CHAPTER-2
WORKING OF AKALI-BJP COALITION GOVERNMENT IN PUNJAB

2.1 SAD-BJP Coalition in Punjab

Punjabi society is an amalgamation of various gatherings separated along the lines of religion, standing, class, political belief system and provincial versus urban home. Cleavages along every one of these components have influenced constituent results and political methodologies in the state. In the year 1997, a coalition of Punjab's territorial gathering, the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) and conservative Hindu patriot party, the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) cleared the state get together surveys and shaped an administration vanquishing the Indian National Congress (INC, likewise alluded to as the Congress) and its partners.

Some quick inquiries come to surface. Why was SAD, a gathering that is the head illustrative of the Sikhs arranged to offer support to the main Hindu patriot party? There is something in a general sense beyond reconciliation between SAD's support for Khalistan, a different nation for the Sikhs and BJP's call for Hindutva, a development for Hindu patriotism. However, the two gatherings have framed a triumphant coalition three times in the current political history of Punjab. This paper will investigate the far-fetched agreement amongst BJP and SAD in Punjab and the motivating forces confronted by the two gatherings that urges them to fashion this organization together. Furthermore, the paper will talk about issues of monetary advancement under the SAD-BJP governments in Punjab.

The article contends that SAD and BJP were united in a far-fetched coalition fundamentally because of discretionary impulse. Since the SAD developed as a gathering of Sikh country agriculturists, it had a constrained interest among the state's huge urban Hindu minority. All things considered, it was constrained to look for partners even after the redesign of Punjab as a Sikh-larger part state in 1966. An organization with the BJP enabled the coalition to take advantage of a more extensive bolster base and effectively restrict the Congress in the state. For the BJP, SAD was an imperative provincial partner that could bolster the national party in New Delhi and increment BJP applicants' odds of winning in Punjab.

Be that as it may, their conflicting belief systems and separate vote banks makes arrangement accord an issue of dispute. This has had genuine ramifications for the state's economy which is gradually decelerating from its green upheaval achievement days. As opposed to executing approaches for income era, the two gatherings have been quarreling
about appropriation of the state's assets to their individual electorates as sponsorships and concessions, undermining improvement extends simultaneously. It is the poorer segments of society, particularly the Scheduled Castes (SC) populace that has endured the most as advancement plans are deserted or pulled back because of absence of assets.

The paper is comprehensively partitioned into four segments. The principal segment investigates a short history and development of the SAD. It diagrams the purposes behind SAD's inability to pick up larger part in state elections. The second area talks about impulses confronted by BJP that urge the gathering to shape coalitions with territorial gatherings, for example, SAD. The third segment portrays the appointive execution of the two gatherings as a coalition. The last area audits the financial guarantees made by the SAD-BJP coalition while in power, the degree of their execution and the dangers to the coalition inferable from contrasts in monetary strategy.

As the accompanying talk will illustrate, SAD is a gathering stuck at intersection of locale and religion.[1] While depicting itself as a gathering of the Jat-Sikhs (Sikh agrarian standing), it has needed to consider the expansive Hindu minority in the express that has not generally voted in favor of the SAD. Thus, to comprehend SAD's have to look for coalition accomplices, one needs to contemplate both the changing social socioeconomics inside the Punjabi society and in addition the verifiable setting of advancement of SAD as a political gathering of the Jat-Sikhs.

2.1.1. Evolution of the SAD

The SAD is one of the most established political gatherings in India. It taken an interest in the Indian battle for flexibility from British pioneer manage and later turned into the delegate of a particular Punjabi dialect and culture in post-freedom India. Pitiful has since quite a while ago championed the grievances of Sikhs in India-from the redesign of Punjab in 1966, calling for more prominent self-sufficiency under the Anandpur Sahib Resolution (ASR) to supporting severance from India to shape a different Sikh country of Khalistan. All the while, non-Sikh and particularly, non-Jat Sikh portions of the Punjabi society have progressively been persuaded to challenge the SAD at the polls.

2.1.1.1. Organization of Society in Pre-Partition Punjab

Pre-segment Punjab was portrayed by covering of regionalism, religion, class and the country urban separation. Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims framed the three fundamental religious gatherings. While there was no total convergence of the three religious groups in
particular locales, the Sikhs were numerically solid in the focal ranges of Punjab, Muslims numerically ruled in the western areas of pre-parcel Punjab and Hindus framed the lion's share in the Southeastern regions of Haryana.[2] as to class gatherings, Sikhs and Muslims shaped the landed lower class though the Hindus were essentially recognized as brokers and cash loan specialists. As needs be, city staying Hindus shaped a minority in rustic Punjab in respect to the Muslim and Sikh populaces while Muslims and Sikhs were basically distinguished as rural.[3]

2.1.1.2. Founding of SAD and Early Years
The Shiromani Akali Dal was set up on 14 December, 1920 as a religious-political gathering and the chief illustrative of Sikhs. It started as a political expansion of the Akal development for the change of Sikh spots of love amid the mid 1920s which had additionally settled the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC-the incomparable body for administration of gurdwaras-Sikh spots of worship).[4] In its initial years, SAD was dynamic in arranging morchas or dissent developments for control of and change in gurdwara administration. Its goals were accomplished with the institution of the Sikh Gurdwaras Act, 1925 and the legitimization of SAD and SGPC. Miserable from that point turned into a free political gathering, which, rather than working under the SGPC tried to control it through the discretionary procedure (Shiromani Akali Dal, 2012).

Tragic taken an interest in the Indian flexibility battle nearby the Congress with the expectation that a common and popularity based India will protect the privileges of the Sikh minority. Be that as it may, in the period taking after freedom, cracks created amongst Congress and SAD concerning the dialect issue.

2.1.1.3. The Punjabi Suba Movement
Taking after segment, another sort of character governmental issues started to come to fruition in Punjab. With an extensive scale cross movement of Hindus, Muslim and Sikhs over the India-Pakistan outskirt, the Indian condition of Punjab was left with a 61 for every penny Hindu lion's share and a 35 for every penny Sikh minority, according to the 1951 registration (Kumar, 2005). A development supporting Punjabi as the official dialect and medium of direction in all administration schools started to create in this period. Convergence of Sikhs in focal Punjab, nullification of reservation of seats for religious minorities in 1949 and redesign of other Indian states on phonetic grounds drove the SAD
to conceptualize a Sikh dominant part state, along these lines propelling the Punjabi Suba Movement.

Tragic's interest for a Punjabi talking region was, nonetheless, dismisses by the States Reorganization Commission in 1956 on grounds that Punjabi was not spatially or syntactically unique in relation to Hindi and that the development was not bolstered by the state's Hindus. Punjabi Hindus were anxious about a Sikh-lion's share state and went the extent that denying Punjabi as their first language and pronouncing themselves as Hindi-talking both in 1951 and 1961 statistics (Kumar, 2005). The "selling out" of Hindus disturbed the Akali administration's anxiety for saving an autonomous Sikh personality. The disturbance for a Punjabi Suba Movement proceeded under Master Tara Singh and later under Sant Fateh Singh until 1966 when Punjab Re-association Bill was at long last presented in the Parliament on September third (Shiromani Akali Dal, 2012).

Despite the fact that the Punjabi Suba Movement was propelled on semantic premise, it basically turned into a religious issue making a Hindu-Sikh partition apparent in the "clashing statements about the status of Punjabi as a tongue or a particular dialect and furthermore about what ought to be its script" (Kumar, 2005: 114).

Akali pioneers, for example, Master Tara Singh brought up emotive issues, for example, "the Hindus got Hindustan, the Muslims got Pakistan; what did the Sikhs get" (As cited in Kumar, 2005: 114). All the while, SAD came to be distinguished as a gathering of the Sikhs instead of a local gathering, a change that had long haul repercussions for SAD and added to the antagonism of the state's Hindu population.

2.1.1.4. Reorganization of Punjab

In 1966, post-parcel Indian Punjab was additionally trifurcated under the Punjab Reorganization Bill. The new condition of Haryana including 35.8% of the region and 37.37% of the populace was made from the southern Hindi talking locale while the northern bumpy regions were converged with Himachal Pradesh that got 23% of the domain and 7% of the populace (Kumar, 2005). Sikhs now turned into a larger part in what stayed of Punjab containing 63.7% of the populace while Hindus shaped a 35% minority loaning would like to SAD of an appointive triumph. [5]

2.1.1.5. The Khalistan Movement

The way in which Punjab was revamped left many issues uncertain that had the terrible result of assimilating a feeling of foul play among the Sikhs in Punjab. The state was one
of the last to be rearranged along etymological lines after 'quick unto demise' crusades by unmistakable Akali pioneers.

Chandigarh turned into a union domain and a mutual capital amongst Haryana and Punjab as opposed to being exchanged to Punjab. Neighboring conditions of Haryana and Rajasthan were given a positive treatment in water assentions. The inside held an extensive level of control over horticultural strategy and industry permitting elements seen as victimization the state. [6]

These grievances were enunciated in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution of 1973 whereby the SAD requested exchange of Chandigarh to Punjab, an expanded share for Sikhs in the military and decentralized federalism enabling more self-rule to state governments among different requests (Shiromani Akali Dal, 2012).

These grievances were formed in the talk of character legislative issues by pioneers, for example, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale who started supporting for a different Sikh state. While SAD dependably had an uneasy association with Bhindranwale, they proved unable "abandon him totally on the grounds that he gave off an impression of being working for the panth (Sikh people group)" (Van Dyke, 2009: 985).

Dismal's sponsorship to Bhindranwale and the subsequent mutual mobs in Punjab all through the 1980s amid the pinnacle of the Khalistan development brought about further estrangement of the Hindu people group. Tragic was marked as a religious gathering of the Sikhs, additionally adding to the difficulties of picking up an appointive triumph as a single party.

2.1.2. Narrow Social Support Base and the Need for an Ally

In the 1960s, the structure and piece of SAD experienced a huge change inferable from the ascent of the Jat-Sikh lower class in Punjab's legislative issues. Tragic basically turned into a gathering of the Jat-Sikhs. Amid the fifteen years of the Punjabi Suba Movement, SAD had assembled a vast area of rustic Sikh populace to take an interest in different fomentations and morchas bringing about a procedure of popularity based developing. Moreover, picks up from the Green Revolution prompted the financial strengthening of the Jat-Sikh working class that came to have a personal stake in governmental issues and portrayal. While before 1966, SAD's authority had originated from the upper station white collar class urban sections of society, since the Punjabi Suba Movement, Sikh and Akali governmental issues came to be overwhelmed by Jat Sikhs (Kumar, 2005). All things considered, SAD's allure among different segments of society
suddenly declined as its prevalence among the rustic working class expanded. The accompanying elements added to the narrowing of SAD's bolster base and the ensuing requirement for looking for coalition partners.

2.1.2.1. Caste Divides
Position legislative issues in Punjab has a solid relationship with changes that the Punjabi society experienced amid Green Revolution. No place else in India was the Green Revolution as effective as in Punjab. Inside a couple of years of its presentation, Punjab picked up the title of 'the storage facility of India' and 'the bread wicker container of the nation' as wheat and rice creations took off. Of the considerable number of states, Punjab's horticultural development rate was the most noteworthy from the 1960s to the center of 1980s. [7] Along with the specialized and institutional developments of Green Revolution, credit was likewise given to the ambitious and dedicated ranchers of Punjab who had a place with the agrarian standing of Jats. "Their adoration for land and the high esteem they joined to the act of self-development ('khudkasht') assumed a critical part in making the Green Revolution an example of overcoming adversity in the district, much before it spread to different parts of India" (Jodhka, 2006). The financial achievement of the cultivating class quickly conveyed the Jat-Sikhs to the inside phase of governmental issues in Punjab.

As said above, Jat Sikhs have framed the essential social bolster base of SAD. Notwithstanding, the Sikh populace in Punjab comprises of numerous position bunches other than the Jat-Sikhs who represent just a single third of the aggregate Sikh populace. The Scheduled Caste Mazhabi Sikhs constitute another 20 for every penny of the Sikh populace and have generally contradicted the Jat-Sikhs who are viewed as world class proprietors by this gathering. Different gatherings incorporate the vendor standings, for example, Khattris, Aroras, Suds and other non-Jat gatherings, for example, Ramghariyas (Wallace, 1985). Since the SAD hosts advanced as a gathering of the Jat-Sikhs speaking to rustic rural interests, the non-Jat segments of Sikh populace host voted in favor of gatherings other than SAD like BSP, Congress and Communist Party of India. SAD is therefore limited in its appeal to a wide cross-section of Punjabi society.

2.1.2.2. Rural-Urban Divide
Siromani Akali Dal had a strong following among the rural community segments of Punjabi society. Its scope has been constrained in the urban zones which have customarily
voted in favor of the Congress. Additionally, the Sikhs shape a larger part in the rustic regions and the Hindus in urban territories. As Paul Wallace (1985: 367) has expressed: "There is an inquisitive statistic highlight of Punjab which comes about in solid Sikh rustic larger parts, as well as in similarly solid Hindu urban greater parts." While the SAD has been effective in catching the upper layers of the rich Jat-Sikh working class in provincial regions, in urban regions, it gets little support from the upper layers of the Hindu and Sikh commercial gatherings or the lower layers of experts and breadwinners (Corsi, 2006). Larger part country Jat-Sikh votes in favor of SAD are consequently adjusted or even undermined by greater part urban non-Jat Sikh votes in favor of different gatherings, for example, the Congress.

2.1.2.3. Political Competition
Punjabi society is likewise separated along political introductions. A noteworthy portion of Sikhs, including Jat-Sikhs have customarily been voting in favor of the Congress which has a more extensive social bolster base than SAD-"the cross-shared base of Congress was confirm in the way that Congress prevailing with regards to getting chose more Sikh applicants than the Akali Dal in the principal general get together elections after the redesign of Punjab". [8] Furthermore, in the vicinity of 1967 and 1992, the Jat Sikhs found the middle value of 37.47 for each penny among the Congress MLAs chose (Kumar, 2004). A little minority of Sikhs likewise bolsters the Communist Party of India. Indeed, even as a gathering of the Jat-Sikhs, SAD has been not able maintain a strategic distance from Jat-Sikh votes going to different gatherings because of ideological and political rivalry that rises above religious and position divisions.

2.1.2.4. Factions within SAD
Every once in a while, SAD has experienced factionalism and contradiction inside the gathering which intensifies its issue of increasing discretionary lion's share as a solitary gathering. In 1967 when SAD-Jan Sangh-CPI government was in power in the state, 19 MLAs driven by Harcharan Singh Hudiara and Lachhman Singh Gill defied the SAD and declared the development of a different Akali Dal diminishing the joint front driven by Gurnam Singh to a minority (Shiromani Akali Dal, 2012). In the wake of secessionist requests in the 1980s, the SAD was separated along a range of positions-conservatives driven by Prakash Singh Badal and hard-liners driven by Talwandi and Tohra. [9] Each group attempted to utilize the other for its own political leverage which brought about a
greatly factionalized Akali administration. Amid the 1999 parliamentary elections, applicants from other Akali Dal (AD) groups, for example, AD (Amritsar), AD (Panthic) and AD (Democratic) held hands with the Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal (SHSAD) driven by Tohra to go up against SAD-BJP and the Congress. While this coalition of Akali groups just enlisted triumph in one electorate, it was effective in siphoning Sikh votes that prompted AD (Badal) misfortunes in no less than three different voting public (Chima, 2002). Inward dispute and factionalism has in this manner been a scourge of Akali governmental issues, seriously bargaining its odds of aelectoral victory.

2.1.2.5. Failure of SAD coalitions with other parties
Miserable was attracted to BJP as a potential coalition accomplice because of a disappointment of coalitions with different gatherings in Punjab. Prior to the April 1996 parliamentary elections, SAD endeavored to hold hands with Kanshi Ram's Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP). Punjab has the most noteworthy populace of SCs in India. SCs framed as high as 28.31 for every penny of the state's populace in 1997.[10] It was trusted that an organization between SAD which had a taking after among rustic Jat-Sikhs and the BSP with its SC constituent base would be helpful for both sides. In any case, the SC segment of the Punjabi populace that for the most part included bricklayers, development specialists, landless workers or farming workers held profound hatred against the well off Jat-sikh laborers (Verma, 1999). This association consequently did not go far and SAD was constrained to search for another partner (Wallace, 1997).

4.1.2.6. Identity Politics runs out of currency
The 1997 elections denoted a uniqueness from the mutual position that Akalis have customarily kept up, (for example, through Punjab's redesign, ASR and support for the Khalistan development). Perceiving that a huge greater part of the populace was never again intrigued by self-sufficiency or withdrawal, SAD was constrained to desert its panthic (religious) governmental issues and leave on a stage of peace and amicability with an accentuation on monetary and formative issues. So as to best show its sense of duty regarding public peace and concordance, BJP was maybe the best coalition applicant that the Akalis could look for.

Every one of these components have prompted the distinguishing proof of SAD with a thin social base. It was at that point distinguished as a gathering of Sikhs yet inferable from an adjustment in its administration and statistic shifts achieved the Green
Revolution, it basically turned into a gathering of agriculturalists or Jat-Sikhs who lived in rustic Punjab. Political rivalry from the principle restriction party, the Congress and in addition different gatherings, for example, BSP has prompted a considerably littler offer faithful to SAD. To compound things advance, the different fractures and groups inside SAD have just served to make it weaker. By the 1997 decisions, unmistakably the SAD required an option that is other than its trademark of 'the panth is in threat' to win votes. The acknowledgment that SAD will dependably think that its hard to come to control all alone drove the gathering to contact the approximately 40 for each penny Hindu minority as an appointive coalition with the BJP which has a bolster base among urban upper standing Hindus. [11]

2. 2. BJP Reaches Out to Punjab
In accordance with its most recent political technique, the BJP has been extending to states other than the Hindi-heartland. Perceiving that it required territorial support to oust the dominion of Congress at the middle, BJP started a procedure of framing coalitions with state governments to build up its bolster base in the fringe states. This area examines the conditions under which BJP was constrained to look for provincial partners, for example, the SAD in Punjab.

2.2.1. ‘Sikhism is a Hindu Sect’
"While guaranteeing full regard for the political and social equality of all subjects, the BJP has, in its political practice consistently, exhibited that its rendition of Hindu patriotism frequently conflicts with for the most part recognized elements of Indian majority rules system, particularly minority rights". [12]

Given BJP's position on minority issues, ironically the Hindu patriot party fashioned an organization with the SAD, a gathering speaking to the Sikh minority in India. For a gathering that has so unequivocally talked against 'spoiling of minorities' and has so vociferously contradicted the uncommon arrangements made to Jammu and Kashmir under Article 370, to hold hands with SAD which just a couple of years prior had upheld secessionism, positively brings up an issue check. How is the introduction of Sikhs clarified in BJP's Hindutva talk of India as a place that is known for Hindus?

As indicated by Gurharpal Singh (1997: 274), "for the BJP and its sister associations, Sikhism is basically an aggressor Hindu group, a 'military face' of Hinduism." At the tallness of the inconveniences in 1984, a BJP determination announced 'The Sikh Panth
was destined to ensure Hinduism and the revered Gurus yielded themselves and their dear youngsters to secure Hindu respect. The Sikh commitment to the quality and thriving of India is wonderful, and the country is really grateful'.[13] Thus, instead of Islam and Christianity which are intrinsically "outside" to India, Sikhism has extent of having a place, yet as a 'Hindu organization'. As per BJP's rationale, the origin of Sikhism has been inside the India and all things considered it is particularly a piece of the Hindu country. In this manner, to the extent the nationalistic philosophy of BJP goes, Sikhs are an 'ideal minority'. The ideological obstacle of shaping an organization together with SAD is subsequently effortlessly overcome.

2.2.2. New Era of Coalition Politics

BJP's ascendance in Indian governmental issues has run parallel to the downfall of Congress' administration. The 1989 parliamentary elections conveyed genuine multi-party rivalry to surface and introduced time of coalition legislative issues at the middle. Contrasted with just a single coalition government before 1989, 6 out of 7 governments at the inside since 1989 have been coalition governments made out of different national and state parties. The vast majority of these gatherings have created inventive methods for extending their bases, to a great extent through coalition plans with other national and state parties. [14]

Concerning the BJP, despite the fact that it risen as a solid test to Congress in the mid 1990s, it was not able secure a lion's share at the inside. It in this manner grasped coalition legislative issues in light of a 'seat modification' handle with its partners, whereby the two gatherings concur not to challenge certain seats against each other. BJP had tried different things with coalition governmental issues amid the 1989 parliamentary decisions when it consulted with the Janata Dal on seat alterations and the two gatherings together won 144 seats with BJP winning 55 of its 86 seats (Shridharan, 2003). By extending a similar practice to state gathering decisions of February 1990, BJP framed an administration all alone in Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh and in coalition in Rajasthan and Gujarat (Shridharan, 2003). Miserable BJP organization together in Punjab was a further coherent development of BJP's coalition rehearse in other states.

2.2.3. Increasing Importance of Regional Parties

As the most recent two decades have appeared, the part of provincial gatherings in framing coalitions at the middle with national gatherings has turned out to be progressively critical. In the 1998 and 1999 parliamentary decisions, the BJP won 180
and 182 seats alone with its organization together accomplices including another 87 and 117 seats individually (Chima, 2002). Paul Wallace has portrayed this new part of the local political gatherings as "the tail that sways the elephant" rather than the other way around (Wallace, 1999).

Akali Dal has been a critical accomplice in the BJP-drove National Democratic Alliance (NDA) coalition governments at the middle since 1998 (Table 4.1).

**TABLE 2.1: Lok Sabha (Lower House) Election Seats won by SAD and BJP in Punjab**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lok Sabha Election Year</th>
<th>Seats won by SAD (won/contested)</th>
<th>Seats won by BJP (won/contested)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>8/8</td>
<td>3/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2/9</td>
<td>1/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>8/10</td>
<td>3/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>4/10</td>
<td>1/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Election Commission of India

Then again, BJP has done significantly well in Punjab in a cooperation with SAD (see Table 4.2). Besides, in the April 1996 parliamentary surveys, BJP while challenging alone neglected to win a solitary seat out of the six that it challenged in Punjab, its survey rate being 6.46 for every penny. Conversely, in collusion with SAD in the February 1998 parliamentary decisions, "BJP's survey rate expanded to 10.95 for each penny just in three Lok Sabha seats which the gathering effectively challenged". [15]

It is hence justifiable that BJP has been laying an expanding accentuation on developing such provincial agreements which it accepts will build its street to national power.

**TABLE 2.2: Punjab State Assembly Election Seats won by SAD and BJP in coalition**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Punjab Assembly Election Year</th>
<th>Seats won by BJP (won/contested)</th>
<th>Seats won by SAD (won/contested)</th>
<th>Incumbent Party/Parties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>18/22</td>
<td>75/92</td>
<td>SAD-BJP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>3/23</td>
<td>41/92</td>
<td>INC-CPI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>19/23</td>
<td>48/93</td>
<td>SAD-BJP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>12/23</td>
<td>56/94</td>
<td>SAD-BJP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Election Commission of India
2.2.4. BJP compelled to become moderate

In the 1991 parliamentary elections, BJP had chosen to challenge all alone with no 'situate modifications,' which in the long run prompted the gathering being not able pick up a dominant part. [16] There can be two conceivable purposes behind BJP making this intense move. The principal identifies with occasions encompassing the Babri-Masjid/Ayodhya Mandir discussion which the BJP helpfully used to dispatch a key mass development to "free" the origination of Lord Ram, embracing a stark collective stage all the while. Besides, the gathering planned to profit by the upper station reaction against the past government's execution of the Mandal Commission Report that would ensure a 27 for every penny reservation to SCs and Scheduled Tribes (STs) and in addition to Other Backward Classes (OBCs) (Shridharan, 2003).

BJP's common methodology made it the second biggest gathering in the Lok Sabha where it won 120 of 543 seats and its vote share expanded to 20 percent (Shridharan, 2003). In any case, by the 1996 decisions, BJP was "attempting to accommodate its hard Hindutva line with the exigencies of coalition governmental issues, essentially in light of the fact that it had neglected to win any partner in the consequence of 1996 general election". [17] Even however BJP risen as the biggest party in Parliament, it neglected to win a vote of certainty and needed to renege energy to the United Front.

By the 1998 Lok Sabha decisions, perceiving the points of confinement of its enraptured shared belief system, BJP set out on another methodology intended to summon a larger part coalition under its initiative. If it somehow happened to end up plainly an effective compel in national governmental issues, it needed to extend geologically and ideologically connecting with the provincial gatherings, to OBCs, SCs, STs and to poorer segments of society as opposed to staying limited to upper station Hindus. BJP needed to shun its fundamentalist position which would not have been adequate to its coalition accomplices. It in this way dropped its Hindutva stage from the National Agenda for Governance (Shridharan, 2003). It is this directing impact that urged BJP to look for local partners, for example, SAD so as to win votes in state and in addition national decisions.

The way that the Akali Dal looked for BJP as a partner, a political gathering known for its Hindutva plan, focuses towards the vital impulse confronted by the Akali Dal where vanquishing the Congress picked up priority most importantly else. Political power in post-1966 Punjab had rotated amongst SAD and the Congress. Akalis found in BJP a promising partner fit for testing the authority of Congress manage by excellence of its status as a national gathering and its climbing power at the middle. Likewise, Congress
frames the biggest restriction gathering to BJP at the inside. BJP trusted that coalition courses of action with local gatherings, for example, SAD in Punjab will convey it nearer to framing a greater part government in New Delhi.

The two gatherings likewise meet in their commonly good methodologies for development. Dismal in Punjab found a coalition accomplice equipped for drawing in upper station Hindu votes which have customarily been outside of the Akali domain. BJP was picking up notoriety among urban Hindu voters in Punjab who had been voting in favor of the Congress. Dismal being a country local gathering had impressive after among the landed working class however did not have a constituent base in the urban communities which could be given by the BJP. Thus, BJP's parliamentary hopefuls have met with extensive achievement in Punjab getting votes from its Hindu populace as well as from Jat-Sikh workers in country regions who, for example, voted to support BJP in the 1998 parliamentary surveys because of its cooperation with SAD (Verma, 1999).

There was a general feeling that "though the Akali Dal spoke to the Sikhs, the BJP spoke to the Hindus and that they together would guarantee peace, solidarity and flourishing in Punjab" (Verma, 1999: 3519). Miserable BJP coalition appeared to be superbly integral considering the Hindu-Sikh enraptured political flow in Punjab.

Indeed, even the distinctions in the philosophies of the two gatherings may work for their shared favorable position. By BJP's naming of Sikhism as simply one more type of Hinduism, the Sikh people group is spared from the threatening treatment that BJP reaches out to different religious minorities in India. Then again, lining up with the BJP may really furnish SAD with the best any expectation of keeping up an unmistakable Sikh personality. As indicated by Gurharpal Singh (1997: 275), SAD clarifies the ideological stuff of the BJP in the dialect of the 'more seasoned sibling': "Though the SAD's union with the BJP appears to represent the best risk to a particular Sikh personality since the late nineteenth century with its potential for digestion into Hinduism, political realists inside the SAD appear to have figured that their common co-operation gives the most extreme extension to safeguarding Sikh character and, in fact, propelling the plan for political self-sufficiency." By collaborating with the BJP, SAD has made for itself a place of refuge where it can keep on representing Sikhs without an altogether danger from the Hindu patriot party.

The two gatherings have additionally discovered shared conviction on a stage of 'religiosity'. In passionate talk, the two gatherings concur that Punjab is a sacred place where there is masters and sanctums and all things considered just religious gatherings
have a privilege to represent the state. On a few events since the development of the partnership, Badal has "guaranteed to the general population of Punjab both "Ramrajya" and administration on hold of the Sikh lord Ranjit Singh moved into one" (Chandoke and Priyadarshi, 2006, 816). While trying to supplement its coalition accomplice and keeping in mind the end goal to engage Punjab's Hindu populace, SAD hosts announced that the get-together will work for the' Panth, Punjab, Punjabi and Punjabiyat ', the last term expected to convey a message of incorporation (Chandhoke and Priyadarshi, 2006: 817).

[18]
A quick look at the SAD-BJP coalition legislative issues may appear to be unexpected at first however as the above discourse has enlightened, the two gatherings have a few functional motivations to manufacture an organization together that adds to the political strength of both sides.

2.3. SAD-BJP Electoral Politics
As talked about before, SAD rose to political unmistakable quality in redesigned Punjab and turned into the essential contender to the INC in discretionary governmental issues. Be that as it may, even after the rearrangement of Punjab, SAD thought that it was hard to shape a dominant part government all alone given its thin bolster base which was to a great extent packed in the Jat-Sikh working class. Subsequently, coalition legislative issues was acquainted with Punjab as right on time as 1967 when Akali Dal prevailing with regards to framing a coalition government with the prior rebirth of the BJP-Jan Sangh and the Communist Party under the Chief Minister-ship of Sardar Gurnam Singh (Kumar, 2005).

The coalition government was fruitful in executing a portion of the Akali requests, for example, the foundation of the three dialect arrangement in 1969 that gave Punjabi the status of first necessary dialect and medium of direction in all administration schools (Kumar, 2004). In any case, the administration soon fell attributable to interior dissention and the state was put under President's Rule requiring a mid-term survey won by the Congress (Shiromani Akali Dal, 2012). In 1977, subsequent to rising as a solid resistance party against Congress' Emergency Rule, Prakash Singh Badal framed a coalition government with the Janata Party and CPM. Together the organization together won 91 seats against 17 of the Congress (Shiromani Akali Dal, 2012).

The SAD-BJP affiliation started in 1993 when direct Akalis energized Sikh voters in Delhi to vote in favor of the BJP in the Delhi Assembly elections. After winning in Delhi,
the new BJP government responded Akali bolster by proclaiming Punjabi as a moment dialect and propelling bodies of evidence against the counter Sikh agitators (chiefly Congressmen) of 1984, accordingly solidifying fellowship between the two gatherings (Singh, 1997).

2.3.1. 1997 Assembly Elections
In 1997 assembly elections, the Akali Dal gone into a formal partnership with the BJP so as to pick up support from the Hindu and urban portions of the state, notwithstanding securing a dominant part all alone (Wallace, 1997). The SAD-BJP organization together won 93 of the 117 seats (Akalis 75, BJP 18) securing the most astounding ever count of seats in the state lawmaking body (Wallace, 1997). BJP won twice the same number of seats as its prior symbol Jan Sangh in 1967 making it a promising discretionary partner to the Akalis (Verma, 1999). Contrasted with a low voter turnout of 22 % in the 1992 elections because of a blacklist from all Akali groups, the 1997 elections saw a great 68.7% turnout (Jodhka, 2005).

The street to accomplishing a fruitful coalition, be that as it may, was loaded with obstacles. Achieving accord required arrangement on various issues. Dismal's election pronouncement, while underlining Hindu-Sikh peace, additionally reasserted ASR requests. BJP's pronouncement then again, stayed contradicted to the ASR requests however rather proposed to actualize the Sarkaria Commission's proposals of "expanding state powers and consummation the abuse of Article 356 which had propagated the 'Congress Raj'" (Singh, 1997). With an end goal to smooth away contrasts, BJP pioneer Atal Bihari Vajpayee "demanded that this principle strategy difference between the two gatherings was not a noteworthy hindrance; the AD(B) had, all things considered, submitted itself to ensuring peace, national respectability and public concordance" (Singh, 1997). The coalition was in this way ready to defeat any through and through clash accordingly of appeasing endeavors of the pioneers of both sides.

Another purpose of enthusiasm with respect to the 1997 get together decisions was that surprisingly since the most recent couple of decades, the ethno-semantic talk of personality governmental issues predominant in Punjabi legislative issues was supplanted by financial political issues and Hindu-Sikh concordance. The principal topic of the new SAD-BJP join spun around the issue of defilement of the past Congress government. While trying to check brutality and militancy predominant in Punjab until the mid-1990s, the Congress government in power since 1992 elections spent an extensive segment of the
financial plan on security contraption with no responsibility. Consequently, 'Opportunity from defilement' turned into the resonating trademark of the union on the premise of which it tried to activate the Punjabi open. Pitiful BJP guaranteed to "set up a Lokpal, which would bring the main clergyman under its domain, and which would convey the state from defilement" (Chandhoke and Priyadarshi, 2006: 816).

The SAD-BJP organization together proceeded and further combined in the 1998 parliamentary decisions. The SAD-BJP join won all the eleven parliamentary seats that it challenged in Punjab (Verma, 1999). Their association in this election really went past minor constituent methodology. Veering from the personality legislative issues of yester years, the Akali Dal attempted to extend a more agreeable picture worthy to its senior accomplice in national governmental issues promising 'helpful federalism' over 'fierce regionalism' (Jodhka, 2005). The 1998 Manifesto of the Akali Dal discharged before the parliamentary decisions underlined:

"The Akali-BJP government has opened another section in focus state relations, introducing the period of helpful federalism in the nation. The period of encounters has been adequately finished and supplanted with forward-looking pushed on cooperating for the general great of the state and the countries" (As cited in Jodhka, 2005: 227).

The SAD-BJP coalition was additionally merged in the 1999 Lok Sabha elections where the two gatherings entered the decision shred together. Akali pioneer Prakash Singh Badal shunned neighborhood issues and concentrated rather on India's military triumph in Kargil under Vajpayee and the last's bona fide accreditations as the "Swadeshi" (from one's nation) instead of Sonia Gandhi as the "Videshi" (outsider) as the Prime Minister. In a discourse in Dhudike town, the origin of Lala Lajpat Rai, Badal proclaimed "Choosing a videshi would add up to invalidating the penances made by the considerable saints, Singh, Raj Guru, Sukhdev, and Lala Lajpat Rai." Hence, SAD "similarly coordinated the patriot dash of its decision coalition accomplice" (Verma, 1999: 3527).

2.3.2. 2002 Assembly Elections

In the 2002 Assembly elections, Congress come back to control in Punjab. The execution of the main SAD-BJP coalition in government was not noteworthy as the consolidate neglected to convey on the populist guarantees it made in 1997 and was debilitated by inward quarreling between the two gatherings (Verma, 1999). Akali hardliners contradicted BJP's position on the Sikh-lion's share area of Udham Singh Nagar being converged with Uttaranchal since Sikh land proprietorship would have been
antagonistically influenced by the lower arrive roof in the recently made condition of Uttarakhand. They additionally disagreed with BJP's Hindutva plan and protested the consideration of 'Saraswati Vandana' (Hindu supplication) and 'Vande Matram' in instructive foundations (Verma, 1999: 3524). Certain groups inside the SAD returned to religious plan and raised the trademark of panthic solidarity.

It was because of these disappointments that Congress and its partners were the triumphant coalition in 2002 elections –

"The BJP disappointed the Hindu voters who saw that it played a moment fiddle to Akalis. Some BJP functionaries in the state credited the gathering's thrashing to variables, for example, Akali Dal's failure to address the urban worries of BJP vote bank, interior quibbling inside the BJP, absence of coordination between coalition accomplices and lacking media administration" (Verma, 2002: 2283).

The 2002 get together decisions saw a sharp polarization of votes between the Congress and SAD alone as their partners were not as fruitful in winning seats (Verma, 2002). CPI, Congress' partner won just a single out of the 11 seats it challenged while BJP challenged 23 situates yet just won three. Thus, the suspicion that the SAD-BJP join would keep the Congress (I) far from power demonstrated untenable (Verma, 2002).

2.3.3. 2007 Assembly Elections

By the 2007 state elections, the SAD was attempting to infiltrate further into Punjab's urban and Hindu portions. So as to assault the conventional Congress bolster base, SAD energized Hindu administration inside the SAD by offering tickets to seven Hindu hopefuls (Singh, 2007). Miserable's endeavors appeared to be productive as the SAD-BJP coalition won 68 situates out of a 117. Miserable won 48 situates in 2007 contrasted with 41 in the 2002 state decisions while BJP picked up an unsurpassed high of 19 seats contrasted with an insignificant three seats in 2002. 2007 elections thusly observed an expansion in BJP's vote share giving the SAD-BJP a possibility against the disappointments of the past Congress drove government.

2.3.4. 2012 Assembly Elections

Since the revamping of Punjab in 1966, voters host not permitted the same get-together or coalition to come back to control for a successive term. In any case, the 2012 Assembly decisions denoted the main occasion of a similar gathering/coalition coming to control for a moment continuous term. Dismal BJP enlisted a moment triumph by winning 68
situates together against Congress' 46. Dismal won 56 of the 94 seats it challenged while the BJP won 12 out of 23 challenged. Contrasted with the 2007 decisions, SAD's vote share expanded while that of BJP diminished (Table 2). Solidifying its endeavors from the 1997 and 2002 elections, SAD's election declaration avoided any dubious public issues and focussed rather on improvement and Hindu-Sikh solidarity. Outstandingly, 9 of the 12 Hindus, who interestingly found a place in SAD's applicants list, won their elections (Sahgal, 2012).[19]

Meanwhile, preceding the Assembly decisions, BJP stressed the advancement accomplishments of the SAD-BJP coalition in building six-path roadways, enhancing transport administration and emergency vehicle offices and in addition enhancing instructive chances to young ladies by offering free training up to the twelfth level in government schools (Sharma, 2012). Pitiful BJP organization was positively demonstrating tough as the coalition made history by framing an administration again in 2012.

2.4. SAD-BJP Coalition and Economic Development in Punjab
Punjab has had an astounding record of development contrasted with most other Indian states. The State had the most astounding per capita wage in the nation up to 2003-04. Other advancement pointers in Punjab have additionally been very great. The neediness proportion in the State has dependably been far lower than the all India figures of populace beneath the destitution line. In 1973-74 when the populace underneath the destitution line (BPL) in India was 54.93 percent, it was just 28.08 percent in Punjab; in 1999-2000 the figures for the nation and Punjab were 26.10 and 6.16 percent separately and in 2004-05 the same was 21.80 at the All-India level and Punjab represented just 5.20 percent of the BPL populace (Sawhney, 2012: 52).

In any case, since the 1990s, there has been a progressive deceleration in Punjab's economy (See Table 4.3). [20]
TABLE 2.3: Average Annual compound Growth Rate of Gross State/National Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time-Period</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61 to 1965-66</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66 to 1968-69</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71 to 1975-76</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>5.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75 to 1978-79</td>
<td>5.74</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81 to 1984-85</td>
<td>5.37</td>
<td>5.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-86 to 1989-90</td>
<td>5.24</td>
<td>8.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-93 to 1996-97</td>
<td>3.08</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-98 to 2001-02</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: P- Primary Sector; S- Secondary Sector; T- Tertiary Sector; O- Overall growth rate

There are many reasons that can clarify Punjab's lazy development rate. The state was immersed in savagery and political agitation all through the late 1980s and mid 1990s. Monetary procedures, in these conditions couldn't continue ordinarily and there was gigantic capital flight. Progressive governments since the 1990s have been taking after populist strategies that prompt monetary wickedness. Agribusiness, which has been the pillar of the Punjab economy, is no longer as productive. Soil richness and water table levels have endured because of many years of concentrated horticulture amid the Green Revolution stage prompting lower profitability levels. The pace of modern improvement has been moderate in Punjab. Besides, the legislature has done little to meet the formative needs of the state in the course of the most recent two decades. The question to be investigated here is what amount of this change can be ascribed to approach and administration under SAD-BJP run the show? What impact does a coalition between these two gatherings have on the development and advancement of Punjab?

Most disputable promises made by the SAD-BJP government in 1997 was the arrangement of free trench water for water system and free power for working tube wells to the ranchers. The rancher's entryway in Punjab has dependably been dynamic in
looking for rural appropriations from the administration given their clout in the SAD. In any case, now that SAD was in coalition with the BJP, the issue of free water and power turned into a bone of dispute between the two accomplices. BJP blamed the SAD for favoring its conventional vote bank and occupying assets from the mechanical part and urban zones, estranging the non-rural Hindu populace all the while (Verma, 1999). Irritated by the expanded power charges, the general observation among urban occupants was that "industry, exchange and trade in the urban areas are being utilized by the administration for cross-appropriation of the ranch division" (Verma, 1999: 3521). BJP additionally communicated solid disdain against the continuation of octroi and a climb in deals assess.

Also, encouraging free water and energy to the agriculturists added to the state's obligation. Free dissemination of indispensable assets just added to financial shortage predominant in the state since the mid-1990s. Toward the finish of March 1996, Punjab's obligation of uncommon remarkable credits to the middle was almost 60,000 million Rupees which made the monetary obligation rate about 30% (Singh, 1997). Against this high rate of obligation, rather than presenting income expanding strategies, the legislature was purging the state exchequers, which the BJP was obviously despondent about.

One of alternate guarantees of the legislature had been to enhance obtainment procedures and showcasing offices to ranchers. Amid the paddy obtainment season in 2000, agriculturists were compelled to offer their products at a much lower rate than what is set as the base bolster cost by the focal government because of cases by acquisition operators that the paddy was of sub-par quality (Jodhka, 2006). There was no space for capacity of grains conveyed to the mandis (showcasing focuses) and gunny sacks loaded with rice could be seen lying around on streets, in schools or in any unfilled space. Numerous obligated little and minimal ranchers who were not able offer their yields depended on extraordinary strides of conferring suicide (Jodhka, 2006).

The administration had likewise guaranteed to build houses for the SC and those living underneath neediness line in each town which went down as another fizzled conspire. Rs. 60 crores was put aside in the 1997-98 spending plan for the development of 12,000 houses in all the 17 areas of the state. Be that as it may, because of budgetary requirements, the objective was decreased to 8,800 houses, out of which by 1999, just 4,124 houses were dispensed (Verma, 1999). In this manner the administration pulled
back the plan out and out. On this the CPI MLA "blamed the Punjab government for pulling back the expert planned rank approaches and plans one by one" (Verma, 1999: 3521).

By financing water and power, abrogating octroi and keeping deals assesses low, the SAD-BJP government was transparently taking after populist approaches promising everything to everybody. As per Sawhney, (2012: 58) "Populism undermines the limit of the administration to raise assets and enhance the efficiency of income and at last, these concessions result in less assets left for social improvement programs and a decrease in venture on wellbeing, instruction and other social administrations." This system has just served to hurt the long haul monetary prosperity of the general population in Punjab.

In 2010, a noteworthy split created between the two gatherings when BJP blamed SAD for reinforcing its own particular appointive base at the cost of its union accomplice. BJP charged that "Badal took a one-sided choice to occupy Rs 733 crores implied for urban framework advancement to 35 civil bodies that shape BJP's vote bank" (Garewal, 2010). [21]. As per the BJP, the income was created by forcing charges in urban territories with a BJP vote bank, yet the sum was rather being utilized to charm the vote bank of SAD (Garewal, 2010). These contradictions over financial approach and barefaced utilization of state assets to fulfill party vote banks exhibit the weakness of the cooperation that have the capability of extremely undermining the toughness of the coalition in future.

In general, Punjab was in a condition of monetary emergency amid the SAD-BJP's term in office. Income consumption because of appropriations to ranchers far surpassed income gathering as assessments were kept low. Grand advancement plans to help the weaker segments of the populace met a tragic destiny and as said above, were even pulled back. Absence of coordination between the two gatherings and their interior battles to designate concessions to their own particular electorates prompted exhausting of state coffers. Curiously enough, "some Akali clergymen reprimanded the brokers for financial emergency as they didn't pay the business assess though the BJP pioneers credited it chiefly to free power and water to the ranchers" (Verma, 1999: 3521).
References


