

**Online appendix for “Coalition Government and Party System Change: Explaining the Rise of Regional Parties in India.” *Comparative Politics* 45 (1): 69-87.**

This document includes supplementary information not included in the text of the published article, including the correction of errors on p. 78.

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## A1. Regional parties in the Lok Sabha 1991, 1999

Page 69 references the increase in the number of regional parties represented in the Lok Sabha between 1991 and 1999. This table lists the regional parties winning seats in the two elections along with the number of seats that each party won, noted in parentheses.

<i>1991</i>	<i>1999</i>
1. All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (11)	Akhil Bharatiya Lok Tantrik Congress (2)
2. All India Forward Bloc (3)	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (10)
3. All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (1)	All India Forward Bloc (2)
4. Asom Gana Parishad (1)	All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (1)
5. Autonomous State Demand Committee (1)	All India Trinamul Congress (8)
6. Bahujan Samaj Party (3)	Bahujan Samaj Party (14)
7. Communist Party of India (Marxist) (27)	Bharipa Bahujan Mahasangha (1)
8. Haryana Vikas Party (1)	Biju Janata Dal (10)
9. Indian Congress (Socialist-Sarat Chandra Sinha) (1)	Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)(Liberation) (1)
10. Janata Dal (G) (1)	Communist Party of India (Marxist) (33)
11. Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (6)	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (12)
12. Kerala Congress (M) (1)	Himachal Vikas Congress (1)
13. Manipur People's Party (1)	Indian National Lok Dal (5)
14. Muslim League Kerala State Committee (1)	Jammu & Kashmir National Conference (4)
15. Nagaland People's Council (1)	Janata Dal (Secular) (1)
16. Revolutionary Socialist Party (4)	Janata Dal (United) (21)
17. Shiv Sena (4)	Kerala Congress (1)
18. Sikkim Sangram Parishad (1)	Kerala Congress (M) (1)
19. Telugu Desam Party (13)	Manipur State Congress Party (1)
20.	Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (1)
21.	MGR Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (1)
22.	Muslim League Kerala State Committee (2)
23.	Nationalist Congress Party (8)
24.	Pattali Makkal Katchi (5)
25.	Peasants and Workers Party of India (1)
26.	Rashtriya Janata Dal (7)
27.	Rashtriya Lok Dal (2)
28.	Revolutionary Socialist Party (3)
29.	Samajwadi Janata Party (Rashtriya) (1)
30.	Samajwadi Party (26)
31.	Shiromani Akali Dal (2)
32.	Shiromani Akali Dal (Simranjit Singh Mann) (1)
33.	Shiv Sena (15)
34.	Sikkim Democratic Front (1)
35.	Telugu Desam Party (29)
<i>19 parties, 82 seats (+ 1 independent)</i>	<i>35 parties, 234 seats (+ 6 independents)</i>

Notes: In 1991 and 1999, the Bahujan Samaj Party was classified as a regional party. In 1996, 1998, 2004, and 2009, it was classified as a national party. Without the BSP, 18 regional parties won seats in the 1991 election, together winning 24% of the vote and 79 seats. In the 1999 election, 34 regional parties won seats, winning 42% of the vote and 220 seats.

## A2. Method for classifying parties as regional or national

Page 73 and footnote 9 briefly describe the method by which I classify a party as regional or national. The discussion below provides more details on the classification procedure using a simple hypothetical example.

Assume that elections take place in a country with three regions—A, B, and C—and the number of voters in each region is 200, 100, and 100, respectively. Election results are below. Note that Party 1 wins an equal *percentage* of votes across all regions, and Party 2 wins an equal *number* of votes in each region. Party 3 wins votes everywhere, but disproportionately from Region A. Party 4 wins most of its votes in one region, while Party 5 wins all of its votes in a single region.

	Region A	Region B	Region C	Party Total
Party 1	50	25	25	100
Party 2	25	25	25	75
Party 3	125	20	30	125
Party 4	0	5	20	25
Party 5	0	25	0	25
Region	200	100	100	

Since the regions are of different sizes, the votes must be reweighted by the size of the region. This means dividing a party's votes in a region by the share of the electorate that comes from the region. For example, I divide Party 1's 100 votes in Region A by 50% since Region A's 200 voters represent 50% of the country's total electorate. Reweighted votes are below.

	Region A	Region B	Region C	Party Total
Party 1	100	100	100	300
Party 2	50	100	100	250
Party 3	250	80	120	450
Party 4	0	20	80	100
Party 5	0	100	0	100

Based on these reweighted vote totals, I next calculate a Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (HHI), which means first dividing the reweighted votes for a party in a region by the party's total vote and then squaring the result. In other words, for Party 1, for each region the calculation is  $(100/300)^2$ . These calculations appear in columns (1)-(3). The raw HHI, in column (4), is the sum of columns (1)-(3). To adjust the raw HHI to take account of the number of regions, the calculation is:  $(HHI - (1/N)) / (1 - (1/N))$ . Since  $N=3$ , the calculation is:  $(HHI - (1/3)) / (2/3)$ . This yields the scores listed in column (5).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Region A	Region B	Region C	Party Total=HHI	Normalized HHI	Vote %
Party 1	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.33	0.00	25.00
Party 2	0.04	0.16	0.16	0.36	0.04	18.75
Party 3	0.31	0.03	0.07	0.41	0.12	43.75
Party 4	0	0.04	0.64	0.68	0.52	6.25
Party 5	0	1	0	1	1.00	6.25

I classify a party as regional if its normalized HHI is 0.18 or greater. A party with a score of less than 0.18 is a national party. I select this cut-off because the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) used it to assess

levels of firm concentration in the marketplace.<sup>1</sup> The DOJ treated a market with a score of greater than 0.18 as highly concentrated.<sup>2</sup> Presumably, the DOJ has a great deal invested in accurately measuring market concentration. Hence for a parallel endeavor of uncovering geographic concentration of a party's support base, the DOJ cut-off seems as good as any, since any such threshold necessarily involves some degree of arbitrariness.

Since 0.18 is the cut-off, Parties 1, 2, and 3 are national parties, while Parties 4 and 5 are regional parties. Thus, the regional vote share is the sum of the total vote share, in column (6) for parties 4 and 5, or 12.5%. The national vote share is 87.5%.

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<sup>1</sup> See <http://www.justice.gov/atr/public/testimony/hhi.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> Since this project began, the Department of Justice has revised its guidelines to treat moderate concentration as 0.15 to 0.25 and concentration as 0.25. See <http://www.justice.gov/atr/public/guidelines/hmg.htm>. I continue to use the cut-off used at the time when this project was initiated as it provides a more conservative estimate of what a regional party is.

### A3. Examples of national and regional parties in India

Page 73 and footnote 9 briefly describe the method by which I classify a party as regional or national. The table below provides examples from India of parties that are clearly national (INC, BJP), clearly regional (AITC, RJD, TDP), and more ambiguous cases (BSP, CPM).

	INC	BJP	BSP	CPM	AITC	RJD	TDP
Vote %	27%	22%	5%	6%	2%	2%	3%
HHI	0.01	0.01	0.09	0.29	0.36	0.79	1.00
Share of party's vote won from the state providing the most votes	14%	14%	63%	65%	96%	96%	100%
Number of states in which party contested seats	33	31	25	19	5	6	1

#### *State (share of national votes cast)*

#### *State-level vote shares won by the party*

Uttar Pradesh (14%)	12%	22%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%
West Bengal (9%)	15%	8%	1%	39%	21%	0%	0%
Andhra Pradesh (9%)	42%	8%	1%	1%	0%	0%	33%
Maharashtra (9%)	24%	23%	3%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Bihar (8%)	4%	15%	4%	1%	0%	31%	0%
Tamil Nadu (7%)	14%	5%	1%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Karnataka (6%)	37%	35%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Madhya Pradesh (5%)	34%	48%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Rajasthan (4%)	41%	49%	3%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Orissa (4%)	40%	19%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Gujarat (4%)	44%	47%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Kerala (4%)	32%	10%	0%	32%	0%	0%	0%
Assam (3%)	35%	23%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Punjab (3%)	34%	10%	8%	2%	0%	0%	0%
Jharkhand (2%)	21%	33%	2%	0%	0%	4%	0%
Haryana (2%)	42%	17%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Chhattisgarh (2%)	40%	48%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Delhi (1%)	55%	41%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Uttaranchal (1%)	38%	41%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Himachal Pradesh (1%)	52%	44%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Jammu & Kashmir (1%)	28%	23%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Tripura (0%)	14%	8%	0%	69%	5%	0%	0%
Manipur (0%)	15%	21%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%
Nagaland (0%)	26%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Meghalaya (0%)	46%	9%	0%	0%	28%	0%	0%
Goa (0%)	30%	47%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Pondicherry (0%)	0%	36%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Arunachal Pradesh (0%)	10%	54%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%
Mizoram (0%)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Chandigarh (0%)	52%	35%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Sikkim (0%)	27%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Andaman & Nicobar Islands (0%)	56%	36%	1%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Dadra & Nagar Haveli (0%)	26%	16%	1%	2%	0%	0%	0%
Daman & Diu (0%)	50%	48%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Lakshadweep (0%)	49%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

INC = Indian National Congress  
BJP = Bharatiya Janata Party  
BSP = Bahujan Samaj Party  
CPM = Communist Party of India (Marxist)  
AITC = All India Trinamul Congress  
RJD = Rashtriya Janata Dal  
TDP = Telugu Desam Party.

Notes: Data are from 2004 national (Lok Sabha) elections. The first row is the party's total vote share. The second row is the party's HHI score for the 2004 election. The third row is the percentage of the party's vote that came from the state that contributed most to its total vote share. In other words, 14% of Congress' votes came from Andhra Pradesh. All other states account for a lesser share of the Congress vote. The states that account for the largest share of votes for each party are: Andhra Pradesh (INC), Uttar Pradesh (BJP), Uttar Pradesh (BSP), West Bengal (CPM), West Bengal (AITC), Bihar (RJD), and Andhra Pradesh (TDP). The fourth column is the number of states and UTs in which the party contested seats. The total number is 35. For the state-by-state vote shares, states are listed in descending order of the share of the total electorate for which they account. That share is listed in parentheses. The figures for each column represent the vote share that each party won in a given state. For example, 25% of votes in Uttar Pradesh went to the BSP.

### *Discussion*

**INC and BJP:** Both easily qualify as national parties. Both parties contest in the overwhelming majority of India's states and UTs, though their vote shares vary noticeably across states. The BJP's HHI is higher than Congress' because Congress' vote shares across states are somewhat less variable.

**BSP and CPM:** India has very parties that have moved back and forth across the 0.18 cut-off. The BSP and CPM are two such parties that have moved between being classified as regional and national. (Several more parties have gone from being national to being regional, but they have subsequently remained regional). In the 2004 election, the BSP fell fairly comfortably below the cut-off while the CPM was well above it. There are three reasons for this. First, although both the CPM and BSP each win about 65% of their votes from a single state, the BSP wins 65% of its votes from a much larger state (Uttar Pradesh). Thus, the disproportionality involved in winning such a large share of its vote from a single state is less than for the CPM, which wins a similar share of its total vote from a smaller state. Second, the BSP contests in a handful more states than the CPM. Contesting widely, even if a party does poorly, goes a long way in helping a party qualify as a national party. Third, and perhaps most importantly, the CPM's vote share comes almost entirely from two states. The CPM wins 86% of its vote from its two most important states (65% from West Bengal, 21% from Kerala), whereas the BSP wins only 68% (63% from Uttar Pradesh and 5% from Maharashtra). Although the BSP's vote is highly concentrated in Uttar Pradesh, outside of Uttar Pradesh, its vote is far more evenly dispersed across the country than the CPM's.

**AITC and RJD:** The AITC and RJD both win nearly 100% of their votes from a single state, but the AITC's HHI is much lower. As with the BSP and CPM, the difference lies in large part in the distribution of votes outside of the party's stronghold. Non-stronghold votes are somewhat more evenly distributed for the AITC than from the RJD. Also, since West Bengal contributed more voters to the total electorate than Bihar, the AITC's concentration of its vote base in West Bengal is less disproportional than Bihar's. These parties illustrate why a single-state definition of a regional party does not make sense in the Indian context. Many studies define a regional party as a party that contests in a single state. By this definition, neither AITC nor RJD would be regional parties. However, no party that wins nearly 100% of its votes

from a single region that accounts for less than 10% of the country's total voters can sensibly be classified as national.

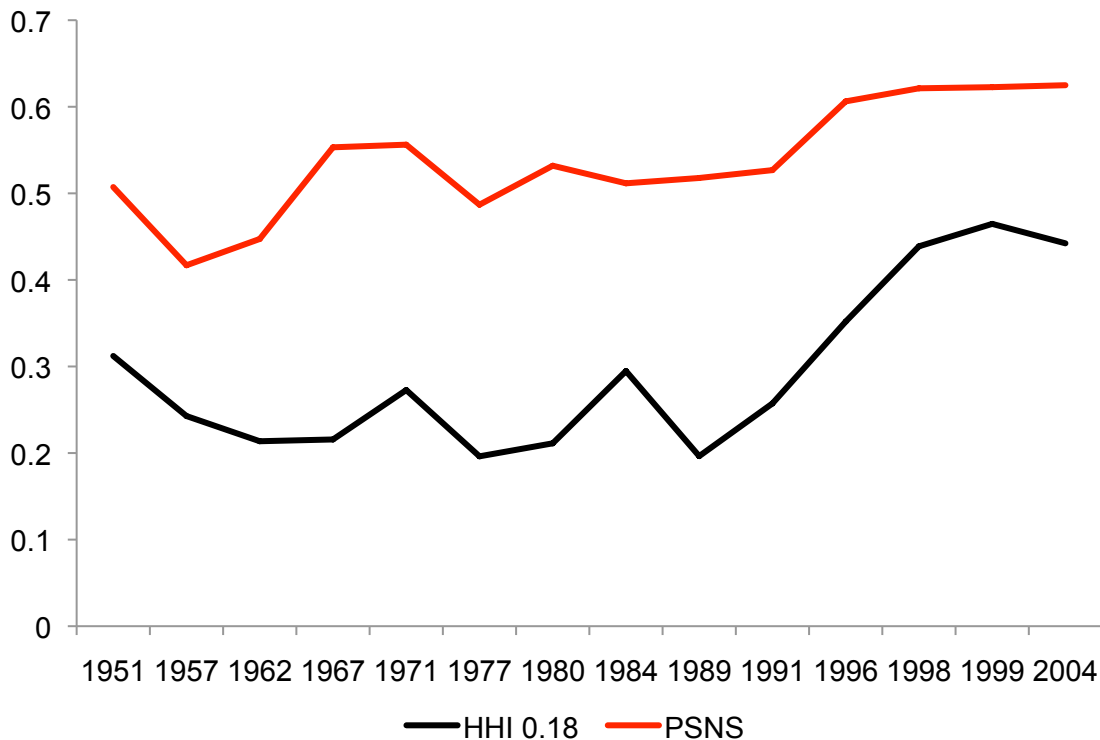
**TDP:** The TDP contests and wins all of its votes in a single state. At its inception, the party's platform was regionalist; however, the emphasis on regionalism has declined over time. Based on its pattern of contestation and success, the TDP resembles a regionalist party.

**General:** As these examples show, my method of classifying parties does not inadvertently classify any national parties as regional. In fact, the bar for classifying a party as national is fairly modest as evidenced by the fact that the BSP is a national party. Using single-state contestation to classify parties as regional inadvertently treats many regional parties as national. My method does not err in the opposite direction, as it does not inadvertently classify clearly national parties as regional.

#### A4. Comparison with party system nationalization and other measures

Page 73 and footnote 10 refer to measures of party system nationalization, particularly Jones and Mainwaring's (2003) Party System Nationalization Score (PSNS) and the inflation measure used by Chhibber and Kollman (2004). The figures below compare my measure of regional party vote shares with these measures. All three measures reveal similar party system trajectories. The third figure compares regional party vote shares using different cut-offs to classify a party as regional or national.

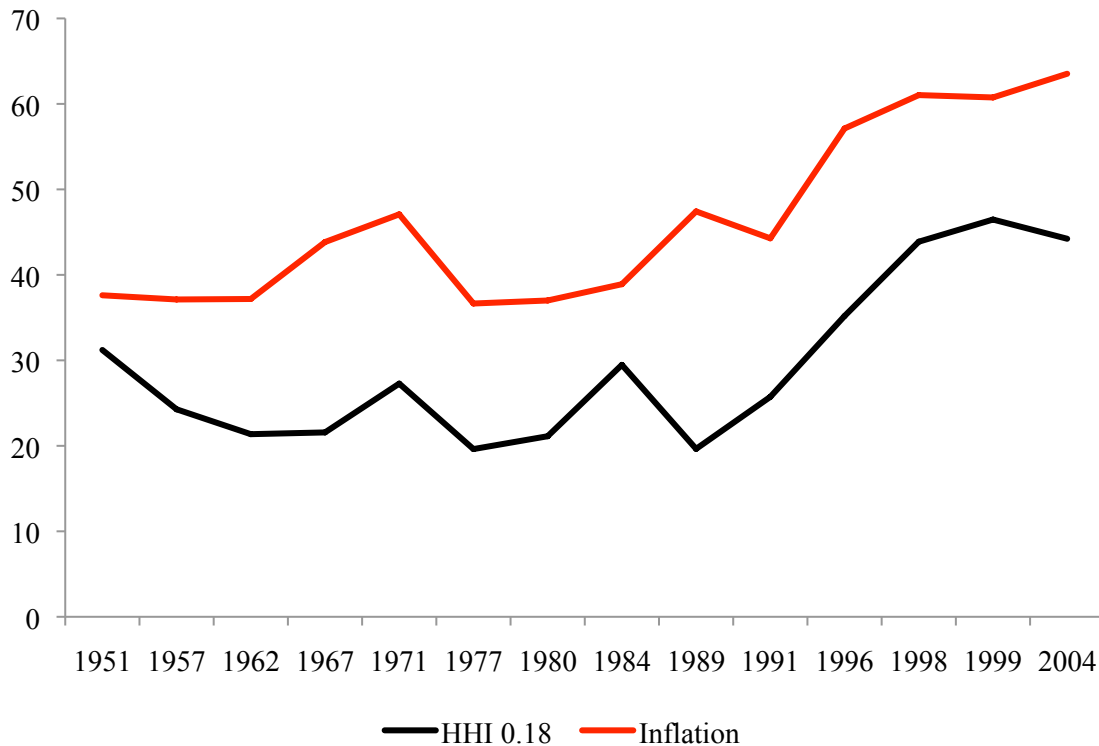
*Regional party vote shares and Jones and Mainwaring's (2003) PSNS*



The black line is my regional party vote share measure, referred to in the figure as HHI 0.18 because I use a normalized HHI score of 0.18 and above to classify a party as regional. For the black line, the y-axis refers to the regional party vote share, ranging from 0 to 1 such that 0.5 is 50%. The red line refers to Jones and Mainwaring's (2003) PSNS. The PSNS ranges from 0 to 1, with 1 being the most nationalized and 0 the least nationalized. In order that the two measures move in the same direction, the red line is actually India's PSNS subtracted from 1, so that 0 is the most nationalized and 1 is the least nationalized. Thus, a rise in both lines indicates a rise in the regional party vote share and a decline in party system nationalization (or rise in provincialization). Note that the PSNS is *not* a vote share. It is simply a score that ranges from 0 to 1. The two measures are highly correlated telling a broadly similar story about the party system.

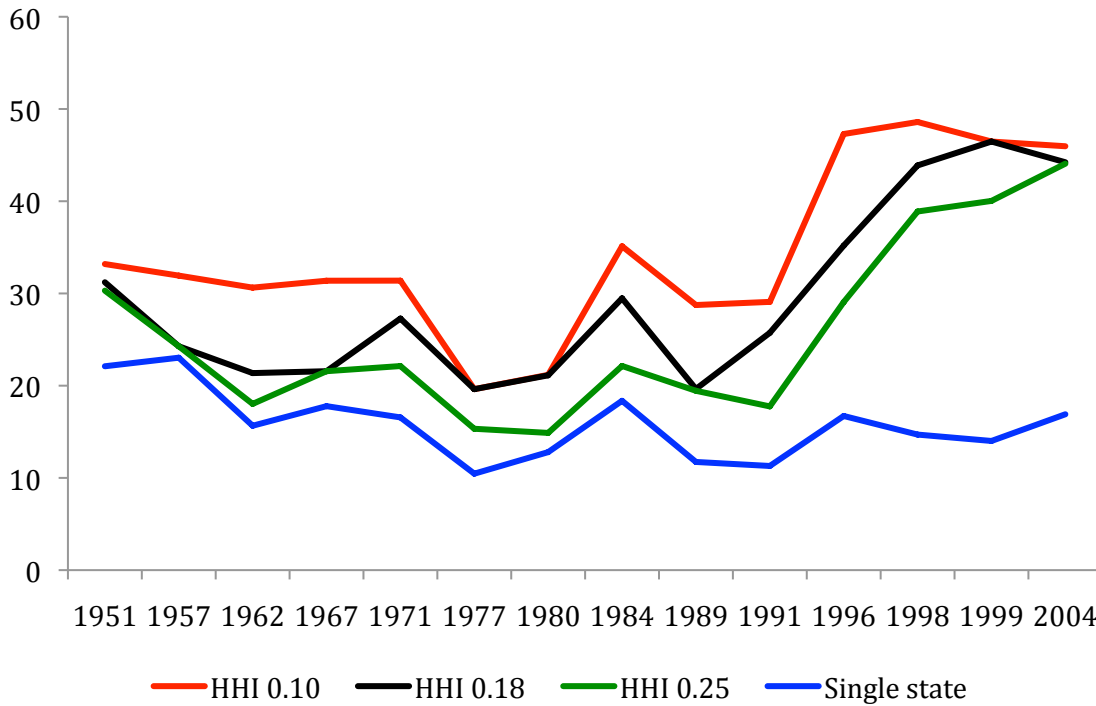


*Regional party vote shares and Chhibber and Kollman's (2004) inflation measure*



The black line is my regional party vote share measure, referred to in the figure as HHI 0.18 because I use a normalized HHI score of 0.18 and above to classify a party as regional. For the black line, the y-axis indicates vote shares, measured as a percentage ranging from 0 to 100%. The red line is the inflation measure used in Chhibber and Kollman (2004). For the red line, the y-axis does not refer to a percentage but simply to a positive number corresponding to a party system's inflation score. The two measures are highly correlated telling a broadly similar story about the party system.

*Regional party vote shares using various cut-offs*



The y-axis indicates vote shares, measured as a percentage ranging from 0 to 100%. The different lines represent the regional party vote shares that one would obtain from using different HHI cut-offs. The red line uses a cut-off of 0.10. In the old DOJ rules, 0.10 was used as the cut-off between not concentrated and moderately concentrated. The black line indicates the cut-off that I use, 0.18. The green line uses a cut-off of 0.25, which is the cut-off that the DOJ currently uses for classifying a market as highly concentrated. I use the old classification, which was in place when this project was started. All three of these lines (red, green and black) are highly correlated and present a very similar picture of the Indian party system over time. The blue line classifies a party as regional only if its HHI score is 1—in other words, if it only contests in a single state. Such a classification is used in much of the literature. Unlike all the other measures presented in the appendix, the blue line tells a very different story, of regional parties declining in support after the 1950s and remaining fairly constant over time.

### A5. Indian governments, 1947-present (2013)

Pages 73-74 refer to the shift from single party majority (SPM) to coalition government. The table below lists all post-independence Indian governments, indicating whether they were SPM, minority, or coalition governments. Minority refers to a single-party minority government, as most of the coalition governments have also been minority governments. Outside supporters are those parties that pledge support to the government to keep it in power but that do not actually join the government.

Dates	PM Party	Cabinets by PM	Type	Cabinet members/Outside supporters
1947-69	INC	Nehru I Nehru II Nehru III Shastri I. Gandhi I	SPM	— / —
1969-71	INC	I. Gandhi I	Minority	— / CPI, DMK
1971-77	INC	I. Gandhi II	SPM	— / —
1977-79	JNP	Desai	SPM	— / —
1979-80	JNP(S)	C. Singh	Minority	— / INC, INC(U)
1980-89	INC	I. Gandhi III R. Gandhi	SPM	— / —
1989-90	JD	V.P. Singh	Coalition	AGP, DMK, ICS(SCS), TDP / BJP, CPI(M)
1990-91	SJP	Chandrashekhar	Coalition	JP / INC
1991-93	INC	Narasimha Rao I	Minority	— / —
1993-96	INC	Narasimha Rao I	SPM	— / —
1996	BJP	Vajpayee I	Coalition	SHS / —
1996-97	JD	Gujra Deve Gowda	Coalition	AGP, AIIC(T), CPI, DMK, JKNC, MAG, RJD, SP, TDP, TMC(M) / CPI(M), INC
1998-2004	BJP	Vajpayee II Vajpayee III	Coalition	AC, AIADMK, AITC, BJD, DMK, IFDP, JKNC, JD(U), LJSP, LS, MDMK, PMK, RJD(D), RLD, SAD, SAP, SD, SHS, TRC / TDP
2004-date	INC	M. Singh I M. Singh II	Coalition	AITC, DMK, JKNC, JMM, LJSP, MDMK MUL, NCP, PMK, RJD, TRS / BSP, CPI, CPI(M), FBL, JD(S), RJD, RSP, SP

Note: Cabinet members and supporters did not necessarily serve for the full duration of the government; hence some parties appear as both cabinet members and outside supporters. The table excludes caretaker prime minister Gulzari Lal Nanda who served briefly as prime minister after the deaths of Nehru and Shastri. The P.V. Narasimha Rao government had no official outside supporters to my knowledge. Independents were also inducted into the Vajpayee I, Gujral, and Deve Gowda cabinets. The solid line separates the SPM government era from the coalition government era. The list of cabinet members and outside supporters includes all of the parties of which I am aware, but it may not be entirely complete.

### A6. Effect of the BSP in 1989

Page 75 includes footnote 16, which discusses the impact of the BSP on the 1989 election. The footnote indicates that the emergence of the BSP in the 1989 election did little to qualitatively change the outcome of the 1989 election for Congress. In column (1), the table below indicates how many seats various parties actually won in the Lok Sabha from Uttar Pradesh. Column (2) indicates how many seats the parties would have won if the BSP did not exist, all of its votes went to Congress, and all other vote shares remained the same. Column (3) indicates how many seats the parties would have won if the BSP did not exist, 75% of its votes went to Congress, the remaining 25% abstained, and all other vote shares remained the same. Even under the most favorable circumstances for Congress, the party would have gained an additional 20-24 seats, mainly at the expense of the Janata Dal, which would not have brought Congress anywhere close to a single party majority.

<i>Party</i>	(1) <i>Actual result</i>	(2) <i>If all BSP votes went to Congress</i>	(3) <i>If 75% of BSP votes went to Congress</i>
BSP	2	--	--
Congress	15	39	35
JD	54	37	41
BJP	8	5	5
Other	6	4	4
Total	85	85	85

## A7. Cabinet participation of Indian parties in the Lok Sabha, 1989-present

Page 77 refers to the number of parties winning Lok Sabha seats that participated in the cabinet. The table below lists all parties that won Lok Sabha seats and subsequently gained a berth in the cabinet (left) or did not (right).

<i>Parties in the Cabinet</i>	<i>Parties never in the Cabinet</i>
1. All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	<i>Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha</i>
2. All India Indira Congress (Tiwari)/ All India Indira Congress (Secular)	Akhil Bharatiya Lok Tantrik Party
3. All India Trinamul Congress	All India Forward Bloc
4. Arunachal Congress	All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen
5. Asom Gana Parishad	<i>All India Rashtriya Janata Party</i>
6. Bharatiya Janata Party	<i>Assam United Democratic Front</i>
7. Biju Janata Dal	Autonomous State Demand Committee
8. Communist Party of India	Bahujan Samaj Party
9. Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	<i>Bahujan Vikas Aghadi</i>
10. Indian Congress Socialist (Sarat Chandra Sinha)	<i>Bharipa Bahujan Mahasangha</i>
11. Indian National Congress	<i>Bharatiya Navshakti Party</i>
12. Jammu & Kashmir National Conference	<i>Bodoland People's Front</i>
13. Janata Dal	<i>Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)(Liberation)</i>
14. Janata Dal (United)	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
15. Jharkhand Mukti Morcha	<i>Gorkha National Liberation Front</i>
16. Kerala Congress (M)*	<i>Haryana Janhit Congress (Bhajan Lal)</i>
17. Lok Jan Shakti Party	Haryana Vikas Party
18. Lok Shakti	<i>Himachal Vikas Congress</i>
19. Maharashtrawadi Gomantak	<i>Indian Federal Democratic Party*</i>
20. Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	Indian National Lok Dal
21. Muslim League Kerala State Committee	<i>Indian People's Front</i>
22. Nationalist Congress Party	<i>Jammu &amp; Kashmir People's Democratic Party</i>
23. Pattali Makkal Katchi	<i>Janata Dal (G)</i>
24. Rashtriya Lok Dal	Janata Dal (Secular)
25. Rashtriya Janata Dal	<i>Janata Party**</i>
26. Samajwadi Party	<i>Jharkhand Vikas Morcha (Prajanatrik)</i>
27. Samata Party	<i>Karnataka Congress Party</i>
28. Shiromani Akali Dal	Kerala Congress
29. Shiv Sena	<i>Madhya Pradesh Vikas Congress</i>
30. Tamil Maanila Congress (Moopanar)	<i>Manipur People's Party</i>
31. <i>Tamizhaga Rajiv Congress</i>	Manipur State Congress Party
32. Telangana Rashtra Samithi	<i>Marxist Co-ordination</i>
33. Telugu Desam Party	<i>MGR Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam</i>
34.	<i>Mizo National Front</i>
35.	<i>Nagaland People's Council</i>
36.	Nagaland People's Front
37.	<i>National Loktantrik Party</i>
38.	Peasants and Workers Party of India

39.	Republican Party of India
40.	Republican Party of India (A)
41.	Revolutionary Socialist Party
42.	Samajwadi Janata Party (Rashtriya)
43.	Samajwadi Janata Party***
44.	Shiromani Akali Dal (Simranjit Singh Mann)
45.	Sikkim Democratic Front
46.	Sikkim Sangram Parishad
47.	<i>Socialist Unity Centre of India</i>
48.	Swabhimani Paksha
49.	<i>United Goans Democratic Party</i>
50.	<i>United Minorities Front, Assam</i>
51.	<i>Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi</i>

Of the parties listed in the table, 33 gained cabinet berths at some point, while 51 did not, for a total of 84 parties. Italicized parties are those that only won a single seat in elections from 1989 through 2009. A total of 31 parties are italicized, of which only one gained a cabinet berth. Thus, excluding parties that won have only won one seat over the course of seven elections from 1989 to 2009, 32 gained cabinet berths, while 21 have not.

Note that the table counts parties based on when they won representation in the Lok Sabha. As a result, several of the parties are marked with an asterisk.

\*The member of the Kerala Congress (M) who entered the cabinet did so after having defected to the Indian Federal Democratic Party. However, when the Indian Federal Democratic Party actual won a seat in the Lok Sabha in a general election, it did not gain cabinet representation. For this reason, the Kerala Congress (M) is listed as having won cabinet representation while the Indian Federal Democratic Party is not.

\*\*The Janata Party gained cabinet representation because it had a member of the Rajya Sabha (indirectly elected upper house) enter the cabinet. When the Janata Party won representation in the Lok Sabha, it did not gain cabinet representation; it is therefore listed as not having won cabinet representation.

\*\*\*Several members of the Janata Dal defected to form the Samajwadi Janata Party and entered the cabinet. However, when the Samajwadi Janata Party contested elections and won Lok Sabha representation, it did not enter the cabinet. The party is therefore listed as not having gained a cabinet berth.

#### **A8. Parties serving in cabinets headed by different parties**

Page 77 mentions the five parties, of which I am aware, that have served in cabinets led by different parties. They are listed below.

<i>Party</i>	<i>Cabinets</i>
All India Trinamul Congress	Vajpayee II (BJP) M. Singh II (INC)
Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	V.P. Singh (JD) Deve Gowda (JD) Gujral (JD) Vajpayee II (BJP) M. Singh I (INC) M. Singh II (INC)
Jammu & Kashmir National Conference	Deve Gowda (JD) Gujral (JD) Vajpayee II (BJP) M. Singh II (INC)
Lok Jan Shakti Party	Vajpayee II (BJP) M. Singh I (INC)
Pattali Makkal Katchi	Vajpayee II (BJP) M. Singh I (INC)

Note that the Lok Jan Shakti Party was formed during the Vajpayee II Cabinet.

### A9. Instances of invocation of President's Rule, 1952-2008

Page 77 refers to the frequency with which President's Rule was declared. The table below lists the instances of President's Rule by year.

<i>Year</i>	<i>President's Rule</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>President's Rule</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>President's Rule</i>
1952	1	1971	6	1990	4
1953	0	1972	1	1991	4
1954	1	1973	5	1992	4
1955	0	1974	2	1993	2
1956	1	1975	2	1994	0
1957	0	1976	3	1995	2
1958	0	1977	9	1996	2
1959	1	1978	2	1997	0
1960	0	1979	6	1998	0
1961	1	1980	8	1999	2
1962	2	1981	3	2000	0
1963	0	1982	1	2001	1
1964	0	1983	2	2002	2
1965	1	1984	1	2003	0
1966	2	1985	0	2004	0
1967	5	1986	1	2005	2
1968	5	1987	2	2006	0
1969	2	1988	3	2007	2
1970	3	1989	2	2008	1

SPM era (1952-89): 84 invocations over 38 years = 2.2 times per year

SPM era when Congress lost power in many states (1967-89): 74 invocations over 23 years = 3.2 times / year

Coalition era (1990-2007): 28 invocations over 19 years = 1.5 times / year

Note: No invocations of President's Rule occurred in 1989 after the general election; therefore the year is counted as part of the SPM era.



### **A10. Regionalist and non-regionalist regional parties by founding period**

Page 78 refers to the share of the 2004 vote won by new regional parties (founded in the coalition era) and old regional parties (founded in the SPM era) as well as the share of the new regional party vote won by regionalist parties and the share of the old regional party vote won by regionalist parties.

There are several small errors in the text, though they do not affect the substantive point being made in the article. The table below lists the figures in the text and the corrected figures.

	<i>Figure in text</i>	<i>Correct figure</i>
Vote share for major regional parties in 2004	37.5%	Same
Vote share for old regional parties in 2004	18.0%	18.2%
Vote share for old regionalist parties in 2004	11.1%	10.9%
Vote share for new regional parties in 2004	19.5%	19.3%
Share of old regional party vote won by regionalist parties in 2004	60%	Same
Vote share for new regionalist parties in 2004	1.1%	1.6%
Share of new regional party vote won by regionalist parties	6%	8%

Major regional parties are the 30 largest regional parties in the 2004 Lok Sabha election, which is equivalent to all parties winning 0.12% of the vote or more.

The table below lists the major regional parties based on the period during which they were founded (SPM or coalition era) and whether they are regionalist or not. As the text of the article indicates, parties are classified as regionalist if they invoke a region in their name. I have also extended that to include invocations of historical figures or religions associated with particular regions as in the case of the Shiv Sena, which references a Marathi historical figure, and the Shiromani Akali Dal, whose names indirectly invokes the Sikh religion, which originated and is based in Punjab. These also happen to be well known regionalist parties. The figure below reflects election results from 2004.

	<i>Founded in SPM era</i>	<i>Founded in coalition era</i>	<i>Total vote</i>
<i>Regionalist</i>	TDP (3.0%)	TRS (0.6%)	12.4%
	ADMK (2.2%)	MDMK (0.4%)	
	DMK (1.8%)	GGP (0.2%)	
	SHS (1.8%)	NPF (0.2%)	
	SAD (0.9%)	HVP (0.1%)	
	AGP (0.5%)	<b>Total: 1.6%</b>	
	JMM (0.5%)		
	JKNC (0.1%)		
	<b>Total: 10.9%</b>		
	<i>Non-regionalist regional</i>	CPM (5.7%)	
PMK (0.6%)		RJD (2.4%)	
RSP (0.4%)		JD(U) (2.3%)	
AIFB (0.4%)		AITC (2.1%)	
MUL (0.2%)		NCP (1.8%)	
JP (0.1%)		JD(S) (1.5%)	
<b>Total: 7.3%</b>		BJD (1.3%)	
		LJSNP (0.7%)	
		RLD (0.6%)	
		INLD (0.5%)	
		AD (0.2%)	
		<b>Total: 17.8%</b>	
<i>Total vote</i>	18.2%	19.3%	37.5%

### A11. Splits and mergers among the socialist and agrarian parties

Page 79 refers to the various splits and mergers that occurred among India's socialist and agrarian parties. The first table below lists the splits and mergers cited on page 79.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Event</i>
1952	Merger of Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP) and Socialist Party (SP) to form the Praja Socialist Party (PSP)
1955	Split of PSP into PSP and Socialist Party (SP)
1964	Merger of PSP and SP into Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP)
1964	Split of SSP into SSP and PSP
1971	Merger of SSP and PSP into Socialist Party (SP)
1973	Split of SP into SP and SSP
1974	Merger of SSP into the Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD)
1977	Merger of BKD, SP, Jana Sangh, Congress (O), and Congress for Democracy to form the Janata Party (JNP)
1979	Split of JNP into JNP and Janata Party (Secular) (later renamed Lok Dal)
1987	Split of Lok Dal into Lok Dal (A) and Lok Dal (B)
1988	Merger of Lok Dal (A), Lok Dal (B), Janata Party, and Jan Morcha to form Janata Dal (JD)

Page 79 also refers to the disintegration of the Janata Dal into a number of regional parties. The table below lists election results for the Janata Dal and its various successor parties in the six of the seven states where it performed best in 1989. The seventh state was Rajasthan, which never gave rise to a regional party.

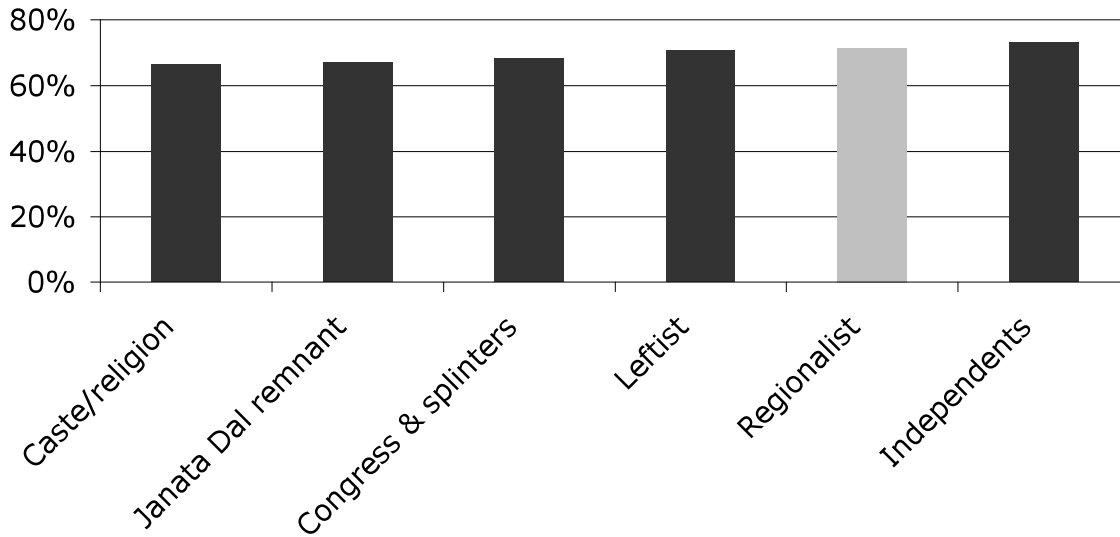
<i>State</i>	<i>1989</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1999</i>
<b>Janata Dal</b>					
Bihar	37.7%	34.1%	31.9%	8.7%	
Gujarat	27.8%	3.4%		2.9%	
Haryana	38.9%	12.5%	1.5%		
Karnataka	28.3%	17.7%	34.9%	36.2%	
Orissa	49.5%	34.6%	30.1%	4.9%	
Uttar Pradesh	35.9%	21.3%	4.3%		
<b>Samajwadi Janata Party</b>					
Bihar		5.9%			
Haryana		25.4%			
Karnataka		3.9%			
Orissa		2.3%			
Uttar Pradesh		10.5%			
<b>Janata Dal (G)</b>					
Gujarat		13.1%			
<b>Samata Party</b>					
Bihar			14.5%	15.7%	
Haryana			19.0%		
Orissa			1.6%		

	<b>Samajwadi Party</b>		
Bihar	1.3%	2.1%	
Haryana	1.1%		
Uttar Pradesh	20.8%	28.7%	24.1%
	<b>Rashtriya Janata Dal</b>		
Bihar		26.6%	28.3%
	<b>Biju Janata Dal</b>		
Orissa		27.5%	33.0%
	<b>Haryana Lok Dal (Rashtriya)/Indian National Lok Dal</b>		
Haryana		25.9%	28.7%
	<b>Lok Shakti</b>		
Haryana		11.5%	
	<b>Janata Dal (United)</b>		
Bihar		20.8%	
Karnataka		13.3%	
	<b>Janata Dal (Secular)</b>		
JD(S)		10.9%	

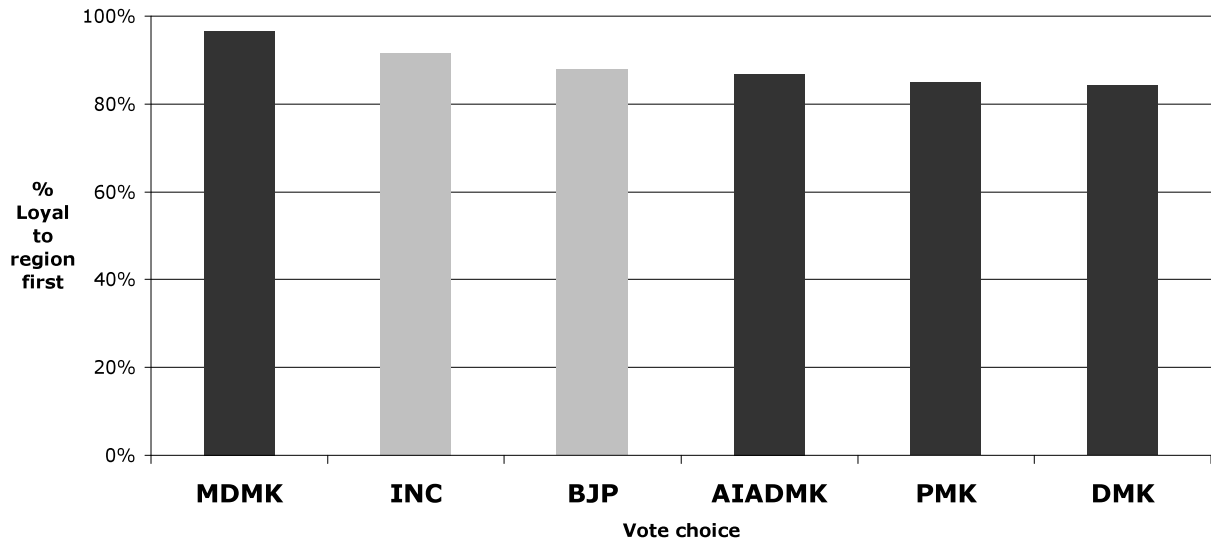
## A12. Survey data on regionalist sentiment by party type, 2004 INES

Pages 79-80 describe how respondents answered Question 24a in the 2004 Indian National Election Study (INES). Question 24a asked respondents to agree (strongly or weakly) or disagree (strongly or weakly) with the statement that a person should be loyal to one's region before one's country. Almost equal shares of those voting for national parties and regional parties agreed with the statement (strongly or weakly).

Each bar in the figure below presents the percentage of respondents voting for a particular type of party who agreed (strongly or weakly) with the statement. However, the figure breaks respondents down into categories other than regional or national. The categories are those voting for 1) caste or religion based parties, 2) Janata Dal remnants (which are all non-regionalist regional parties), 3) Congress and its splinters (which are non-regionalist regional); 4) Leftist parties (which are mostly regional, except the CPI); 5) Regionalist parties, and 6) independents. The x-axis represents vote choice. The bar heights are virtually identical for all parties. Even those who voted for regionalist parties are almost no more likely to agree with the statement than others.



The figure below is the same as the figure above except that it refers only to voters in the state of Tamil Nadu and breaks respondents down by the specific party they voted for. Regional parties are in black; national parties are in grey. There is almost no variation across parties, even in state where regional nationalism is thought to be quite strong. A similar lack of variation is evident across all major states.



### A13. Regional party vote shares by type of subnational unit

Page 83 refers to the average regional party vote shares won by different types of subnational units. The figure below presents the numbers from the article text in graphical form. “State” refers to regular states; “Special” to special category states; “UT” to Union territories.

