Acknowledgments

This work has been a long time in the making and over the period I have accumulated a large number of debts.

I must first thank Prof. Balveer Arora, my Ph. D supervisor, who gave me both the guidance and intellectual space to produce this doctoral dissertation. His observations and valuable suggestions have gone a long way in sharpening many of the arguments. He has been a big motivating force and a constant source of inspiration. I am indebted to him for his sage counsel and firm guidance.

I am also grateful to my teachers at the Centre for Political Studies, Prof. C.P. Bhambhri, Prof. S.N. Jha, Prof. Zoya Hasan and Prof. Gurpreet Mahajan for their advice and support. I must also thank Prof. Clemens Jürgenmeyer of the Arnold Bergstraesser Institut for his encouragement and the opportunities he has offered me.

I gratefully acknowledge the fellowship I received from the University Grants Commission. This work would not have been possible without the help of many libraries and librarians. Many thanks to the staff at the JNU library, especially the press clippings section, Indian Institute of Public Administration Library, The Election Commission library and the American Information Resource Center, New Delhi. I also thank Sivakumar and Sudha at the NRC, Batra Madam, Desraj and Satinder at the Rector I office and Arora, Asish and Vedpal at the CPS for their assistance.

Srinivasan took time away from his own work and taught me how to use Excel and his ready assistance in complicated matters considerably helped in my work. Thanks to Sujit for clarifying some points on the calculations in this study. I am particularly grateful to
Neeva who went out of her way to get me print outs of numerous articles and papers.

Ajay, Archana, Anitha, Basant, Sangeet, Shumana, Senthil and Rajesh. I am glad you are there. I am indebted to Sanjay, for many times, he has gone out of the way to extend support. A big thanks to him. Shaji has been a great friend and inspiration. Thanks Man! Prasad’s and Deoraj’s help on numerous occasions made things a lot easier. Life in Brahmaputra would not have been as it was, if not for wonderful friends like Mayil, Rajan, Venkat, Aseem, Dhrubha, Sarat, Shuklaji and Razi.

Special thanks, to Kunhi Krishnan Uncle and Ragini Aunty for getting me some of the books that were not readily available here. The Balakrishnan’s provided a home away from home, visiting them and spending time with Rahul, Sneha and Leena was welcome get away. Many thanks, to Sarsi Aunty, Vasu Uncle and Anand for their kindness and encouragement.

Of course, none of this would have been possible without the constant and overwhelming support of my family. My sister, Ponnu has given great love and encouragement in all that I have done. She deserves more gratitude, than I have shown and offered. My parents have always wanted us to have what they hadn’t and in the process have made a lot of sacrifices. I am grateful to them for providing me the opportunity to have this wonderful education. For their support, love and affection, this work is dedicated.

Kailash