Kumar, Ashutosh "Electoral Politics in Punjab: Study of Akali Dal" in *Economic and Political Weekly* (Volume 39, No. 23, April 2004).

Sharda, Mridula, "Emerging Trends of State Politics in India: A Case Study of Himachal Pradesh" in *Journal of Political Science* (Volume VI, No. 2, D.A.V. College, Jalandhar, November, 2010)

Sharma, T.R., "Local Configurations and National Parties in Himachal Pradesh" in *Economic and Political Weekly* (Volume XXXIV, No. 34-35, August, 1999).

Suresh, V. "The DMK's Debacle: Causes and Portents", *Economic and Political Weekly* (Volume 27, No. 42 October, 1992).