

The Rise of Bharatiya Janata Party in Himachal Pradesh Assembly Elections (1982 -1998): A Geographical Inquiry of Voting Behaviour in its Ecological Context

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Abstract

The paper presents an ecological analysis of the Bharatiya Janata Party's electoral performance over five elections held during the last two decades of the Twentieth Century. The patterns identified have been analysed and explained in relation to a set of selected socio-economic variables, which were compressed into four broad 'contexts' by means of factor analysis. Simple and multiple linear regression techniques have been used to obtain the overall explanation of the patterns analysed. Areal patterns of electoral support for the BJP have been mapped. The party receives high support in relatively urbanised and developed areas, in terms of literacy (where the factor scores of literacy context are high), and consistently polled higher proportions of votes in 'New' Himachal areas.

Introduction

In its ideological, organisational and leadership structure, the Bharatiya Janata Party is the direct descendant of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (Malik and Singh, 1995, p. 29). The Jana Sangh was founded in October 1951 and was the "scion of the parentage of the Hindu Mahasabha and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh" (Jha, 1989, p. 213). The Bharatiya Jana Sangh did not give a good account of itself during the first three general elections and decided to join other parties in order to form the Janata Party so that a viable alternative to the ruling party could be possible (Ahluwalia, 1993, p. 180).

After two and half year's merger the Bharatiya Jana Sangh people got out of the Janata Party because of internal differences and squabbles (Jha, 1989, p. 234). The party was revived under a new name, "Bharatiya

Janata Party" in April 1980. However, it is important to remember that the Bharatiya Janata Party was not just a revival of the old Jana Sangh. The two changes in its name symbolised the two major political adjustments the new party was ready to make in order to enter the political mainstream. Acceptance of the name 'Janata' showed a readiness to enter the mainstream of political games of populism, and the replacement of 'Sangh' by 'Party' symbolised its willingness to make peace with forces of modernisation (Yadav, 1994, p. 60). Thus the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party in Indian Politics coincided with some fundamental changes in the dynamics of electoral politics in India.

The Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its commitment to five ideals - nationalism and national integration, democracy, positive

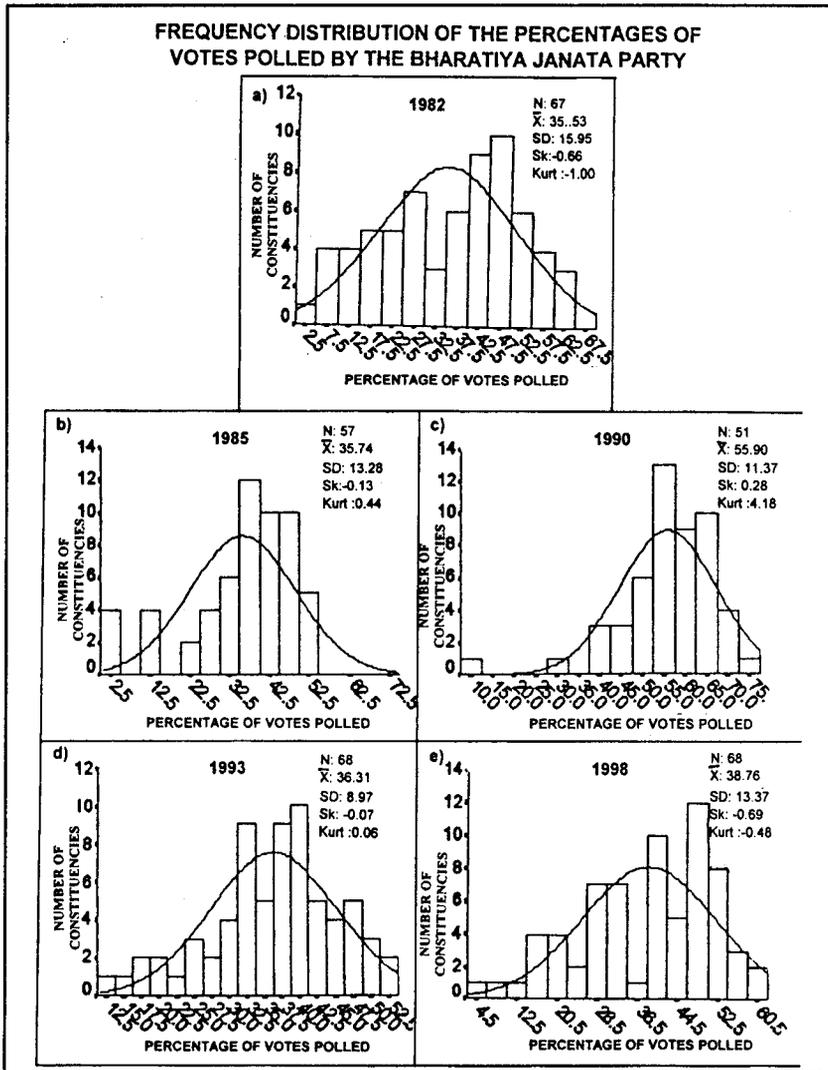


Fig. 1

secularism, Gandhian socialism, and a value based politics - (Johari, 1981, p. 849). The Bharatiya Janata Party is a mixture of Hindu Neo-traditional values and economic conservatism. In the social sphere it upholds adherence to Hindu cultural mores and on the economic planes, it advocates free enterprise with a Swadeshi tilt. It has been a party mainly of traders, small scale and medium-scale industrialists with some

support among big business houses as well. Traditionally, Bharatiya Janata Party is a right-wing party primarily of Hindus, which generally caters to the interests, and values of the upper-caste Hindus, but lately it is also striving to win over the Other Backward Classes and the Dalits (Saxena, 1999, p.262).

In Himachal Pradesh a separate State unit of Jana Sangh was set up on 1st November 1966 after the reorganisation of

Table-1

Rotated Factor Matrix of the 18 Selected Socio-Economic Variables

Sr. No.	Variables	Factor-I	Factor-II	Factor-III	Factor-IV
1.	Percent agricultural workers to the total population	-.8387	-	-	-.3013
2.	Percent female literate to total female population	.8331	-	-	
3.	Percent of literate population	.8273	-	-	-
4.	Percent of total workers to the total population	-.8202	-	.3175	-
5.	Percent non-workers	.7928	-	-	-
6.	Sex ratio expressed as females per thousand males	.5831	-.4494	-	-
7.	Percent workers engaged in manufacturing activities	.2450	-	-	-
8.	Percent of urban population to the total population	-	.9627	-	-
9.	Density of population per square kilometer	-	.8485	-	-
10.	Percent workers engaged in other activities	-	.8062	-	-
11.	Horticulture area as percentage of total cropped area	-	-	-.8923	-
12.	Agricultural area as percentage of total cropped area	-	-	-.8900	-
13.	Percent of agricultural laborers to the total population	-	-	.7138	.3412
14.	Percent marginal workers	-	-	-.3236	-
15.	Percent of scheduled tribe population to the total population	-.3832	-	-	.7314
16.	Irrigated area as percentage of net area Sown	-	-	-	.6123
17.	Percent of scheduled caste population to the total population	-	-	-	.4937
18.	Net area sown as percentage of total area	-	-	-	.2915
Eigen Values		4.858	2.877	2.081	1.558
Cumulative Percentage of Eigen Values		27.00	43.00	54.60	63.20
Percent Variance Explained		27.00	16.00	11.60	8.70

Punjab (Sharma, 1977, p. 77). The Jana Sangh's electoral performance since 1967 elections though not spectacular was not disheartening either and the steady increase in the percentage of votes polled by the party was the result of the hard work of its cadre, most of whom came from the ranks of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.

Since the Janata Party government led by Shri Shanta Kumar in Himachal Pradesh was virtually a Jana Sangh government, its performance during its short rule (1977-80) came as a big help to the Bharatiya Janata Party in the subsequent elections. The party had succeeded in forming a government in 1990 and 1998 elections. With the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party, the electoral scene has altered in Himachal Pradesh, as the Congress Party has not remained the dominant political party. In Himachal Pradesh, therefore, the Bharatiya Janata Party has emerged as the second largest party and the politics in Himachal Pradesh has been polarised around a typical two-party system.

Objective

The present study aims to analyse the electoral performance of the Bharatiya Janata Party in elections to the State Assembly in Himachal Pradesh from 1982 to 1998 in its ecological context. The main questions which we have sought to answer in respect of each election are: What is the spatial pattern of electoral support for the BJP? To what extent is this support regionally concentrated or uniformly spread? And to what extent is the areal distribution of a party's support consistent over time. Attempt has also been made to

quantify the degree to which the different socio-economic contexts explain vote variance of the party.

Approach and Methodology

For explaining electoral patterns the ecological approach has been used. In order to establish causal relationships, electoral patterns have been compared and contrasted with socio-economic patterns. The patterns so identified have been explained in relation to the 18 selected socio-economic variables, which have been factor-analysed and grouped in to four major contexts of significantly interrelated variables. In factor analysis each variable has a loading or weight on each factor, which is interpreted exactly the same way as the coefficient of correlation. The higher the loading, the more important is the variable in the interpretation of the factor. Patterns of the Bharatiya Janata Party support have been mapped by using Z-Score values. Z-Scores are unit free values. Their mean is always zero and standard deviation one. These properties facilitate comparison of data expressed in different units of measurements. Use has also been made of coefficient of variation, standard deviation and the simple and multiple linear regression techniques for obtaining the overall explanation of the patterns analysed.

Areal sizes of constituencies in Himachal Pradesh vary a great deal. Choropleth maps showing party performance give false impression of party dominance if party has high support only in areally larger constituencies. We have solved this problem by using cartograms along with actual maps of constituencies (see Fig. 2).

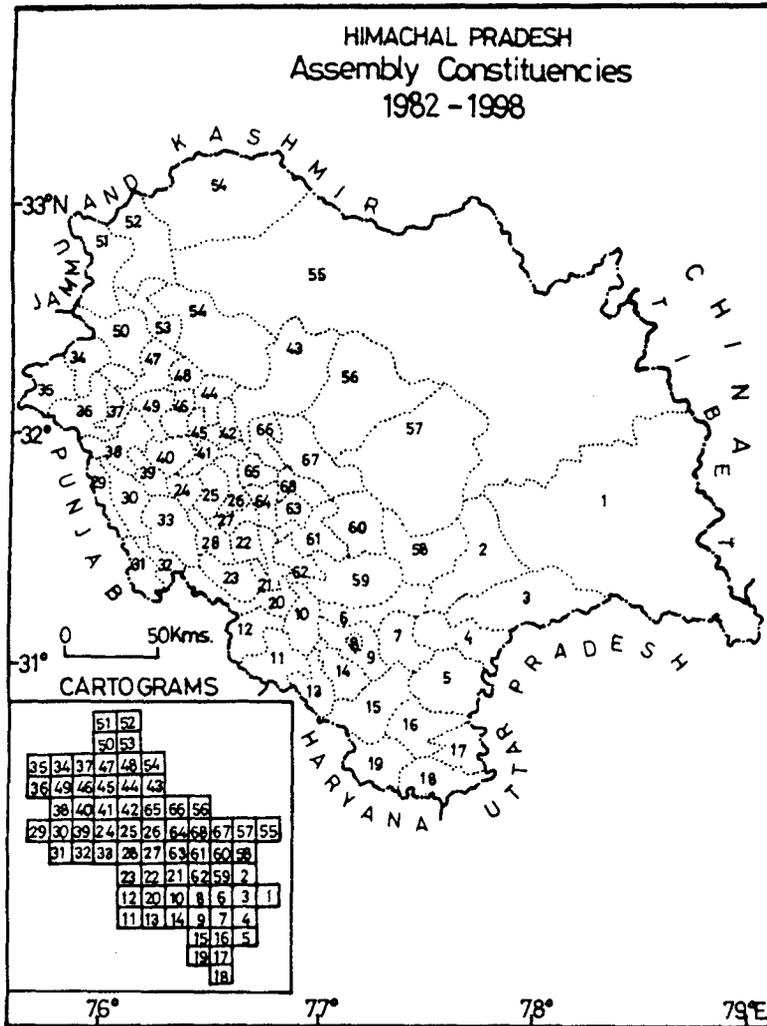


Fig. 2

Factorial Ecology

The electoral patterns of an area are shaped by the socio-economic and cultural setting of the area. This setting is provided by the socio-economic contexts. The performance of the Bharatiya Janata Party is influenced by these factors. A set of 18 socio-economic variables has been compressed into four contexts by the orthogonal rotation factor analysis. These four factors together explain 63.20 per cent of the variance. Loadings of

variables on four factors are given in the Table-1. Contexts are named on the basis of magnitude of loadings of different variables on different factors. Out of four factors the first factor alone explains 27.00 per cent of the total variance. On this factor per cent female literate and per cent literate population have high positive loading, hence the factor is named 'Literacy context'. The second factor emerging from the factor matrix explains 16.00 per cent of the total

variance. On this factor per cent urban population, density of population and per cent workers engaged in other activities have high loadings, therefore, the factor is named as 'Urban-Developmental context'. The third factor explains 11.60 per cent of the total variance, and the factor has high positive loading of horticultural area and negative loading of agricultural area, as such, the factor is named as 'Horticultural vs. Agricultural context'. The fourth factor explains 8.70 per cent of the total variance. On this factor tribal population has high loading and therefore the factor is named 'tribal context'.

The Changing Pattern of Bharatiya Janata Party Vote

1982 Election

After the revival of Bharatiya Janata Party in 1980, the party contested 1982 Assembly election for the first time under new name with great zeal and enthusiasm and won 29 seats out of 67 seats on which the party candidates had contested this election. Polling 36.15 per cent votes, without any electoral alliance, the party emerged as the main opposition party in the Vidhan Sabha. The inter-constituency variation in the

party's vote ranged from 4.20 per cent in Nalagarh to 63.25 per cent in Hamirpur. In three constituencies the party polled more than 60 per cent votes, while in 14 constituencies its vote share was less than 20 per cent. Standard deviation of the party's vote distribution was 15.95 per cent. Coefficient of variation of party's distribution was 44.89 per cent, indicating the higher spatial variation in the distribution of support (Table-2). The vote distribution of the party was negatively skewed (Fig. 1a).

The party recorded very high support in Kangra, Hamirpur and Banjar constituencies. High support for the party was found in a group of four constituencies in Bilaspur and Mandi, four constituencies in central-western parts of Kangra, two constituencies in Una, one constituency each in Hamirpur, Kullu and Chamba districts and Shimla urban constituency. Above average support was found in two regions. The one region consisting of seven constituencies was in Una, Kangra, Hamirpur and Bilaspur districts. The other comprising four constituencies was in Kullu and Mandi districts. Three constituencies in Kangra, two constituencies each in Chamba and Shimla, and one constituency each in Solan and Mandi districts also had above average

Table-2

Parameters of Distribution of the Bharatiya Janata Party Vote

Election	Per cent votes polled	Seats won	Seats contested	SD of vote distribution	CV of vote distribution
1982	36.15	29	67	15.95	44.89
1985	30.61	07	57	13.28	37.16
1990	41.78	46	51	11.37	20.34
1993	36.13	08	68	08.97	24.70
1998	39.03	31	68	13.37	34.49

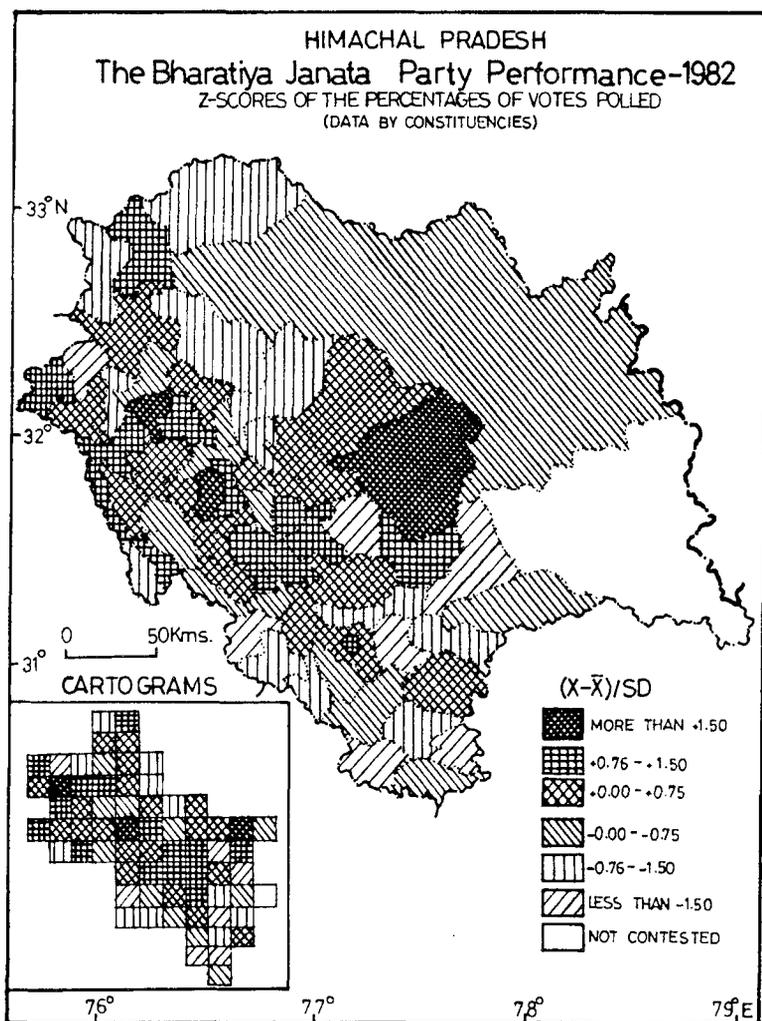


Fig. 3

support. Below average support was in scattered form over Kangra, Una, Bilaspur, Mandi, Solan, Sirmaur, Shimla and Lahaul-Spiti districts. The remaining contested constituencies had recorded low to very low support for the party (Fig. 3).

1985 Election

In 1985 Assembly election, there was a drastic drop in per cent per seat votes polled

by party candidates. This was due to a sympathy wave in favour of the Congress in the wake of Indira Gandhi's assassination. The average vote share for the party dropped to 30.61 per cent, and the party could win just 7 seats out of the 57 seats on which the party candidates had contested this election. Percentage of votes polled in its favour ranged from 3.27 per cent in Chachiot to 54.37 per cent in Karsog (SC). In only 5 constituencies the party polled more than 50

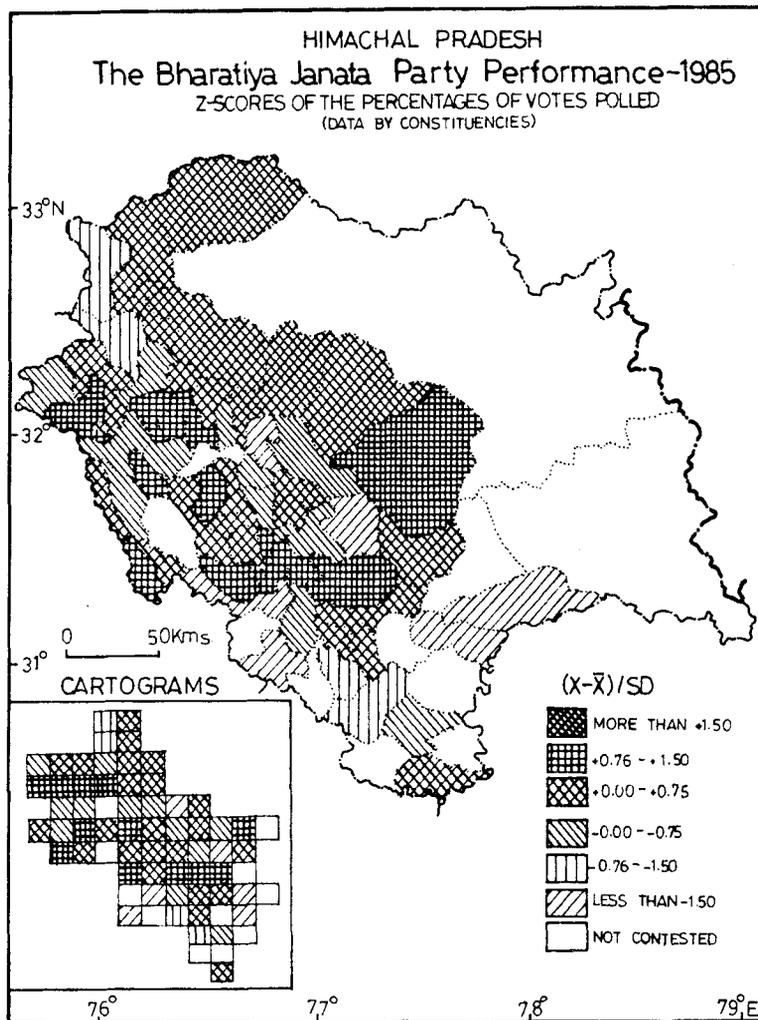


Fig. 4

per cent votes and in 8 constituencies its vote share was less than 20 per cent. Standard deviation of vote distribution decreased to 13.28 per cent. Coefficient of variation of vote distribution also decreased to 37.16 per cent (Table-2). The vote distribution was again negatively skewed (Fig. 1b).

Areas of high support for the Bharatiya Janata Party were in southern parts of Mandi, north-eastern parts of Bilaspur and central-western parts of Kangra districts.

Santokhgarh, Hamirpur proper and Banjar constituencies also recorded high support. Areas of above average support formed three regions. The first region consisting of seven constituencies was in central and eastern parts of Chamba, northern parts of Kangra and western parts of Kullu districts. The second region comprising five constituencies covered whole of Hamirpur district except Hamirpur constituency and northern parts of Bilaspur district. Beside

these areas, two constituencies each in Kangra and Una districts, and one constituency in Sirmaur district also had above average support. Below average support was in scattered form over Kangra, Una, Mandi, Solan and Sirmaur districts. Low to very low support for the party was in two constituencies each in Shimla, Mandi, Chamba and Solan, and one constituency each in Sirmaur and Bilaspur districts (Fig. 4).

1990 Election

In 1990 Assembly election, the Bharatiya Janata Party entered into seat adjustment with the Janata Dal and fielded candidates on 51 seats, following 3:1 ratio seat adjustment. The party recorded a significant increase in its vote share. The average percentage of votes for the party rose to 41.78 per cent. And the party's candidates were declared elected on 46 seats. Though the party had contested this election in alliance with the Janata Dal, but it formed the government on its own in the State. The inter-constituency variation was quite high and it ranged from 10.66 per cent in Rampur (SC) to 73.90 per cent in Kangra. The party had polled 70 per cent or more votes in two constituencies, and between 60 to 70 per cent in 18 constituencies. There was only one constituency where the party's candidate had polled less than 20 per cent votes. Standard deviation of the party's vote distribution again decreased to 11.37 per cent. Coefficient of variation also decreased to 20.34 per cent, which was the lowest recorded, indicating even spatial variation of electoral support for the Bharatiya Janata Party (Table-2). This is the only election when the distribution of votes was positively skewed (Fig. 1c).

Very high support for the party was recorded in Kangra constituency. High support was found in a group of four constituencies in Kangra, and one constituency each in Hamirpur, Mandi and Shimla districts. Above average support was scattered over Chamba, Kangra, Hamirpur, Bilaspur, Una, Mandi, Solan, Sirmaur and Kinnaur districts. Below average support was found in a region comprising nine constituencies. This region was located in eastern parts of Kangra, whole of Kullu except Aril constituency, Mandi and Bilaspur districts. Three constituencies in central-western parts of Kangra, two constituencies each in Una and Shimla districts also had below average support. Low to very low support was located in remaining contested constituencies in the State (Fig. 5).

1993 Election

In 1993 Assembly election there was a strong anti-incumbency wave against the BJP due to which there was a decline in the BJP support and the party could manage to win only 8 seats out of 68 seats. The average vote share of the party came down to 36.13 per cent. The inter-constituency variation in the party's vote ranged from 16.47 per cent in Jubbal-Kotkhai to 52.01 per cent in Theog. In three constituencies the party polled 50 per cent or more votes, while in four constituencies its vote share was less than 20 per cent. Standard deviation of the party's vote distribution was just 8.97 per cent, which was the lowest ever recorded. However, coefficient of variation of vote distribution, increased to 24.70 per cent, indicating higher spatial variation in the distribution of electoral support for the party

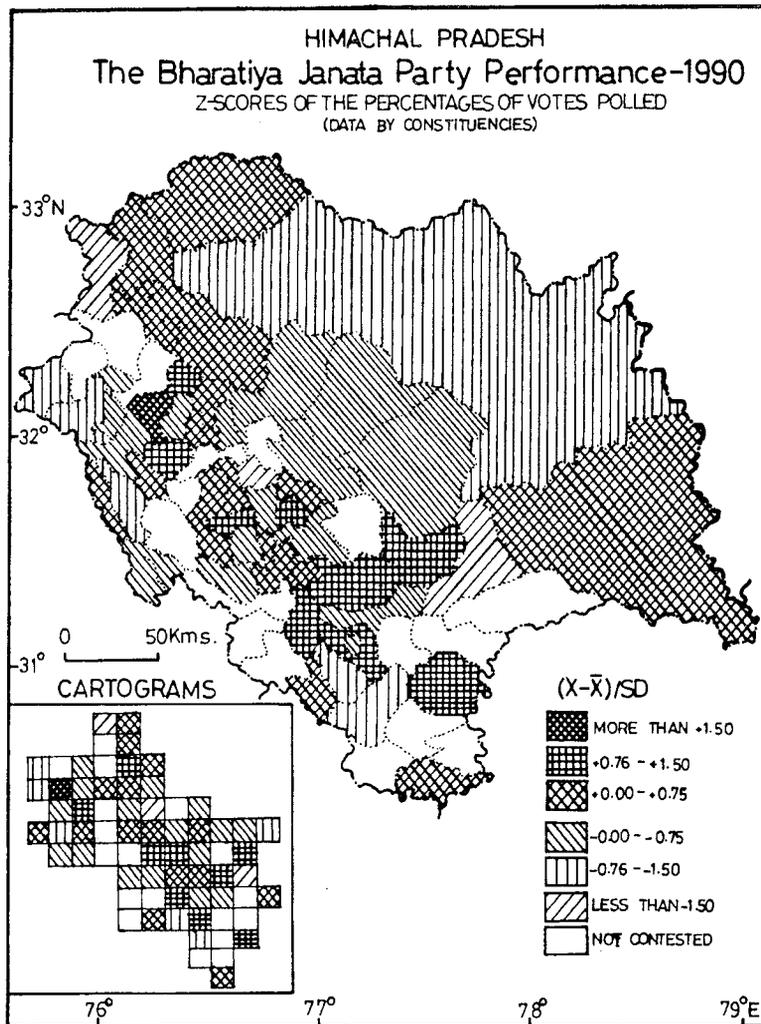


Fig. 5

(Table-2). The distribution of the votes was slightly negatively skewed (Fig. 1d).

Very high support for the party was recorded in Hamirpur, Bilaspur and Theog constituencies. It is noteworthy that Theog constituency is in the horticultural region of the State. High support was found in whole of Kullu district except Kullu proper constituency, Lahaul-Spiti, Kinnaur, whole of Hamirpur district except Hamirpur proper and Nadaunta constituencies. Central-

western parts of Kangra and eastern parts of Una district also recorded high support. Areas of above average support formed two regions covering as many as 19 constituencies. The first region consisting of 12 constituencies was spread over whole of Chamba district except Banikhet and Bhattiyat constituencies, northern parts of Kangra, Kullu and Mandi district. The second region comprising seven constituencies was in Sirmaur, Shimla, Solan and

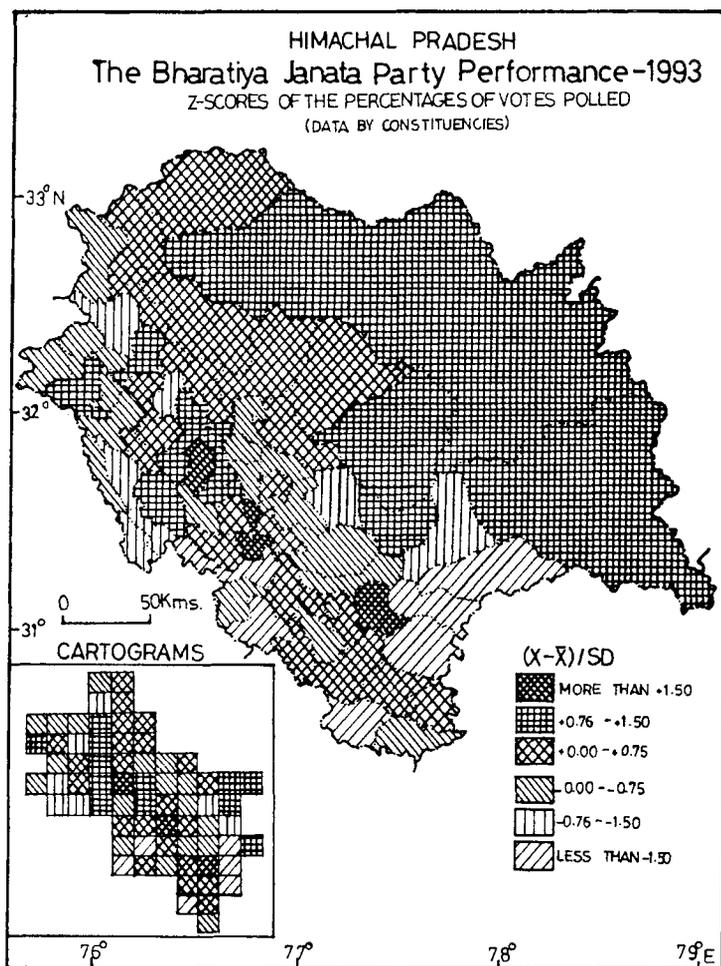


Fig. 6

Mandi district. Besides these two regions, two constituencies in Bilaspur and one constituency in Mandi also had above average support. Below average support for the party formed two small regions. The first region containing seven constituencies was located in Mandi and Shimla districts. The other region consisting of five constituencies was in western parts of Kangra and Una districts. Low to very low support was registered in the remaining constituencies of the State (Fig. 6).

1998 Election

In 1998 Assembly election, the Party had contested all the 68 seats and improved its mean vote percentage. The average vote share for the party rose to 39.03 per cent, and the party won 31 seats. After contesting the election on its own the BJP and the HVC joined hands and formed the government. Inter-constituency variation in the party's vote ranged from 4.33 per cent in Lahaul-Spiti (ST) to 60.34 per cent in Bamsan. In 15 constituencies the party polled more than

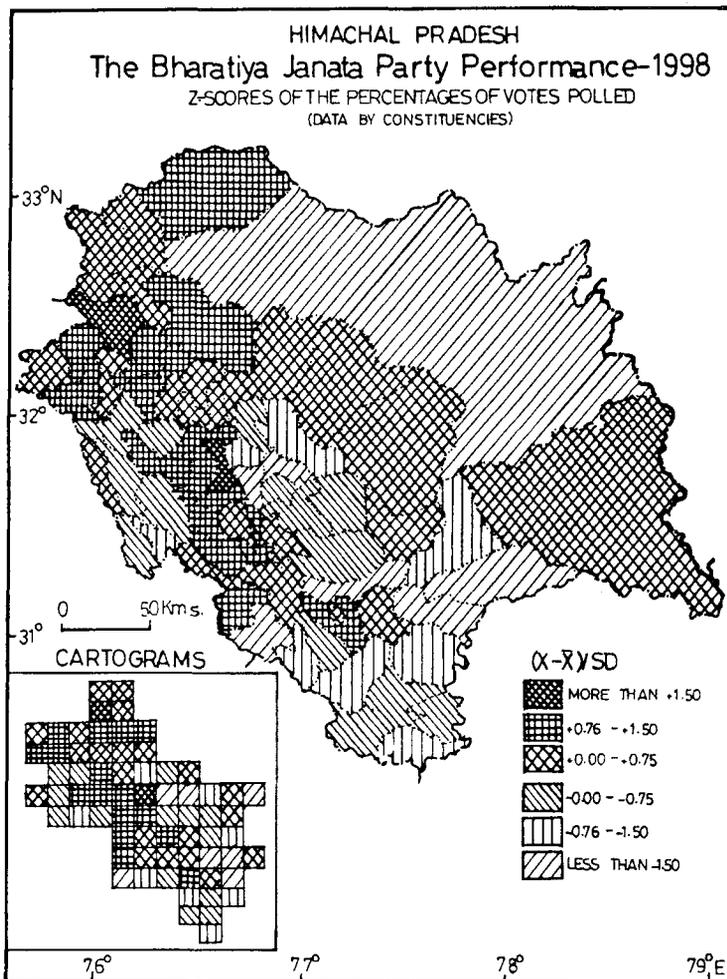


Fig. 7

50 per cent votes, while in 8 constituencies its vote share was less than 20 per cent. Standard deviation of the party's vote distribution increased to 13.37 per cent. Coefficient of variation of vote distribution increased to 34.49 per cent, indicating concentration of party votes in a few areas (Table-2). The spatial distribution of the votes of the party was negatively skewed (Fig. 1e).

Bhattiyat and Bamsan constituencies were the areas of very high support in 1998

election. Areas of high support were in lower Himachal and formed two regions. The first region containing eight constituencies covered whole of Hamirpur except Bamsan constituency, southern parts of Kangra and north-western part of Bilaspur districts. The second region consisting of six constituencies was in central-western parts of Kangra and Chamba districts. One constituency each in Solan and Shimla districts also recorded high support for the party. Areas of above average support

formed three regions. The first region containing eight constituencies was in whole of Kullu and north-eastern parts of Kangra districts. Another region comprising three constituencies was in western parts of Chamba. The third region also contained three constituencies, which covered parts of Bilaspur and Solan districts. Besides these areas, two constituencies each in Kangra and Shimla, one constituency each in Una and Kinnaur also had above average support for the party. Below average support for the party was in Mandi, Sirmaur, Solan, Una and southern parts of Kangra districts. Low to very low support for the party was found in upper Himachal region, which covered parts of Shimla, Sirmaur, Solan and Lahaul-Spiti districts. Another area of weak support was in northern parts of Mandi district. Una proper and Paonta-Doon constituencies also has recorded low support for the party (Fig. 7).

Table-2 shows that the Bharatiya Janata Party has been contesting a large majority of seats in each election, but its vote's share was never more than 50 per cent in any election. The coefficient of variation of vote distribution has been more as compared to that for the Congress Party. This indicates that the support of the party has not been evenly distributed as compared to that of the Congress.

The spatial patterns of electoral support for the Bharatiya Janata Party over five elections clearly depict the core areas of electoral support in Hamirpur, Bilaspur, Kullu, Kangra and in northern parts of Chamba districts. The peripheral areas of electoral support for the party are Lahaul-Spiti, Shimla, Sirmaur, Solan, Mandi and northeastern parts of Kangra districts.

Explanation of the Spatial Patterns of Bharatiya Janata Party Support

The Bharatiya Janata Party is a cadre-based party, therefore, it derives a consistent electoral support from some specific sections of the society in Himachal Pradesh. The electoral performance of the Bharatiya Janata Party is largely confined to the urban and lower areas of the State. The nature of relationship between electoral performance of the BJP and the various socio-economic contexts are relatively consistent over time as compared to the Congress Party.

The BJP Performance and the Literacy Context

Taking percentages of the BJP votes from 1982 to 1998, and factor scores of Literacy context regression analysis was conducted. In the regression equations Y stands for the electoral variables (i.e. the percentage of BJP votes) and X1-4 for ecological contexts. For example in this case Y is the BJP's share of votes and X1 the Literacy context. The regression equations were as follow:

1982 election	$Y=36.246 + 5.713^* X_1$ (0.0169)	R=0.291	R ² =0.085
1985 election	$Y=36.170 + 4.513^* X_1$ (0.0155)	R=0.319	R ² =0.102
1990 election	$Y=55.838 + 1.072 X_1$ (0.5258)	R=0.091	R ² =0.008
1993 election	$Y=36.304 + 1.156 X_1$ (0.3039)	R=0.127	R ² =0.016
1998 election	$Y=38.762 + 4.288^* X_1$ (0.0086)	R=0.316	R ² =0.100

* Signi/cant at 0.01 or better level

With the increase in the value of the factor scores of literacy context, there is increase

in the vote proportion of the Bharatiya Janata Party. This holds true in all elections, but the relationships are weak during 1990 and 1993 elections. In remaining three elections, this context explains around 10 per cent spatial variations in each election. These relationships are statistically significant at 0.01 level.

The BJP Performance and the Urban Developmental Context

After regressing the per cent votes polled by the BJP on factor scores of the Urban-Developmental context for each election, following equations are obtained:

1982 election	$Y=36.303 + 1.321X_2$ (0.5130)	R=0.081	R ² =0.007
1985 election	$Y=35.739 + 0.213X_2$ (0.9000)	R=0.017	R ² =0.000
1990 election	$Y=55.964 + 0.672X_2$ (0.6545)	R=0.064	R ² =0.004
1993 election	$Y=36.304 + 0.825X_2$ (0.4614)	R=0.091	R ² =0.008
1998 election	$Y=38.762 + 0.438X_2$ (0.7932)	R=0.032	R ² =0.001

As the above equations shows, the Urban-Developmental context is not as powerful explanatory variable in explaining spatial variations in the Bharatiya Janata Party performance as the Literacy context. The relationship between the per cent votes polled by the party and the Urban-Developmental context has, however, remained constant throughout the study period. The per cent votes polled by the party has tended to increase with the increase in the value of factor scores for this context.

The BJP Performance and the Horticultural Vs. Agricultural Context

When the percentages of the Bharatiya Janata Party votes in various elections are regressed on the Horticultural vs. Agricultural context factor scores, the following equations result:

1982 election	$Y=36.302 - 0.207 X_3$ (0.9286)	R=0.011	R ² =0.000
1985 election	$Y=35.887 - 2.180 X_3$ (0.3630)	R=0.123	R ² =0.015
1990 election	$Y=55.830 - 2.681X_3$ (0.2081)	R=0.179	R ² =0.032
1993 election	$Y=36.304 - 1.936 X^3$ (0.0868)	R=0.209	R ² =0.044
1998 election	$Y=38.762 - 4.381* X^3$ (0.0083)	R=0.318	R ² =0.101

* Significant at 0.01 or better level.

Per cent votes of the party increased with the decrease in the magnitudes of the factor scores of the Horticultural vs. Agricultural context. Since, on this context the horticultural variables have high positive loadings and agricultural variables high negative loadings, therefore, this relationship implies that the party is stronger in agricultural areas as compared to that in horticultural areas. The relationship between party's vote share and the context has remained consistent over elections. The important point to be noted about these relationships is the progressive increase in R2 values over elections. R2 values of the equation of 1982 election is zero but increased to over 10 per cent in the 1998 election. This implies that the territorial cleavage is becoming more important over time.

The BJP Performance and the Tribal Context

Taking the percentages of votes polled by the party in five elections from 1982 onwards, and the factor scores of Tribal context, the following regression equations for the party are obtained:

1982 election	$Y=36.249 - 1.749 X_4$ (0.4494)	R=0.094	R ² =0.009
1985 election	$Y=35.546 - 2.572 X_4$ (0.2067)	R=0.170	R ² =0.029
1990 election	$Y=55.964 - 0.458 X_4$ (0.7702)	R=0.042	R ² =0.002
1993 election	$Y=36.304 + 1.547 X_4$ (0.1774)	R=0.166	R ² =0.027
1998 election	$Y=38.762 + 1.153 X_4$ (0.5020)	R=0.083	R ² =0.007

In the three elections held between 1982 and 1990, there was a spatial decrease in votes for the party with spatial increase in the values of factor scores of the Tribal context. This implies relatively low support for the party in tribal areas. The support for the party was, however, more in tribal areas in the remaining two elections. Implications of the result of these equations are that the party is catching up in tribal areas. In fact, Kinnaur constituency of the tribal areas has given consistent high support to the party. R² values of the equations are, however, small and are not statistically significant.

The Overall Explanation of the Bharatiya Janata Party Vote Variations

For the overall explanatory power of the four contexts, we have regressed the party votes on the factor scores of the four contexts together by using multiple regression

technique. In the multiple regression equations, individual coefficients of the various contexts are not of much use because of inter-relationships between the four contexts. Thus, we shall be reproducing only R² values of the multiple regressions, which give overall explanation of all the contexts.

Table-3

R² Values of the Multiple Regression of the BJP Performance on all the Four Contexts

Election	1982	1985	1990	1993	1998
R ² Value	0.100	0.141	0.144	0.089	0.291

The overall explanation of the Bharatiya Janata Party votes variation has varied from 9 per cent in 1993 election to about 29 per cent in 1998 election. The overall explanation of the Bharatiya Janata party vote variation is higher as compared to the Congress party.

Conclusion

The Bharatiya Janata party is the second largest party in Himachal Pradesh. The per cent votes polled by the party has ranged from 30.61 in 1985 to 41.78 per cent in 1990. The seats won by the party ranged from 7 in 1985 to 46 in 1990. The coefficient of variation of the BJP vote distribution has been very high. The party has consistently polled higher proportions of votes in 'New' Himachal areas. The Literacy context exerts considerable influence on voting patterns of the BJP. The party receives higher proportions of votes where the factor scores of Literacy context are high. In 1985 and 1998 elections this context alone explained more than 10 per cent vote variations in

BJP's electoral patterns. The Horticultural vs. Agricultural context is also becoming an important independent variable in explaining voting patterns of the BJP. The party receives higher proportions of votes in agricultural areas of the State. In 1998 election this context alone explained more than 10 per cent of the vote variation of the BJP. The overall explanation of the BJP vote variation has varied from about 9 per cent in 1993 election to about 29 per cent in 1998 election.

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Appendix

List of Assembly Constituencies in Himachal Pradesh

Sr. No.	Name of Constituency	Sr. No.	Name of Constituency
1.	Kinnaur (ST)	35.	Gangath (SC)
2.	Rampur (SC)	36.	Jawali
3.	Rohru	37.	Guler
4.	Jubbal-Kotkhai	38.	Jaswan
5.	Chopal	39.	Pragpur (SC)
6.	Kumarsain	40.	Jawalamukhi
7.	Theog	41.	Thural
8.	Shimla	42.	Rajgir (SC)
9.	Kasumpti (SC)	43.	Bajjnath
10.	Arki	44.	Palampur
11.	Doon	45.	Sulah
12.	Nalagarh	46.	Nagrota
13.	Kasauli (SC)	47.	Shahpur
14.	Solan	48.	Dharamshala
15.	Pachhad (SC)	49.	Kangra
16.	Rainuka	50.	Bhattiyat
17.	Shillai	51.	Banikhet
18.	Paonta-Doon	52.	Raj Nagar (SC)
19.	Nahan	53.	Chamba
20.	Kot-Kehloor	54.	Bharmour (ST)
21.	Bilaspur	55.	Lahul-Spiti (ST)
22.	Ghumarwin	56.	Kullu
23.	Geharwin (SC)	57.	Banjar
24.	Nadaun	58.	Anj (SC)
25.	Hamirpur	59.	Karsog (SC)
26.	Bamsan	60.	Chachiot
27.	Mewa (SC)	61.	Nachan (SC)
28.	Nadaunta	62.	Sunder Nagar
29.	Gagret (SC)	63.	Balh (SC)
30.	Chintpurni	64.	Gopalpur
31.	Santokhgarh	65.	Dharampur
32.	Una	66.	Joginder Nagar
33.	Kutlehar	67.	Darang
34.	Nurpur	68.	Mandi

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