

## Chapter – V

### POLITICS OF COALITION: GROWING POWER OF REGIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA

#### 5. Introduction

The concept of regionalism as well as the existence of regional/local leadership was not a new one in Indian political system. It has been noticed that before independence the particular notion did not have an acute separate identity but after Independence the asymmetrical character of Indian political system may aggravated the regional atmosphere of the country in general. Another dimension which added the new regional flavor was the linguistic State-reorganization Act. 1955. The movement of linguistic reorganization was identified as the foot shape of 'Supra-regionalism' (Narain, 1984) which reached its highest stage in 1990`s when the common grievances of the states against Congress hegemony has established a stable non-congress coalition government in India. In this context regionalism has been established itself as a key function of federation-building on the basis of the concept of a strong Centre with a strong States'. Srinivas argued that "The creation of linguistic States on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1956 in most parts of the country has strengthened the barriers between them. This is the first time in Indian history when Cultural frontiers were converted into political frontiers" (Srinivas, 1992).

In 1967, with the development of the Second phase of Indian federalism, politics of regionalization has take place in Indian political process. We can find its roots from the event of linguistic reorganization of States in 1956 particularly. Though the "linguistic homogeneity" is the central theme of this act, but a regional as well as cultural divergence was brought about by this historical event. Henceforth a regional Consciousness in a national matrix was gradually colored by political one. The role of different regional political parties, to build a national power was considered crucial from that particular point of time. The regional elites appeared with their provincial hegemony in front of central elite. The transitional phase of Indian Politics was started through the power reduction of Indian National Congress. The hegemonic status of INC was getting its first jolt by the fourth general election 1967. When, Congress won only 283 seats (40.8%) and lost power in eight out of 16 States (Sridharan, 2010).

Eventually, Indian federalism was started to seen as a device of accommodating the rising regional aspirations in the different parts of the country after linguistic reorganization

of States in 1956. Gradually it became difficult for Congress leaders to accommodate the huge regional diversity as well as regional aspirations through an impartial as well as decentralized way, as because the monopoly of powers was the basic criterion of INC Since its inception in 1885. Henceforth the demand of abolitions of powerful one- party domination and the establishment of multi-party system were come to the fore front of Indian politics with the help of rising regional political parties. So the, transformation from one party domination to multiparty domination was introduced the era of regionalization of Indian politics through the process of coalition. It was observed that chronologically the United Front Government in 1989, 1996 & 1997; the National Democratic Alliance led by BJP in 1999; the United Front Government led by Congress in 2004 & 2009 were came to the power on the form of coalition. Hence the period from 1989 to 2013 has made the Indian political system depend on the matrix of coalition. In this chapter I need to discuss the formations of the regional political parties, the domination of the regional political parties over the country and the electoral performances of the regional political parties in general.

### **5.1. Formations of Regional Political Parties:**

After the State's reorganization in 1956, It was observed that, for the purpose of capturing the political power and for strengthening that support base in there region the regional leaders of Telegu Desham Party in Andhra Pradesh, Assam Gana Parishad in Assam, the all India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam in Tamil Nadu, Shiromoni Akali Dal in Punjab, has taken an initiative to protect and flourish there language as well as culture. (Teginder, 2008) It was emerged as a Sense of linguistic domination of the core group to the periphery and consequently regionalism was appeared as a best means to protect the regional language through a regional political parties of their own. On the contrary this was the reason of declining the congress support base at that particular point of time. For, example, the Assamese language as a State language was not accepted by the Mizos, Khasis, Garos, and the Nagas in North Eastern Region.

It was observed that, in most of the regions of India, the caste factor also played a crucial role for strengthening the support base of a regional political Party. (Hazary, 2008) Dravida Kazhagam (DK) in Tamil Nadu was formed on the basis of Anti-Brahmin movement; Kamma Caste of Andhra Pradesh was represented by TeleguDesham Party; Jat Sikh caste in Punjab was represented by Akali Dal; Adivasi Caste in Jharkhand was represented by the Jharkhand Party e.t.c. (Teginder, 2008)

Henceforth, the dominant national ideology of Indian National Congress has been gradually replaced by the ethno-regional as well as caste considerations which pave the way for the growing power of Regional Political Parties in India. The Political obligation to the nations was transferred in to the obligation to the multiculturalism. But, besides the cultural issues, the uneven economic development in particular and regional imbalances in general, led to the rise of various regional political parties in a national matrix. The feeling of 'relative deprivation' of one regional in compare to the others enhanced the centripetal forces in particular. On the contrary the economically developed states also nurtured the regional political parties for getting more autonomy from the Centre. It was observed that, more Inter-State, as well as inter-regional differences on per capita income and consumption was noticed since Independence.

It was also observed that, the regional political parties were formed due to the negligence of major political parties in centre towards the states especially when they occupied the central power. It was observed that, Ajay Mukherjee's Bangla Congress in West Bengal, Charan Singh's Bharatiya Kranti Dal in Uttar Pradesh, Bansi Lal's Haryana Vikas Party in Haryana all these regional parties were formed from there Seditious against Central leadership. Rashtriya Janata Dal in Bihar, Biju Janata Dal in Orissa, Tamil Manila Congress, Trinamool Congress were also included in this Criterion in different time. These regional party formation was also influenced by their charismatic leader in particular. Because, the general masses of India was always influence by this charismatic personality rather than party ideology. As we seen that the electoral history of India was already influenced by the family dynasty of Congress. Naturally the regional Politics also followed this path, for example we can named, M.T. Ram Rao (TDP), Mamata Banerjee (TMC) Parkash Singh Badal (Akali Dal), M.G. Ramachadran (DMK & AIADMK) Jayalalita (Ammma) (AIADMK) etc., who strengthened their political agenda through their personality rather Ideology. Eventually, the National political parties have uplifted the diff regional political parties for their Survival in the national matrix, which ultimately pave the way for regionalization of Indian polities in particular. (Teginder, 2008)

The ethno-cultural as well as classicized attitude was further aggravated by "Sons of Soil" Theory where peoples of a particular territory are very much conscious about their possession over their territory. Henceforth, they started to thinking that It was only the regional political parties who give them the priority in all over the right which they enjoyed

collectively in respective territory in compare to the Claims of migrants which after imposed by the central as well as state government for their narrow electoral interest.

Another contribution of regionalization was the emergency of middle class elite section of the Indian Society. They appended as a representation of group interest in Indian Political discourse, with the educationist vision upon regional problems. Through the “we - they syndrome” they started to articulate the regional interests in particular. By generating the feeling of deprivation as well as crisis of Identity, many regional as well as sub-regional movements was occurred in different time which create a vacuum of national leadership and fulfilled by the regional leadership in general. Like, Dravidian movement, of Assam, Jharkhand movement, movement of Gorkhaland etc. (Bharati Mukherjee, 1992.)

We can understand from the above table that, the state's shares of Income Taxes are mainly dependent on their population. So, it was had its deep impact on, Small States with larger population on the one hand and it was proved beneficiary for the large States. This definitely led a crisis of legitimacy as well as a growing demand of State autonomy. It was observed that, the planning commission was seen as an instrument of deprivation in various States as well as region used by the Central government in general Inter-State as well as intra-state which create an environment of relative deprivation. Where on the one hand despite having natural resources, in Bihar, Orissa, these State are failed to establish heavy Industrial development under central sector, where as the States like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka, number of heavy industry has been establish under Central Project. Naturally there are some inter-regional antagonism was come out in various backwards States. Henceforth, where the “Vertical imbalances” create a hostile attitude of the States and region toward the union, on the other the” Horizontal imbalances” create an atmosphere of inter-States as well as inter-regional confrontation. (BharatiMukherjee,1992)

## **5.2. Major Regional Political Parties in India:**

However there are several major regional political parties in India, are successfully establish their dynasty during the period of regionalization, which deals, mainly with the agenda of identity, statehood, autonomy as well as economic development. Like many other books, the matter is well explained in the book named ‘Regional Parties in National Politics’ by Teginder.

**i. Akali Dal (Punjab)**

As the name 'Akali' is coterminous with the worshipper of Immortal Being ( Gulati, 2008) so, it is being easily established the fact that, the Akali Dal has started its functioning (1920) with a religion reform on behalf of Sikh Community in Punjab. It was noticed that Punjabi Suba was there major demand of Akalis for the protection of Gurudwara from the hands of Mahants. Thus the central motto of Akali Dal at that particular time was to protect the Sikhism form the fear of transformation to Christianity in particular. The Akali's asserts for Separate Sikh identity in terms of their cultural and language as distinct from the Hindus.

The Sikhs also realize gradually about the necessity of a central political organization to represent the regional as well as Socio-political interests of common Sikhs. The Akali's has started to play a crucial role to protect the possession of Sikhs on Guruduwaras of all over India. Shiromani Akali Dal was established eventually as a powerful central organization and Started to lead all the major political as well as economic demand of Sikhs, and gradually it became established itself as an alternative governing party in the State of Punjab. There are some major movements organized and culminated by the Akali Dal against the central govt. of India are:

- a) 'The Guruduwara reform movement (1920-25)'
- b) Movement for 'the creation of Punjabi-Speaking State (1955-62)'
- c) 'The Akali Morcha against internal emergency in India (1975-77)'
- d) 'Akali agitation on autonomy and federal policy (1982-84)'. (Tigender 2008)

Gradually the Akali Dal appeared as a very crucial allied partner of coalition govt. of the Central in different time. In 1977, it was seen as the partner of Janata Party Government. It was also observed that, the support base of Akali Dal is mainly come from rural strata (Dalit Sikhs).

ii. **Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)& the all India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) (Tamil Nadu)**

It was seen that as a dominant regionalist party DMK was come in to the forefront of Indian politics in 1949. It was observed that Caste was the predominant factor of the formation of this party in general. Basically the conflict of the caste was carried forward by the Brahmins and non-Brahmins community in particular. Eventually a culture conflict was rises on the basis of this caste confrontation, when the Sanskrit language was enhanced by the Brahmins on the one hand and Tamil language was favored by the Non-Brahmins on the other. Consequently on the basis of the theory of original inhabitants, the anti-Brahmin movement was started through the non-Brahmins as well as Harijans who belongs of the Dravidian Lineage. The Hindus, Christians as well as Muslims all are united against the Brahmins Community in South India. This movement was organized by the Justice Party. This religious reform was eventually transferred in to a linguistic one as against the imposition of Hindustani language in 1937. Anti-Hindu, riots was getting started in Tamil Nadu against the compulsion of using Hindi language in the educational institution of all over the India; for the purpose of restore the Tamil culture.

Eventually the justice party under the leadership of Naicker, was started to fought for a demand of Separate State hood for Dravidian State Tamil Nadu. The Justice Party was renaming at that time as Dravida Kazhagam. But some anti-national activities has reducing the popularity of Naicker and new Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) was organized in 1949, under the leadership of C.N. Annadurani in a more democratic way. DMK also started its career in national platform as an allied partner of Janata Party Government in 1977.

The AIADMK was not a new one but a factional wing of DMK in Tamil Nadu. At this particular point of time there was a clash happened between “organizational” and “extra-organizational” institutions in 1952 DMK was propounded by M.G. Ramachandran against film maker. Congress dictatorship was often Shows in films for the centralized govt. at the centre. It was noticed, that when M.G.Ramachandran become the most popular leader of DMK on the one hand, Karunanidhi getting stand as an non-political personality on the other. As a result, of this power confrontation, M.G.Ramachandran was formed a new political party in 1972, named Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. (Teginder, 2008) Both the regional parties were playing crucial role to form a coalition Government at the centre frequently. It was observed that simultaneously both the parties have taken acute regional as well as nationalistic stances in their Ideological space.

### **iii. Telegu Desham Party (Andhra Pradesh)**

It was said that, politics of region was started with the Telegu Desham Party of Andhra Pradesh particularly and Andhra was the first state which was recognized as linguistic State in India in 1956. Eventually the people of Andhra Pradesh reposed their faith on TDP as regional political Party with growing power in place of congress under the leadership of N.T. Rama Rao 1982. So, when a gap has been created between people's expectations and inability of the congress to fulfill those expectations, it's pave the way for TDP in Andhra Pradesh as well as in national politics. The Congress also failed to grip the caste based rivalry between Kammas and Reddys at that particular point of time, which also helps to increase the feelings of discrimination against the central government. During this period, the Backward classes also has been ready to support the TDP for their original welfare not for the electoral success, emphasized by the Congress in the State. TDP was moved for the Socio-political as well as educational reservation for OBC sections of the State. Eventually the dissatisfaction of the people of Andhra Pradesh against the leadership of Congress, make a field for power enhancement of regional party only. It was also seen that TDP has taken an anti-Hindi Stance for protecting their linguistic Identity against Hindustan also. Eventually the Andhra ethnicity was transformed in to an autonomy movement in early period. So it was observed that the corruption of National politics as well as the influence of a charismatic leadership has helped the TDP, to emerged as a powerful regional political party. (Teginder 2008)

Hence, the politics of Andhra Pradesh was centrally around the two political ideologies, TDP and Congress. The development approach of TDP mainly enhanced the position of Kammas who belong to OBC'S. So the support base of TDP was seen as the poor and rural voters, as well as Women's also, who were affected by the glamour of N.T. Rama Rao a film actor. Henceforth TDP in Andhra Pradesh was come to the fore fort of Indian Politics with their sub-national issue and eventually become more powerful as allied partner of coalition era.

### **iv. Asom Gana Parishad( Assam)**

Regional politics in Assam was necessarily concentrated against illegal migration in the States from Bangladesh, West Bengal in Particular and their inclusion in electoral process with the support of Congress. The people of Assam was affected to loose there distinct Identity. In this Circumstance, in 1985, the Asom Gana Parishad was emerged as a protector

of their national land for the people of Assamese only. Henceforth Assam agitation was started for the establishment of a new ethno-linguistic Assam. It was observed that due to huge migration from defend areas including Bengal there was a Dominant-Subordinate pattern of relationship was grown in Assam, where educated Bengalis are played the dominant role to the people of Assam. Besides this the others community like Marwari's played a dominant character in the financial sector in Assam. They play the role of banker, gradually this Situation aggravated the Sentiment of original inhabitant of Assam and who inspired for the ethno-regional movement under the leadership of AGP against their minority Status in their own State. They feel their culture, language was come under the threat. The feeling of deprivation of the people of Assam, against the Central govt. makes a support base of regional political parties like AGP.

Eventually AGP was started to Searching as an alternative to congress .“Assam for the Assamese” was the slogan of AGP. The people have been started to thinking that, only the regional parties should protect their interests as well as fulfill their aspirations. It was seen that, congress (I) has lost its topicality at that particular point of time. (Teginder 2008)

**v. Shiv Sena (Maharashtra)**

In the field of regionalism, Shiv Sena in Maharashtra was came with a religious agenda, as identified it Self as a Hindu party. It was emerged in Maharashtra in 1966, over the issues on anti-migration as well as the problem of unemployment in Mumbai at that particular point of time. Feelings of deprivation at the economic Sector with a large Scale unemployment made the Maharashtrians, in Secured which had its effects on regionalists feeling of Shiv Sena. The sentiment of the masses was getting politicized in to the theory of Sons of Soils. They also move for cultural and linguistic protection of Maharastrarians in Mumbai, who cornered by the influence of migration. The Senahas tried to uphold the Marathi language as much as possible. The confrontation was started between the State of Maharashtra and the govt. of India. On the basis of economic dissatisfactions of Sons of the Soil, Shiv Sena has started to protest against Congress hegemony in the State of Maharashtra, with a fuel of regional patriotism. On the other hand for it anti-communist Status, the Shiv Sena getting the Support of many others regional parties at that particular point of time like, the Swatantra Party, the Praja Socialist Party etc. It was emerged as a militant Hindu party which Support base was organized by the youth of Maratha Caste as well as OBC'S in Maharashtra. (Teginder, 2008)

**vi. National Conference (Jammu & Kashmir)**

Though the All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim conference, the oldest regional parties of Jammu & Kashmir was formed by the Muslim community but later its support base was come from another community also and renamed as Jammu & Kashmir National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah. After its formation, in 1946 it's organized the "Quit Kashmir" movement for the establishment of Socialist Society with the end of the rule of Maharaja in Jammu & Kashmir. Eventually after Independence there movement was culminated over the issue of establishment of an "Independent Kashmir". The treaty of 1975 between Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah has been appeared as Indira's strategy of bringing the state under the full central domination. These circumstances bring the states leadership to move on for the secession. In 1986 another accord was signed between Rajiv Gandhi and Farooq Abdullah, son of Sheikh Abdullah. However it has been observed that in their journey for regional autonomy they has got huge public support in general and from 1967 it started to play a very significance role in formation of Coalition govt. of the State as well as Central government of India. Henceforth the National conference, the regional party of Jammu & Kashmir was occupied a central place of the State with its religio-political doctrine under the leadership of Farooq Abdullah later.(Teginder 2008)

**Biju Janata Dal (Orissa)**

It was observed that, though BJD, was appeared as a non-congress state based Political party in Orissa but it was fortified local elites and followed the regional discourse particularly originated from the Janata Dal. The independent party Biju Janata Dal was also played a significant role in national politics from 1997. The Biju Janata Dal was acted in favor of the strength of Regional politics against congress politics in Orissa. The main agenda of BJP was the Socio-economic backwardness of the state rather regional ethnicity. It appeared as a force against to protect the state the corruption of congress in general. (Palshikar, 2003)

**RashtriyaJanata Dal (Bihar)**

Rashtriya Janata Dal was one of the rising and powerful regional political party in Bihar from 1997. It was seen that, RJD was appeared as a representative of Yadava Community in particular under the leadership of Laloo Prashad Yadav. OBCS, Muslims, SC's were the main support base of this regional party. Gradually RJD was played a crucial role to form a coalition government in the state as well as central government in India.

### Samajwadi Party (Uttar Pradesh)

The Samajwadi Party was appeared in the State politics in 1992 with the support base of Dalit's as well as muslims and Yadav Community. Henceforth, like RJD, SP was worked as a representative of the Backward Castes of the State to improve their Socio-political as well as economic conditions in particular and to establish a socialist Society in general. Eventually it was also acted as a allied partner of National government in different times.

It was observed that, in the process of Indian democracy the nature of regional parties often transformed dramatically. At the time of its inception the identity of regional parties was attached with ethno-regional Sentiment only. But, since 1990's it has got a national platform and played a crucial role in national politics in the coalition arena. A qualitative change was noticed in the electoral politics in India particularly. The regional parties also formed there independent Identity in the national politics against the national parties. Gradually, the number of alternative was increases in front of the Voters. It was said that, this era of regionalization also enhanced democratic value through increasing political participations of masses and the "federalization of Indian Polity" was empowered in true sense with the increasing power of States. Gradually, the domain of excessive centralization in the name of countries unity was marginalized by the essence of plurality. Besides that, environment of inter-regional competition was also noticed in the era of liberalization, when regional verity was interlocked with regional development in particular (Palshikar, 2003). However the rising tendency of Indian regional parties was seen since 1967 by the following way.

Table 5.1  
Intensity of various regional parties in loksabha election since 1967

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		
		National	Regional Parties ( including registered unrecognized parties)	Independent Parties
1967	520	440	45	35
1971	518	451	53	14
1977	542	481	52	09
1980	529	485	35	09
1984	542	463	66	13
1989	529	471	46	12
1991	521	478	55	01
1996	543	403	131	09
1998	543	387	150	06
1999	543	369	168	06
2004	543	364	174	05
2009	543	376	158	09
2014	543	342	198	03
2019	542	397	141	04

Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi (eci.gov.in)

**Table-5.2**  
Regional Parties in the Lok Sabha, 1977-89

<b>Party</b>	<b>1977</b>	<b>1980</b>	<b>1984</b>	<b>1989</b>
<b>NC</b>	2	3	3	3
<b>AD</b>	9	1	7	6
<b>PWP</b>	5	-	1	-
<b>SS</b>	-	-	-	4
<b>RPI</b>	2	-	-	-
<b>MGP</b>	1	1	-	1
<b>CS</b>	-	-	3	1
<b>IUML</b>	2	3	2	2
<b>KC</b>	2	1	2	1
<b>RSP</b>	4	4	3	4
<b>DMK</b>	1	16	2	-
<b>AIADMK</b>	19	2	12	11
<b>TDP</b>	-	-	30	2
<b>MIM</b>	-	-	1	1
<b>JKP</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>JMM</b>	-	-	-	3
<b>CJ</b>	-	1	1	-
<b>IPF</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>GNLF</b>	-	-	-	1
<b>FB</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>SKJP</b>	-	<b>1</b>	-	-
<b>SSP</b>	-	-	-	<b>1</b>
<b>AGP</b>	-	-	<b>7</b>	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>45</b>

**Source:** Compiled from V.B. Singh, Elections in India: Data Handbook on Lok Sabha Elections: 1986-1991, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1994. (Palshikar,2003).

**Table-5.3**

Number of Seats won by Congress and the regional parties as a principle opposition in 1987-92 state legislative assembly elections

State	Congress	Principal opposition	Date of election
Andhra Pradesh	181	74(TD)	1989
Arunachal Pradesh	37	11(JD)	1990
Assam	66	19(AGP)	1991
Bihar	71	120(JD)	1990
Goa	20	18(MG)	1989
Gujarat	33	70(JD)	1990
Haryana	51	16(SJP)	1991
Himachal Pradesh	8	44(BJP)	1990
Jammu & Kashmir	27	39(NC-F) <sup>α</sup>	1987
Karnataka	170	11(JP)	1989
Kerala	55	299(CPM)	1991
Madhya Pradesh	56	219(BJP)	1990
Maharashtra	141	52(SHS)	1990
Manipur	26	12(MPP)	1990
Meghalaya	22	19(HPU)	1988
Mizoram	23	14(MNF)	1989
Nagaland	36	24(NCP)	1989
Orissa	10	123(JD)	1990
Pondicherry	15	6(AIADMK)	1991
Punjab	87	3(AD[K])	1992 <sup>β</sup>
Rajasthan	50	85(BJP)	1990
Sikkim	0	32(SKSP)	1989
Tamil Nadu	61	163(AIADMK)	1991
Tripura	24	26(CPM)	1988
Uttar Pradesh	50	230(BJP)	1991
West Bengal	43	188(CPM)	1991

<sup>α</sup> Congress (I) ally

<sup>β</sup> The Punjab elections were boycotted by the most important Akali parties and by most Sikh voters; turnout was extremely low.

Source: Devid Butler et al., *India Decides: Elections, 1952-1992* (New Delhi: LM Books, 1991); M.L. Ahuja and Sharda Paul, *1989-1992 General Elections in India (Including November 1991 By Elections)* (New Delhi: Associated Publishing 1992), P.116; *India Today*, March 31, 1990, July 15, 1991, and March 15, 1992 (Brass, 1990).

Henceforth Indian federal system has witnessed the phase of regionalization which was appeared as an indicator of the growing power of the regional political parties in India in general.

### **5.3. Growing power of regional political parties in federal India:**

It was observed that, due to the influence of regional political parties in all over India, the national political parties were unable to keep their policy of centralization as well as failed to form a government at the centre by a Single majority. Henceforth the politics of regionalization gradually pave the way for politics of coalition. India was started to rule by the multiparty system in a form of coalition since 1967 in different States and ultimately occupied the place in national matrix in 1977. It was seen that the ethno-regional diversity as well as the crisis of legitimacy compelled the leadership to form a coalition government with the support of various regional political parties, representative their own region by articulating their demesnes and aspirations. Gradually the politics of coalition become the unavoidable political reality in the political discuses of the Country. The politics of imposition was transformed into a politics of bargaining. In a Coalition government where the administration was run and the decisions was taken under the coalition compulsion, the power sharing equation may lies on the policy of negotiation between the allied political parties, which often tried to adopt the “politics of cohabitation “on the other hand. As because, the different political parties with their distinct identities were performed in a one political platform (Kailash, 2010). Ethnicity may inculcate the values of the numerous groups of Indian Society to cohabit in a political discourse through practisizing the political adjustment in particular. If we analyses the coalition arena of our Country we can find that, from 1977 to the present scenario there are eleven federal coalition governments were performed at the Centre. The last one, is the National Democratic Alliance (in 2019) led by the Bharatiya Janata Party.

It was observed that, the post 1967 period had already prepare the background of Opposition Unity against the Congress Government in different States, like Kerala, West Bengal, Orissa, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Tamil Nadu where the opposition parties were emerge as a “Parties of Pressure” (Rajni Kothar, “The Congress System in India” Asian Survey, 1964, 1162 cited in Coalition politics in India, Dimensions of federal power Sharing” Subhendu Ranjan Raj, Manak, 2009). The opposition parties which formed the non-congress govt. in states after 1967 elections, were like Samayukta Vidhayak Dal in Bihar formed by SSP, PSP, Jana Sangh, CPI and the Jan Kranti Dal; in Punjab, the United Front government formed by CPM, Ad(S) AD(M), CPI, Jana Sangh and Republic Party; In Orissa, the Swatantra Party along with Jana Congress formed the govt. at the State; in Kerala an United Front was formed by KSP, RSP, KTP, CPI, SSP,

CPM and the Muslim league; In West Bengal, The coalition party formed by Bangla Congress and CPM with fourteen other parties, etc.

More over the Split in Congress in 1969 has made the way for coalition government at the centre in 1977, as an emerging tool of power sharing as well as power breaker of Congress hegemony in the country in general. The Congress has Secured 154 seats in the general election 1977, where as the Janata Party which was formed by the congress (o), Bharatiya Lok Dal, Socialist Party are the Jana Sangh, has secured 298 seats and wined the election and formed their first non-congress government at the centre. (Shubhendu Ranjan Raj,2009). So it was observed that, for restitute the constitutional democracy from the possession of a strong authoritarian Congress regime, the people of India has welcome the Janata Coalition as a more democratic alternative in 1977. Henceforth the expectation was generated in the mind of general messes about its better performance than the earlier. But eventually, the Janata coalition failed to prove their integrity first of all. The coalition confrontation was appeared as an outcome of a largest coalition very soon. This proved difficult to holding as well as maintaining the power all over the Country.

Gradually the Janata government was seen as a less accommodative between the different political parties holding there different Ideology. As a result an internal democracy the Janata govt. was proved itself as a less skilled in Compare to Congress govt. But if we consider it as a problems of new begging, the issue of power concentration was again established a dilemma. The confrontation between the centre and state remain same on the issue of parties in Power vs. Parties in Opposition. The Structural problem of Janata Government made its support base weak gradually and the advantage of its drawback was taken by the congress again, which was resulted as the victory of congress in 1980. However, the excessive centralization of Indira regime was abolished by the political environment of multipartism.

Hence the general election 1989 was again made a turning point for the dynasty of Coalition government in Indian Political process. It was observed that, influenced by the previous structural problem of coalition govt. the coalition govt. 1989 was started their journey through the spirit of cohabitation. The coalition was established by respecting the distinct Identity of different regional political parties in a common proclamation on the basis of "Seat adjustments". (Sridharan, 2003)But again the allied partner of UF, were unable to Cohabit and not to rise above their ideologies contradictions as well. As a result lost their support from BJP also. Henceforth in 1990 a minority coalition govt. was established with the

outside support of Congress, headed by Chandra Shekhar. In 1991, the congress minority govt. was continued its functioning under the leadership of P.V. Narashima Rao. In 1996, United Front minority govt. was established by H.D. Deve Gowda and I. K. Gujral by the support of its allied CPM, CPI, RSP, Forward block, Samajwadi Party Janata Dal, RJD, DMK, and Tamil Nadu Congress with the outside Support of Congress. In 1988, the first BJP minority govt. was established with the outside support of TDP, TMC, etc. led by A.B. Vajpayee. In 1999, the Second BJP minority govt. was started its function, in the name of National Democratic Alliance under the leadership of A.B. Vajpayee with Shiv Sena, DMK, BJD, INLD, PMK, Akali Dal, Janata Dal-United, HVC, TMC and outside support of TDP and completed its five years term. It was seen that during this period, the NDA govt. was based on the principle of well organized cohabitation policy in real sense as well as created environment of co-operative federalism also. In 2004, Congress led United Progressive Alliance was established, which also proved itself as a well organized coalition, govt. under the leadership of Manmohan Singh, formed by DMK, NCP, TMC, NC, JMM, AIMM, Kerala Congress, SDF, Kerala Congress (Mani), Republic Party of India (Athvale) and four left parties. In 2009, the UPA govt. continued its journey with its allied partners like, DMK, NCP, NC, JMM, Indian Union Muslim League, Kerala Congress (Mani), All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen, Viduthala, Chiruthaigal Katchi, Republican Party of India (Athvale). (Subhendu Ranjan Raj, 2009). In 2014, again the BJP led NDA govt. was returned to power with single majority. The allied partners were the Shiv Sena AIADMK, Shiromani Akali Dal, All India N.R. Congress, Naga People's Front, Lok Janashakti Party, Rashtriya Lok Samta Party, Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam, Maharashtra Gomantak Party, All Gorkhaland Students Union, National People's Party, Mizo National Front and Pattalimakkal Katchi. It is also seen that TDP left the NDA in 2018 regarding the issue of refusal of granting the "Special Autonomy Status" ([www.outlookindia.com](http://www.outlookindia.com)) Though NDA restarted their journey as a coalition govt. in 2014. But the absolute majority of BJP was made its nature as a powerful and dominating in place of power friendly once again in the Indian political process. This made its nature quite different from the previous NDA govt. in 1998.

#### **5.4. Performances of regional political parties in national politics:**

However, it was seen that the coalition system, generally strong there the status of regional parties in general. The regional political parties were become the pillar of the alliance of the coalition government in the national politics. Their status was shifted from the region to the national level in particular. They have got a benefit of the policy making of the

country as a whole as well as for intra-state and inter-state units. In this arena of regionalized coalition, the one party domination was replaced by the highly competitive Party system in federal India. Hence forth it is crucial to analyze the performance of the various regional parties in the arena of national politics during the period of regionalization.

### **Shiromoni Akali Dal**

The best performance was observed of the shiromani Akali dal in Indian coalition politics as an allied partner of the Bharatiya Janata party mainly. Because how ever it's started its political career in 1952 and joined in national politics in 1996, in to an alliance with the BSP and a Seat adjustment with the BJP. It was observed that, the congress was the common political enemy o SAD in State and BJP in Centre.

**Table 5.4**  
**Electoral performance of Shiromoni Akali Dal in general elections:**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1967	8	3	22.61
1967	7	0	4.42
1971	12	1	30.85
1977	9	9	42.30
1980	7	1	23.37
1985	11	7	37.17
1989	11	9	40.12
1989	9	0	5.38
1989	4	0	1.27
1991	-	-	-
1996	9	8	28.72
1998	8	8	32.93
1999	9	2	28.59
2004	10	8	34.28
2009	10	4	33.85
2014	10	4	26.37
2019	10	2	27.76

- Election was not held in 1991 due to insurgency.  
Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi (eci.gov.in)
- Election was not held in 1991 due to insurgency.

## **DMK & AIADMK**

The Tamil regionalist party Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and its competitor All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) had an enormous impact in coalition politics in India. Both the parties were seen as an allied of Congress as well BJP government at the centre.

**Table 5.5**  
**Electoral Performance of the DMK in the general elections:**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1967	25	25	35.78
1971	24	23	35.25
1977	19	2	18.61
1980	16	16	23.01
1984	27	2	25.90
1989	31	0	26.66
1991	29	0	22.68
1996	17	17	25.63
1998	17	5	20.08
1999	19	12	23.13
2004	16	16	24.60
2009	22	18	25.12
2014	35	0	23.64
2019	23	23	33.18

Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi. (eci.gov.in)

**Table 5.6**  
**Electoral Performance of the AIADMK in general elections:**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1977	20	17	30.04
1980	24	2	25.38
1984	12	12	18.36
1989	11	11	17.12
1991	11	11	18.10
1996	10	0	7.84
1998	22	18	25.89
1999	24	10	25.68
2004	33	0	29.77
2009	23	9	22.91
2014	40	37	44.45
2019	21	1	18.72

Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi. (eci.gov.in)

## **TDP**

The Telegu Desam party was firstly experienced of its political carrier as a coalition partner in 1989, as a part of National Front Government at the centre. Though its Continued its coalition journey as a partner of BJP led NDA, but regarding the “Special Autonomy Status” of Andhra Pradesh the TDP has left from it was also seen as a contest different Parliamentary as well as state assemble election by making a sent adjustment with left parties also.

**Table 5.7**  
**Electoral Performance of Telegu Desham Party in general elections:**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1984	34	30	44.82
1989	33	2	34.45
1991	35	13	32.21
1996	36	16	32.59
1998	35	12	31.97
1999	34	29	39.85
2004	33	5	33.12
2009	31	6	25.02
2014	30	16	29.36
2019	25	3	40.19

Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi. (eci.gov.in)

## **AGP**

In a Coalition arena, the Assamese Nationalist party AGP was firstly allied with the BJP in assembly elections (2001). But in compare to other State-parties AGP was quite weak in position against the Nationalist party congress at that particular point of time. However AGP first contested the Lok Sabha Election in 1984.

**Table 5.8**  
**Electoral Performance of Asom Gana Parishad in general elections:**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1985	10	7	33.4
1989	-	-	-
1991	14	1	17.67
1996	11	5	27.17
1998	1	0	12.72
1999	8	0	11.92
2004	12	2	19.95
2009	6	1	14.61
2014	12	0	3.87
2019	3	0	8.31

Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi. (eci.gov.in)  
Lok Sabha Election was held in 1985 instead of 1984, due to insurgency.  
-The 1989 Lok Sabha Election was not held in the State of Assam

Source: Report of the General Elections in India from 1985-2014 Published by Election Commission of India, New Delhi.

Lok Sabha Election was held in 1985 instead of 1984, due to insurgency.  
-The 1989 Lok Sabha Election was not held in the State of Assam

### **Shiv Sena**

For the purpose of capturing the power in Maharashtra, the Shiv Sena had showed there interest in contesting the Lok Sabha election particularly. In 1971, at first Shiv Sena Contested the lok Sabha election, allied with the congress (O). Later it could join as a allied partner of BJP at the centre.

**Table 5.9**

**Electoral Performance of Shiv Sena in general elections**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1971	5	0	1.63
1977	-	-	-
1980	2	0	0.7
1985	-	-	-
1989	3	1	1.23
1991	18	4	9.45
1996	20	15	16.83
1998	22	6	19.66
1999	22	15	16.86
2004	22	12	20.11
2009	22	11	17.01
2014	20	18	20.82
2019	23	18	23.5

Source: Report of the General Elections in India from 1989-2014 Published by Election Commission of India, New Delhi.

-The party did not contest from any seats in 1977 and 1985 Lok Sabha elections.

**National Conference**

The nationalist party of Jammu & Kashmir, the National Conference first contested the general election in 1967. In 1999, it allied with BJP at the centre for the first time. In a State also it allied with BJP against the coalition of Congress and PDP front.

**Table 5.10**  
**Electoral Performance of J& K National Conference in general elections:**

Years	Seats Contested	Seats Won	% Votes Captured
1967	4	1	24.92
1971	-	-	-
1977	3	2	33.92
1980	5	3	36.88
1984	5	3	46.88
1989	3	3	6.81
1991	-	-	-
1996	-	-	-
1998	6	3	36.35
1999	6	4	28.94
2004	6	2	22.02
2009	3	3	19.13
2014	3	0	11.22
2019	3	3	7.94

Source: Election Commission of India, New Delhi. (eci.gov.in)

**No candidate participated as National Conference nominee; Election not held; National Conference boycotted elections in Lok Sabha Elections 1971, 1991 and 1996.**

### **BJD**

The Biju Janata Dal, the regionalist party of Orissa is a sprout of Janata dal, BJD was formed as an alliance with the BJP against the congress for the purpose of sharing the power in the BJP led NDA government at the centre. However the party was fragmented in 2003.

### **RJD**

Rashtrya Janata Dal was emerged as a powerful faction of Janata Dal in Bihar in 1997. It was enhanced its political States in allaying with the congress in national politics and its often allied with CPM to hold the power at the state level politics.

### **5.5. The promising issues and the performances of regional political parties in state politics in different year:**

It has been observed that even after the linguistic reorganization of the states (1956), the different regional parties in different states were urged for regional autonomy on the basis of ethnic desire and which gradually goes for economic upliftment in particular. It has been observed that where in 1950 the demand of DMK, regional party of Tamilnadu is was stand in the secessionist demand for Dravida Nadu and in 2018 the demand of DMK is stand for

prosperous Tamilnadu. ADMK(1972) another regional party of Tamilnadu was started to raise their voice against the imposition of Hindi language by the contemporary central government of India by supporting the two language policy(following Tamil and English by removing Hindi) like DMK. On the other hand TDP (1982), the famous regional party of Andhra Pradesh stands for telegu regional pride as well as developmental regime. AGP (1985), the regional party of Assam is stand for protest against the infiltration of foreigners from Bangladesh which created an ethnic crisis in this state in particular. The National Conference of Jammu & Kashmir restarted (1967) their demand for regional autonomy for Jammu & Kashmir fall on legitimacy crisis towards the relation with the Government of India while they enjoying the special status (Art.370) on the one hand and the kashmiri identity crisis on the other. Shiromoni Akali Dal , the regional party of Punjab was primarily stand for the protection of Sikh religion. But gradually it is shifted towards a moderate path of socio-economic interests of common Sikh in Punjab. Shiv Sena, the regional party of Maharashtra (1982) has a single issue, the creation of Maharashtra for Maharashtrians of the time of its formation. However the following tables represent the picture of growing strength of different regional parties in their respective states:

Table 5.11  
Growing power of DMK & ADMK, Tamil Nadu

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		
		National	Regional Parties (including registered unrecognized parties)	Independent Parties
1967	234	90	DMK(137) & Others (1)	6
1977	234	54	DMK(48) AIADMK(130) & Others (1)	1
2001	234	22	DMK(31) ADMK(132)&Others 46	3
2011	234	24	DMK(23) AIADMK(150) & Others 37	0
2016	232	08	DMK(88),ADMK(135) & Others 1	0

Source: Election Commission of India- State election to the legislative assembly, Tamilnadu.

Table 5.12  
Growing power of TDP, Andhrapradesh

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		Independent Parties
		National	Regional Parties (including registered unrecognized parties)	
1985	294	83	TDP(202)	9
1994	294	63	TDP(216) & Others(3)	12
2004	294	203	TDP(47) & Others(32)	11
2014	294	34	TDP(117) & Others (141)	2
2019	175*	00	TDP(23) & Others (152)	0

\*Telengana was already established as a separate state.

Source: Election Commission of India- State election to the legislative assembly, Andhra Pradesh

Table 5.13  
Growing power of AGP, Assam:

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		Independent Parties
		National	Regional Parties (including registered unrecognized parties)	
1991	126	83	AGP(19) & Others (9)	15
2001	126	82	AGP(20) & Others (5)	19
2006	126	67	AGP(24) & Others (13)	22
2011	126	83	AGP(10) & Others (31)	2
2016	126	86	AGP(14) & Others (25)	1

Source: Election Commission of India- State election to the legislative assembly, Assam

Table 5.14  
Growing power of Jammu& Kashmir National Conference, Jammu & Kashmir:

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		Independent Parties
		National	Regional Parties (including registered unrecognized parties)	
1967	75	64	JKN(8) & Others (0)	3
1977	76	24	JKN(47) & Others (1)	4
1996	87	22	JKN(57) & Others (6)	2
2009	87	29	JKN(28) & Others (26)	4
2014	87	38	JKN(15) & Others (31)	3

Source: Election Commission of India- State election to the legislative assembly, Jammu & Kashmir

Table 5.15  
Growing power of Shiromoni Akali Dal, Punjab:

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		Independent Parties
		National	Regional Parties (including registered unrecognized parties)	
1977	117	57	SAD(58) & Others (0)	2
1997	117	34	SAD(75) & Others (2)	6
2007	116	63	SAD(48) & Others (0)	5
2012	117	58	SAD(56) & Others (0)	3
2017	117	80	SAD(15) & Others (22)	0

Source: Election Commission of India- State election to the legislative assembly, Punjab

Table 5.16  
Growing power of Shiv Sena (SHS),Maharashtra :

Year	Total Seats	Seats Captured		Independent Parties
		National	Regional Parties (including registered unrecognized parties)	
1990	288	213	*SHS(52) & Others (10)	13
1999	288	135	SHS(69) & Others (72)	12
2009	288	191	SHS(44) & Others (29)	24
2014	288	206	SHS(63) & Others (12)	7
2019	288	204	SHS(56) & Others (15)	13

\*Shivsena in 1990, contested in Maharashtra legislative election as a registered unrecognized party.

Source: Election Commission of India- State election to the legislative assembly, Maharashtra

More over in the Northeast region the support base of the regional political parties gradually strong since the period of regionalization (See **Appendix E**).

### Conclusion:

So, it is to be seen that, the nature of regionalism is multi-dimensioned as well as heterogynous in nature which eventually transformed the Indian political System from unidirectional to multi directional. The web of regionalization may see as a dynamic one, which were continuums in making with the mixture of quantitative as well qualitative charges. In this process of development the ethno-regionalism was enormously dominated by the path of modernity in particular. Which often seen as positive spirit of synthesized nation through a transcend approach.

On another perspective, the regional partners often acted as a check on the national policy making through the politics of coalition and made the governmental policy making as obligatory to well as the common policy making approach. But, so far as the integrity of a nation like India is concerned the nationalist outlook of the regional political parties, in place of their narrow regional interest is a matter of great concern today. In the essence of regionalization may instigate the spirit of demoralization regarding the issue of nation building, then the decentralized strategy of a plural country through the form of coalition may prove amicable. But the future of the coalition governments stands on a question in 16<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha election 2014, which make a paradigm shift in Indian federal system again with the victory of Bharatiya Janata Party by a single majority after a long decade.