Chapter Three
CHAPTER – III

ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE OF BIJU JANATA DAL

This Chapter makes a study of BJD in Orissa politics by focussing attention on the electoral politics of the state (1990-2004). To understand the BJD it would be better to analyse the JD (former BJD), which will be, provide a clear, political map of the electoral politics in Orissa. It gives a chronological explanation to various questions that are related to the electoral politics and BJD in party system. What changes or shifts has been taken place in leadership pattern and issues of various political parties in Orissa and particular to Biju Janata Dal? What is the impact of electoral politics on the party building in a fragmented society, which had peculiar characteristics of its own? Whether it (BJD) is increased as a regionalized or not? Has it been able to develop a social base distinct from Congress or BJP?

Therefore, this Chapter an attempt has been made to examine the electoral performance of BJD in Orissa politics within the framework of the Orissan party system. The BJD participated in the electoral politics as new party in 1998. For analytical purposes it is necessary for analysed the 1989, 1991, 1996 1998, 1999 & 2004 Lok Sabha election and 1990, 1995, 2000 & 2004 State Assembly Elections.

State Assembly Election in 1990: Formation of Non-Congress Govt. in Orissa

The political parties participated in the unprecedented elections to 10th State Assembly held in February/March 1990 in a quick manner with a pre-planned electoral strategy. This election was held on the background of 1989 Lok Sabha
Election. The major contenders in the elections were the Congress (I), the Janata Dal, the BJP, the CPI, CPI (M) and other independent. The CPI and CPI (M)'s role was relevant only in relation to the Janata Dal. The Nature of electoral strategy and political alliances of the Janata Dal with the left parties\(^1\) was opposition to Congress party. Other parties, which contested the election of their own, were a marginal interest.

An analysis of the election programmes and issues of major parties will shows that, by 1990 the Congress focussed its attention on issues nearly a decade like rural upliftment, Public health, welfare of the scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes, development of agricultural, industry and other socio-economic measures.\(^2\)

The Janata Dal (latter BJD) concentrate on industrialisation of Orissa, through the second steel plant at Daitari, radical steps to remove of corruption, criminalisation, public health and sanitation.\(^3\) It is also speak 18 point programme which is emphasised on pro-labour policies were promises during the elections. These are providing agricultural lands to landless, inefficiency and providing better opportunities to the backward classes in the society etc. During his (Biju Patnaik) election campaign the major issues are self-respect for Oriya people, which is similar to the N. T. Rama Roa's of Andhra Pradesh strategy in elections\(^4\). He had alleged that center was deliberately keeping the state backward. The most

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\(^1\) The alliances were manifested under the leadership of Biju Patnaik. This alliance was materialized on two grounds:
- a. the alliance with the CPI and CPI (M) would give a chance to the Janata Dal ally for social and regional expansions, and
- b. the alliance took up the issues of pro-labour and populism measures and the issues of "Central Discrimination" against the province of Orissa.

\(^2\) Election manifesto of congress party (I) (Bhubaneswar. February 19, 1990.)

\(^3\) See, Election Manifesto of Janata Dal, The Samaj, Cuttack, dt. 20-2-1990

\(^4\) The Samaj, dt. 28-2-1990.
interesting in this elections that, the Janata Dal had strategically decided to ignore both the Mandir and Mandal issues.

The leftist programme is briefly provided for the establishment of a government which can guarantee equitable and distribution, increase production one effect proper distribution, guarantee proper health facilities to the weaker sections of society\(^5\). With these issues and programmes the parties in Orissa contested the election. The pattern of electoral alliances shows that the Janata Dal entered into 18-point programme electoral pact with CPI and the CPI (M).\(^6\) Table 3.1 reveals is the performance of several parties in 1990 State Assembly elections.

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\(^5\) Election Manifesto of CPI and CPI (M), in Samaj, (Cutack), dt 21-02-1990.


\(^6\) ‘Protective discrimination’ for the ‘backward castes’, as suggested by the B. P. Mandal Commission, has a long history in India. Considered to have been suffering from disabilities due to social discrimination and exploitation for centuries, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were given statutory guarantee of ‘protective discrimination’ for their social and economic advancement. Since government jobs were considered to be the most important and preferred avenue of employment, in highly stratified society of India such demands were made form other section as well. As demands for reservation for the ‘backward castes’ were made since the 1950s. Kaka Kalelkar Commission was set up by the central government in 1953 with the task that the Mandal Commission was entrusted with in 1978. The Kalelkar Commission report, submitted in 1955, identified 2,399 castes as backward, but failed to recommend a foolproof formula for reservation; naturally the report was shelved. In 1977-78, the then Bihar Chief Minister Karpur Thakur introduced 26 percent reservation for the OBCs. The formula, which took into account the economic backwardness as a criterion for reservation, provoked violent outbursts in the state in which 118 people was reported to have been killed. The Madhya Pradesh government raised the reservation from 28 percent to 32 percent in 1985, which sparked off violent riots and arson. So widespread and alarming was the trouble that the government was forced to withdraw the decision. Gujarat shared the same fate in 1985 when the Madhasinh Solanki government fell following the introduction of reservation in promotions in medical colleges. These illustrations draw out the fact that north India has not had a consensus regarding reservations for the OBCs.
Table 3.1: Performance of parties in 1990 State Assembly Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Contestants</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>% Of votes polled</th>
<th>Total of No. Of Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29.78</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata Dal</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>53.69</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI (M)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata Party</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others &amp; Independent</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>8.26</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>913</strong></td>
<td><strong>147</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>147</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Report on General Election, 1990 to the Legislative Assembly of Orissa, Election commission of India, ND. 1990

An analysis of the performance of various parties will show that in this election the Janata Dal and its allies was won 129 seats with 53.69% of valid votes polled. The left list parties, CPI, CPI (M) have able to maintain their position in some pockets of coastal regions. The CPI and CPI (M) won 5 & 1 seat respectively. The 1990 State Assembly election was significant because the Congress dominance over a decade comes to an end. The Congress Party, which had won 119 seats in the 1985 Assembly elections, won only 10 seats with 29.78% of valid votes polled. The Bharatiya Janata Party, it improved its position marginally by capturing 2 seats out of 65 contested showing of 3.9% of valid votes polled in State Assembly Elections in 1990. However, the Janata Dal won more than 2/3 majorities in the Assembly. The Congress party performance was poor. Two former cabinet ministers was – Basanta Ku. Biswal & Ramachandra Ulaka and one former Chief minister – Hemananda Biswal elected to the Legislative Assembly. Shri Janaki Ballav Patnaik, the Congress Party Chief Minister did not contest the election.
The new ministry was formed under the leadership of Mr. Bijayananda Patnaik. For the first time, in the history of the state politics, a non-Congress party remained in power and ruled uninterruptedly for a period of five years under the same leader. In this sense, a single non-Congress party have provided political stability prevailed in Orissa from 1990-95, when the next General Election was due along with the general election at the National level.

State Assembly Election in 1995: Resurgence of Congress Party in Orissa

The 11th General Elections to the Orissa State Legislative Assembly was held on March 7 & 9, 1995. The major parties that contested the election were Congress, Janata Dal, CPI, CPI (M), BJP and others. During the elections the real motives behind the electoral strategies and political alliances among several parties during these elections, because of realisation of competition and bargaining among several opposition parties in power politics. The 1995 State Assembly election was significant because of two grounds were:

a) The post phase of implementations of the Mandal commission’s recommendations\(^7\) for OBC reservation, the BJP’s Rathayatra\(^8\), a march from Somnath on Gujarat to Ayodhya in UP\(^9\), that catapulted the Babri Masjid

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\(^7\) A significant aspect of the political alignments for the election was between the Janata Dal and left parties i.e. CPI and CPI (M). The two left parties expected that the Janata Dal would leave 20 seats for them, but they were given only 13, nine for the CPI and four for the CPI (M). Later the Janata Dal put up candidates in five of these seats – four of them allotted to the CPI and one to the CPI (M). While the CPI refused to withdraw its candidates from Jharsuguda, Basta, Bangiri Posi and Soro, the CPI (M) has withdrawn its nominee from Baisinga.

\(^8\) Yatra, a Sanskriti word, means journey, prefixed with teertha it means pilgrimage. The use of yatra in this context was symbolic and evocative, since in popular parlance it evokes the pious memory of pilgrimage.

\(^9\) The political significance of the two places and sites must be underlined here. Somnath is the site of an ancient temple of Lord Shiva. The Temple was plundered and ravaged several times by Mahmud of Ghazni during his campaigns on India in the 11th century, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, first deputy prime minister of Independent India took it upon himself to rebuild the temple and restore its glory. The BJP had used the case of Somnath to plead its case for Ram temple in Ayodhya; arguing that as the Somnath temple was rebuilt at the initiative of the
dispute into National prominence and the forex crisis leading to the implementation of the first phase of IMF sponsored package of ‘liberalisation’ policy.\textsuperscript{10}

b) The formation of ‘Left democratic front’\textsuperscript{11} to fight the Congress (I) on the one hand and the state Janata Dal on the other. It seems first time in Orissa had shown a three cornered contest among the Janata Dal-left combine, the Congress (I) and the LDF and a four cornered one in the BJP’s pockets of influence, mostly in the western Orissa.

The electoral process in 1995 showed that parties i.e. the Congress party on the one hand, and on the other hand the Janata Dal and left combine political forces and their electoral issues were sharply divided as compared to previous elections. Although other parties contested the election, the contest was primarily between the Congress (I) and the Janata Dal. Other parties, which contested the election of their own, were of marginal interest.

In the fought between the Congress and the Janata Dal, the main issues were who would put the better policies for tackling problems of poverty in under

\textsuperscript{10} Liberlisation policy beginning under the late prime minister Rajiv Gandhi in the 1980s and accelerating under the prime minister, P.V Narshima Rao and finance minister Manmohan Singh, the indian economics undergone a renaissance. The elimination of many of the restriction, controls and licences has free Indian business to stand or fall on their own. The resulting gains in efficiency and economic groth, Which has average nearly fivr percent a year since the beginning of the reforms under Gandhi, Have stoked the groth of a pro democratic middle class and built up support for the congres party as a reform oriented party of the futured.see for more discussion John D.Sullivan, ‘Democrasation and business intrests’ in Larry Diamand and Marc F.Platter edited, Economic reforms and democracy, BaltiMore: Johns Honkins University Press, 1995,P.187.

\textsuperscript{11} The formation of ‘Left democratic Front’ (at the state unit of Orissa) which constitute of the six non-Congress (I) parties like Samata Party, Samajwadi Party, the socialist party, the forward BIOC, the SUCI and the CPI (ML) was announced on December 31, 1994.
develop state of Orissa? Ideological conflict about ‘Liberalisation’ did not make much impact on the electorate. The Congress party stood for Liberalisation policy.

A comparative analysis of the election programmes and issues of several major political parties will show that, the Janata Dal focussed like welfare of OBC, SCs and STs, providing housing facilities, rootout disease and illiteracy, guarantee proper health facilities to all sections of the society.12

During these state assembly elections, the Congress (I) election manifesto provided for a permanent solution to the chronic poverty through large dose of investment in industry, reservation to (OBCs) other backward classes, welfare of minorities, SCs and STs and speedier implementation of programmes.13 The constitutes of parties under the banner of ‘Left democratic front’ – which Rabi Ray had conceived on the “third force in Orissa politics” put forward various programmes but major issues laid down on anti-liberalisation policy.14

Table 3.2: Performance of parties in State Assembly Elections in 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Parties</th>
<th>No. of Candidate</th>
<th>No. of seats Were</th>
<th>Percentage of Vote</th>
<th>Total No. Of seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>39.08</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata Dal</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>35.41</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>7.88</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata Party</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samata Party</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. M. M.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI &amp; CPI (M)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others &amp; independent</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.51</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


12 Election manifesto of Janata Dal, 1995
13 Election manifesto of INC, 1995
Table 4.2 gives a picture of the performance of several parties in the 1995 election. It shows that the Janata Dal’s fall, from 123 Assembly seats in 1990 to 46, and the Congress (I)’s rise from 10 to 80 seats with 35.41% and 39.08% of valid votes polled by the Janata Dal and the Congress (I) respectively. While one of the constituent of third free, the Janata party won 04 seats and 1.94% of votes. The left democratic front consisting of the Samata Party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India (SUCI), the liberation group of the communist party of India, (Marxist – Leninist) and the socialist party has not won a single seat. The CPI was won only one seat and 2.32% of votes. The performances of communists and the independents were also poor. The Jharkhand mukti morcha won 4 seats from the tribal areas of Mayurbhanj (Bangiri Posi and Kuliana Constituencies) and Sundargarh (Biramitrapur & Raghunath palli constituencies) areas of the state.

**Failure of Janata Dal**

An analysis of Janata Dal failure and the performance of other parties can be categorized as:

a) The first factor was the breakdown of the JD-Left Front alliance in Orissa. According to the terms of this alliance, CPI was given Jagatsingpur Lok Sabha seat and CPI (M) got the Bhubaneswar seat from which they had been contesting and winning since 1989. However, the alliance received a serious jolt in the 1995 assembly elections because the LF walked out of the alliance at the last moment.

b) The Janata Dal’s falling was not merely the policies followed, but also governance. For instance, Biju Patnaik’s reaction to incidents such as the liquor tragedy in Cuttack in undemocratic manner.
c) Failure of anti-centre strategy. For instance, he (Biju Patnaik) spoke of the need for an Assam-type agitation against the centre.

d) Biju Patnaik’s pro-liberalisation policies, which is identical to that of the Congress at the centre in the beginning of his government. It is also noteworthy here that reacting to communist’s criticism of the policy of ‘liberalisation’ Biju Patnaik called them non-entities in Orissa politics but later part of his ministry criticised the liberalisation policy of centre. This creates the question of credibility.

e) Failure to implement the 18-point programme promised in 1990 elections.

State Assembly Elections in 2000: Victory of BJD-BJP alliances

Election to the state Legislative Assembly was held on February / March 2000. The major parties who contested the election were Congress, BJD, BJP, CPI, CPI (M), Jharkhand and Mukti Morcha and others. The motive of electoral strategy and political alliance between the BJD and the BJP as continuing since 1998 Lok Sabha election were:

a) Opposition to Congress

b) Realization of competition and bargaining power politics in changing political environment;

c) Maintaining their support base and trying to expand of their social and regional support base; and

d) Strengthening the anti-Congress vote bank in a one platform.

The 12th State Assembly Election was held in Orissa on the background of the story of devastation caused by the cyclone in Orissa a few months before the
elections. The major parties to contest this election were the Congress, and the BJP-BJD alliance. The other political parties have a marginal role.

An analysis of election issues and programmes of the several major political parties will show that, the BJD focused its attention on issued its 22-point election manifesto, which promised to make Orissa one of the leading states in the country in terms of development of railways, highways, communication and industry. The manifesto pledged to allowed special category status to the state. The BJD also focused its attention on issues like grant more powers to Western Orissa Development Council (WODC), special assistance and greater justice for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, women, minorities and weaker sections of society, development of agriculture and other socio-economic measures.

The BJP concentrated on issues like free and compulsory primary education public health and sanitation. It also spoke for providing agricultural lands to landless, removing corruption, inefficiency and providing better opportunity to the backward classes in the society, special autonomy to (WODC) Western Orissa Development Council. It also spoke for change the culture of governance i.e. based on Suraksa, Shuchita, Swadeshi and Samrastra.

The Congress party concentrated on issues like fight against communal forces, attention to WODC, stability and good governance, providing better opportunities to women, minorities, backward classes, weaker sections of society, etc. The leftist programme of the communist in brief provided for the

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15 In 1998, the Orissa Government formed the Western Orissa Development Council (WODC) which was not acceptable by political leaders belonging to the Coastal Districts. As the Western Orissa Development Council (WODC) does not enjoy full financial autonomy, it can't undertake development projects. The Concil was recostituted early 1998, but it needs govt. sanction for every project it plan to undertake.


17 Election manifesto of BJP, 2000
establishment of a government which can guarantee equitable land distribution, guarantee proper health facilities to all section of the society and corruption free
government and alloutibility.\textsuperscript{18}

With these issues and programmes, the political parties in Orissa contested the election. The common among all major parties put the issues of 'governance' in their manifesto.

Table 3.3: Performance of parties in State Assembly Elections in 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Contestants</th>
<th>Seats gained</th>
<th>% of votes polled</th>
<th>Total No. of Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34.68</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJD</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>27.83</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23.24</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JMM</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI (M)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent &amp; others</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.77</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4.3 gives a picture of the performance of several parties in the 2000 election. It shows the BJD won 68 seats and 27.83% of votes, while the BJP won 38 seats and 23.24% of votes. The Congress party win only 26 seats and 34.68% of votes. The BJD BJP combine has picked up 106 out of 147 seats in the Assembly. The BJP was successfully in capturing many seats from the Tribal areas of the State (North-Western regions), because of the larger ideology of the BJP had to be

\textsuperscript{18} Manifesto of the left parties for Assemble Election 2000.
combined with the imperatives of the local issues. The BJD retained its stronghold in the coastal part of the state. The Biju Janata Dal - Bhartiya Janata Party alliance proved impressive because both the parties together captured 106 seats and 51 percent of votes. Between them the two parties secured nearly 51% (BJD 29.63% percent an BJP 23.24 percent) of the total votes polled in the state. This shows that it was the BJD and the BJP alliance, which emerged as a major threat to Congress dominance in the state politics. The performance of communist and the independents were also poor. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha won 3 seats and 3.62% of votes from the tribal areas of the state. Therefore, the 2000 state assembly elections once again reflected people's choice for the BJD-BJP alliance government in the provinces.

The election provides the Non-Congress coalitions (BJD-BJP) an opportunity to form the government in the state. The new government was formed under the Leadership of Naveen Patnaik. After assuming government, Patnaik

19 The Biju Janata Dal - Bhartiya Janata Party alliance proved impressive because both the parties together captured 106 seats and 51 percent of votes.

20 Thus, the Congress defeat can be attributed to leadership tussel, administrative inefficiency, corruption, and emergence of a strong opposition. People were frustrated with the Congress as its failed to keep up to its promises. The gap between the promises and achievements were still wide. Hence, the people wanted on alternative to the Congress and therefore, voted negatively against it.

21 The Jharkhand Mukti Marcha won two seats from (Kuliana and Baripada) mayurbhanj district and one seat for Biramitrapur of Sundargarh district. All three seats has came from North-western where Tribal dominated areas of the state.

22 The New Ministry consist of the following members (Assumed change of office on 5-3-2000)

1. Naveen Patnaik – Chief minister
2. Ananda Acharya
3. Bhagabat Behera
4. Kamala Das (W)
5. Nalini Kanta Mohanty
6. Surendranath Naik
7. Ramakrishna Patnaik
8. Biswabhusan Harichandan
9. Memgala Kishan
10. A. U. Singh Deo

BJD Legislators in Cabinet minister

BJP Legislators in Cabinet minister

88
promised to people of Orissa to providing a clean and transparent administration of the state. His ambition was to put Orissa on a higher economic platform and give a new image to the provinces by bringing it at par with other advanced provinces of the country.\(^23\)

The declines of the Congress party was not concentrated to the coastal areas of the state only, but in three tribal-dominated districts, seven in western Orissa and two in the central part of the state, the party could not win a single seat. (See table)

**The BJD and BJP victory: its causes**

An analysis of political alliance between the BJD-BJP victory and their performance of 2000 state assembly elections has given many reasons for success were: The post-cyclone phase the Congress Party failure to give good governance to the people due to sloppy relief work, corruption, bureaucratic apathy and so on.

a) The NDA govt. at the centre where BJD as a partner which is also helped for the BJP-BJD success in Orissa. People realised that unless BJP-BJD is voted to power, it would not be difficult to get central assistance for the all-round development of the state.

b) The Congress failure can be attributed to factional politics within the Congress, administrative inefficiency, corruption and emergence of strong opposition. People were frustrated with the Congress as it failed to keep up to its promises. The gap between the promises and achievements were still wide. Hence, the people wanted an alternative to the Congress.

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3. The Samaj, dt. 6-3-2000 Cuttack.
The 2004 General elections: Resurgence of BJD-BJP Alliances

The assembly elections, due nearly next year, have also been advanced in the state and held along with Lok Sabha elections in April 2004. The major parties who contested the elections were Congress Party, Biju Janata Dal, BJP, CPI, CPI (M), OGP, Janata Dal(s) and others. The nature of electoral strategy and political alliances among opposition parties were:

a) Realization of competition and bargaining among each other to be in political power in coalition era both at National as well as state politics.

b) Consolidating their support base and maintaining the space in the Political Map of the State. The Congress, on the one hand, had formed alliances with the Orissa-Gana Parishad (OGP), CPI, and CPI (M). It also made an electoral alliance with the JMM.

The electoral process in 2004 shows that both the alliances and electoral issues were sharply divided as compared to previous elections. Although several parties contested the election, the contest was primarily between the Congress & its allies, and the BJD-BJP alliances. The OGP, JMM, CPI; CPI (M)'s role is relevant only in relation to the Congress. Other parties which were contested the election of their own were of marginal interest.

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24 The opposition alliance (Cong-OGP-Left-JMM) was manifested under the Leadership of Janaki Patnaik, Bijay Mohapatra and Shalkhan Murmu. This alliance was materialized on two grounds:

a. The alliance with the JMM would give chance to maintained the long term erosion of (Adivasi) scheduled Tribes support base to congress ally in western region, and

b. The new party OGP took up the issues of authoritative functioning of Naveen Patnaik.

25 The Congress, which was the main constituent of the Congress and its allies, was allocated 124 seats to contest. The other constituents of the Congress and its allies were allotted seats as follows:

Jharkhand Mukti Morcha – 8 constituencies
Orissa Gana Parishad – 8 constituencies
CPI – 4 constituencies
CPM – 3 constituencies
In the fight between the Congress and the BJP-BJD alliances, the main issues was whether will people vote for Naveen Patnaik or Janki Patnaik? Ideological conflict about “Progress” and “reaction” did not make much impact on the electorate. The BJP-BJD alliances promised that a BJD-BJP govt. can only provide and ensure stability and central assistance will be more, only if BJD-BJP govt. in the state. The Congress and its allies, on the other hand, accused the center for neglecting the states need and claim that rapid and balanced economic growth will be possible only under a govt. More closely identified with the state’s aspirations. Bijay Mohapatra, the President of Orissa Gana Parishad and one of the founding member of BJD, claimed that the BJD failure to fulfil its promised to secured ‘ special category state’ status for Orissa or a special package for the state’s poor, except in the KBK (Kalahandi – Bolangir – Koraput) district. He also claimed that the demand for the concurrent economic powers, which could enable the state to mobilize internal resources and also to obtain foreign investment, was not incompatible with “National Discipline”. He refereed to Chandra babu Naidu’s contact abroad for industrial progress in the state. This was clear with the formation of BJD-BJP in the state. The future of political alliance shows these two parties will not able to form the next ministry at the state. On the other hand, Naveen Patnaik claimed the Congress and its ally’s coalition was a “corruption

26 The BJD-BJP appeal for a BJD-BJP govt. in the state to ensure stability and greater centre and was a point in case. Further BJD-BJP had another asset in Mr. Vajpayee’s “image”. For the Urban voter, in particular, the name of Atal Vajpayee had some magnetic appeal. These were important advantage for the BJD-BJP alliances. The point, which was against the BJD-BJP alliances, especially BJD were that the party suffered from high degree of suspension and ouster from the party. On the eve of election, the party was looks like far from being a cohesive political force. Men like J. B. Patnak, Bijoy Mohapatra on the other hand may not have been universally loved, but they were experienced political leaders.

27 Interview with Bijay Mohapatra dt. 23-03-2004.

28 Interview with Naveen Patnaik, President of Biju Janata Dal and Chief Minister of Orissa, BJD office, Bhubaneswar on dt. 18.04.2004.
club". This coalition of Congress Party will not be successful because the coalition lost the support of the people because of party’s unpopular strategy and internal groupism.

Thus, in the 2004 elections, the two major contenders were the Congress and the BJP-BJD alliances. The other parties, which contested the election, were OGP, JD (S), CPI, CPI (M), BSP, SP, and S.U.C.I. The performances of various parties in the election are given in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Performance of Parties in State Assembly Elections in 2004.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of parties</th>
<th>No. of Contestants</th>
<th>No. of seats won</th>
<th>% of votes</th>
<th>Total No. of seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biju Janata Dal</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhartiya Janata Party</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress Party</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa Gana Parishad</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JMM</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI (M)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15.96</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>147</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>147</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: a) National Informatics Centre-Assembly Elections 2004  
b) The Prajatantra, Date 14.05.2004  
c) CSDS Data Unit.

It shows that the BJD emerged on the single largest party securing 61 seats. One of the interesting features of this election was that the non-Congress party received for the conjunctively second time to form the government in the state. Of course, in 1990, the Janata Dal had received 110 seats. But the Janata Dal of 1990 was an undivided Janata Dal. The Janata Dal (S) was offspring of the state unit of Janata Dal while the OGP under the leadership of Bijau Mohapatra as factional
groups offsprings of the Biju Janata Dal (BJD) in 2000. The two major split within the state unit of Janata Parivar create a major setback in state Janata Dal in Orissa party politics.  

The Congress Party won 38 seats. The BJP got 32 seats, JMM 4 seats; CPI and CPI (M) 1 seats each, OGP won 2 seats and independent 8 seats. Thus, the 2004 election brought a change in the election pattern of the state with regard to the two poles i.e. the Congress and its allies and the BJD-BJP alliance.

The ‘special category state’ status for Orissa plea made by the BJD had hardly any psychological impact on the electorate in Orissa. The BJP for the first time won seats from all the districts of the provinces. The Orissa Gana Parishad poor performance can be attainable to the pre-poll factionalism within the party. The Orissa Gana Parishad was one of allies of Congress Party in 2004 State Assembly elections. Several leaders including Tathagatha Sathpathy joined BJD from Orissa Gana Parishad early of the elections just to teach a lesson to the party bosses. Selection of candidates, lack of financial resources, was some of the important causes for its downfall.

The Congress party won 38 seats and 34.8 of popular votes, the JMM 4 seats, and Orissa Gana Parishad 2 seats, CPI & CPI (M) won 1 seat each. The Congress and its allies won 46 seats, while the BJD-BJP alliance won 93 seats. Thus, the 2004 election, once again reflected peoples choice for BJD-BJP coalition

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29 In 1990 General Election, the Janata Dal (former BJD) and left combine had won 123 seats out of 147 under Biju’s leadership. Other opposition parties together had 34 seats. In the 1995 General Election, again the leadership of Biju Patnaik, the Janata Dal had won 46 seats. In 2000, with the formation of BJD, the Janata Dal demise and no single seat won under Ashok Das leadership, while the BJD of Naveen Patnaik won 68 seats out of 84. In 2004, with the formation of Orissa Gana Parishad (2000), the BJP won 32 seats while BJD won 61 seats under the leadership of Naveen Patnaik.

Talking to press persons at his residence, a beaming Mr. Patnaik congratulating the people of the state for reposing their faith in the BJD-BJP alliance. Good governance and transparency were the factors that helped the alliance win the polls, he said adding that the Government would continue its good work in its next term to realise Biju Patnaik’s dream of building a prosperous Orissa. The BJD was successfully in capturing many seats from the coastal areas of the state, while the BJP was dominated in Northwestern regions of the Orissa.

The election provides the BJD-BJP alliance with another opportunities to form the non-Congress government in the state. The new government was formed under the Leadership of Naveen Pataniak. The BJD president and Orissa Chief

31 The Congress Party leader Mr. Patnaik, as the leader of opposition, commented that the BJD-BJP should keep up its “tall promises” made to people before the election. Among the factors which led to the victory of the BJD-BJP, Mr. J. B. Patnaik accounted few as (1) ‘Misuse’ of central and state government machinery; (2) Atal Bihar Vajpayee’s popularity among Urban Voter of Orissa; (3) ‘threat’ by Prime Minister and the Home Minister that Orissa’s development would suffer unless the BJD-BJP combine was brought to power. He further commented: “If I had even 50% of total no. of constituencies campaign, we would have swept the polls. There is no question of popular support for the BJD-BJP alliances”.

32 The Hindu dt. 14.05.2004

33 The Hindu dt. 14.05.2004

In the 2004 election, a few ex-ministers of Orissa were defeated prominent among the Arabindo Dhali and Bed Prakash Aggarwal from the BJP and Panchanon Kanungo from BJD. Many members who had changed their party affiliations, were also defeated, prominent among them were the ex-MP, Kumadini Patnaik, Sarat Kar, a ex-speaker of BJD-BJP alliance ministry defected from BJD and joined to the Congress. The prominent losers in the Congress included the former Chief minister Hemananda Biswal, the leader of opposition in the dissolved assembly, Ramakanta Mishra, and the president of OGP, Bijay Mohapatra. The lone Janata Dal(s) candidate, and president of the party’s state unit Ashok Das, was defeated in the Korei segment by Sanchita Mohanty of the BJP.

34 The New Ministry consists of following members (Assumed charged on 16-5-2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ministers of State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Balabhadra Majhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Rabi Narayan Nanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Debasis Nayak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Nagendra Kumar Pradhan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(BJD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Chief Minister – Naveen Patnaik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kalindi Behera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Prafulla Chandra Ghaidei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Padmanabha Behera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Pramila Mallik (W)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
minister, Naveen Patnaik, came out of his father, the late Biju Patnaik’s shadow today when he led the BJD-BJP alliance to victory in the Assembly polls in the state. \(^\text{35}\)

**BJD-BJP alliances victory:** It’s causes / Orissa was one of the few states that withstood the Congress resurgence across India. Despite the dual dangers of incumbency at the state and National level, the Biju Janata Dal and the Bharatiya Janata party were able to hold on to their position in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha elections.

There are many factors seem to explain the ability of the BJD-BJP alliance to retains power:

a. The extent of trust and support Naveen Patnaik enjoys among the all sections of societies Oriya’s. For instance, voters are unhappy over the shrinking employment opportunities. But they seem to happy with Mr. Naveen Patnaik’s leadership, Oriyas seem to have preferred a non-functioning government of Mr.

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6. Surya Narayan Patra
7. Surendra Nath Nayak
8. Bijayshree Rout Roy
9. Damondar Rout
10. Anana Uday Singh Deo
11. Samir Dey
12. Biswabhusan Harichandan
13. Golak Bihari Naik
14. Mannmohan Samal
15. Kanak Vardhan Singh Deo

BJD Cabinet ministers
5. Jaywarayan Mishra
6. Pradipta Kumar Jena
7. Surama Padhy

BJP Cabinet Ministers
35 With the BJD-BJP combines resounding victory, BJD Chief Naveen Patnaik became the first non-Congress Chief Minister of Orissa to win two consecutive terms in office. He would also be improving upon his father, Janata Dal strong man, Biju Patnaik’s record who had to wait for nearly three decades to become Chief Minister for the second times. Biju Babu’s first innings was as Congress Chief Minister, while in his second avatar, he led the JD government from 1990-1995.

*The Pioneer, New Delhi, dated: 15.05.2004.*

95
Naveen Patnaik instead of opting for a Congress government under the Leadership of J. B. Patnaik.

b. Secondly, the BJP and the BJD were two strong parties with considerable electoral strength on their own. Thus, in a real sense, represents a change in the party system in Orissa, which has become triangular in nature. The BJP has emerged as a strong third political force in the state. Then the combination of these two strong parties represents a solid block in Orissa's electoral politics. In the 1999 Lok Sabha elections, the combined strength of the BJD & the BJP was 58 percent or valid votes as compared to 37 percent valid vote for the Congress, and it was 47 in the 2000 Assembly elections compared to 34 percent for the Congress.

c. The asset of Vajpayee “image” and the Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik’s is widely seen as a leader determined to curb corruption in the state. The two issues “governance” and “transparent administration” play a significant role among the people of Orissa.

d. The intense-factional conflict in inter-party democracy of Congress in the state is both a cause as well as consequences of its weakness, which is not able to provide effective and efficient alternative alliance to the BJD-BJP alliances.


The pattern of state politics has had a great becoming on Lok Sabha elections results. As this study is mainly focussed since 1990. It would be appropriate to analyse 1989 because the Janata Dal (latter BJD) comes to fight against Congress on Janata Dal banner. It is true that Lok Sabha elections are
mostly dominate National level issues and programme. It is interesting to note here that the Janata Dal unit of Orissa under Biju Patnaik always functioned independently. It remained within the confines of the all India party primarily in order to pave the way for the regional leader to enter the national political arena.\textsuperscript{36} The Lok Sabha elections of 1989, 1991 are not as much as concerned to this study. It would be better to analyse for the existing pattern of party politics in Orissa. The electoral data from Orissa reveal that since 1977 until the early 1990s the Congress on the Janata Dal (first the party, then the Dal and now the BJD) have been the two main contenders of power, both enjoying an all Orissa presence.\textsuperscript{37} The major political parties participated in the election were Congress (1) and the Janata Dal. The other parties like BJP, (CPI, CPI (M), Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) and others.

An analysis of the election results show that the Janata Dal again comeback an strong and alternative opposition party which was succeeded in putting forward their thesis of catch all and anti-Congressism. No doubt in the 1991 it is failured to mentioned its consolidation its support base. In following table 3.6 shows the performance of political parties in Orissa.

Table 3.6 shows that the Janata Dal won 16 seats with 38.4\% of valid votes in 1989 Lok Sabha election while 6 seats with 34.6\% of valid votes in 1991. The Congress party lost heavily in the 1989 Lok Sabha elections due mainly to inefficiency and corruption prevalent in Rajiv Gandhi's government. Then, the Congress regained its strength and captured 13 seats in the Lok Sabha elections.


The BJP no single seats won as contested 6 and 20 seats in 1989 and 1991 respectively. The CPI and CPI (M) won 1 each in 1989 and 1991 elections.

Lok Sabha Elections of 1996 : Relative Decline of Janata Dal in Orissa

The 11th General Elections was held amidst the shadow of a number of scams like security scam, sugar scam, Hawla scams alleged MPs purchase and the House allotment scam etc. This election experiences the eclipse of the so-called ‘National Constituency’ syndrome, which dominated the national politics in the last two decades. The political parties were participated in the election by identifying themselves in three different combinations at National level. As it will be clear, the pattern of Orissa here usually moved with the political mood of national level as far as the elections to the Lok Sabha are concerned. The major political formations are the Congress party, Bharatiya Janata Party and Janata Dal. The other political parties like Samata Party, CPI, CPI (M), Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM), along with independents and others contested the election separately.

The 1996 Lok Sabha election in Orissa was a paradox. While the electoral support base of the INC is shrinking, cracking and eroding everywhere else in India, it has been reinforced and consolidated in Orissa. Note, for example, that the Congress (I) won 13 of the 21 Lok Sabha seats in 1991, garnering about 44% of the votes. The Congress party was won 16 seats with 44.9 percent of valid votes in 1996 election. In 1995, Congress came to power at the grass roots in Orissa after a lapse of a decade by flouncing the Janata Dal, the then ruling party. In a sense,

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then, the 1996 Lok Sabha elections confirm and reinforce a trend of Congress ascendance in Orissa that begun in 1995.  

However, from 1990-95, the Janata Dal acts as the ruling party at the State levels. But lost to Congress (I) in 1995 State Legislative Assembly elections. Till March 1995 the Janata Dal (JD) with left ideological pretension dominated it. True that it has been able to win only four of the 19 Lok Sabha seats it contested in the 1996 Lok Sabha and 34.6% per cent of votes, which has declined by only 3 per cent. The BJP polled 9.5 per cent of votes in the 1991 parliamentary elections, which rose to about 16% in 1996. It constitutes, in addition, the only third political force in Orissa and has dug in itself deeply in eight Lok Sabha constituencies in North-Western Orissa, mainly in the tribal areas bordering of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh that are highly under-developed except for a few small pockets.  

Its presence in the state is still pervasive and formidable.

The electoral decline of the left parties in the state is even more striking. Since the 1977 parliamentary elections the left parties (CPI + CPI (M)) with the exceptionally polled more than 3% of the vote share of the state. However, this time the CPI vote is a meagre 0.2 per cent, and the CPI (M)'s share is only .16 per cent. (See Table No. 3.6). The electoral decline of the left parties makes it clear that they need to look for alternative ways of class mobilization. 

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40 Ibid.
41 The communist party's poor performance in terms of vote share in Orissa can be accounted more to the following factors:
   a. The communist organisation in Orissa was under the leadership from the elite stratum of the society; and
   b. The communist strategy could not capture the imagination of the people of Orissa, because a policy of "opportunism" as under taken by the party.
Lok Sabha Election of 1998: Victory of BJD-BJP alliance in Orissa

There are, no doubt, very far-reaching changes that have lent an entirely different hue to the political horizon of Orissa. Two things are, however, quite clear, first, the dominance that the Congress enjoyed since 1991 is now broken. Second, the JD seems to have undergone a permanent paralysis in Orissa after the demise of its much-celebrated leader Biju Patnaik and till the subsequent split brought about by his son Naveen Patnaik. Keeping in this above political development, the nature of electoral strategy and political alliance with BJD-BJP had entered into an electoral alliance to fight the 1998 Parliamentary election in Orissa. According to the agreement, the BJD would contest in 12 and the BJP in nine Lok-Sabha constituencies. There are major reasons for electoral alliances were follows:

a) Opposition to the Congress;

b) Maintaining their support base, and

c) Realization of competition and bargaining power politics

The electoral process in 1998 Lok Sabha election showed that among the political forces and electoral issues were sharply divided as compared to precious

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44 The opposition leader had met several times under the leadership of Naveen Patnaik and Jual Oram, few months before the elections, to discuss about electoral adjustments and providing an alternative to the Congress. In the face of irreconcilable postures and claims made by the two parties, the High commands of both parties were forced to comment with a statement that the alliance between them over about the seat adjustment.

The Indian Express (Bhubaneswar), January 18, 1998.

45 The BJD was contested from Aska, Phulbani (SC), Nawarangpur (ST), Koraput (ST), Puri, Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Kendrapara, Jajpur (SC), Sambalpur, Bhadrak (SC), Dhenkanal and Jagatsingpur. The BJP got Deogarh, Mayurbhanj (ST), Kalahandi, Sundargarh (ST), Berhampur, Keonjhar (ST), Balasore and Bolangir and Kalahandi.
elections. Although several parties contested the election, the contest was primarily between two pole alliance (BJD+BJP) and (the Congress + CPI). Other parties, which contested the election of their own, were of marginal interest. The BJD-BJP alliance captured 16 seats out of 21, which is 76 per cent of the total Lok Sabha seats in Orissa. What is also impressive is the fact that its vote share was more than the vote share of the Congress, the Janata Dal and left combine put together, polling 48.68 percent votes. There occurred a 3.98 swing away from the Congress and its allied, which polled 40.98 percent. The performance of the BJD is spectacular since, as a new entrant in Orissa politics, it polled 27.52 per cent of the total valid votes winning nine out of the 12 seats it contested. The growth of the BJP in Orissa has been gradual but steady. The BJP polled 9.86 percent of the votes by contesting 20 Lok Sabha seats in 1991, its vote share went up to 13.44 percent in 1996 without winning a single seat. In 1998, however, its vote share went up to 21.16 percent. The Janata Dal is, however, the worst suffered; its vote share drastically dropped to 4.92 percent from 30.05 percent in 1996. The left parties have been further curtailment in their share of valid votes-it came down to 1.39 per cent in 1998 from 2.03 percent in 1996. See Table 3.6

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46 The Janata Dal (Post BJD formation) under the leadership of Srikant Jena, a former cabinet minister enter H. D. Deraguda is weakened position of the Orissa minister at Center and Political Map can be accounted more to the following factors.

a. The split divided the party vertically, eroding both its leadership rank and grassroots support base with a large number of leaders and party activities going over to the BJD

b. The Janata Dal faced a severe resource crisis. For example, the Dal field candidates in 16 constituencies in 1998 Lok Sabha elections, but it had no funds to launch election campaigns. Even central JD leaders did not help, either monytarily or by sending national leaders, to campaign for the Janata Dal candidates.

c. The Janata Dal state unit of Orissa of could not capture the imagination of the people of Orissa who were claimed as the real inheritor of undivided Janata Dal.

The Indian Express (Bhubaneswar), January 6, 1998.
1999 Lok Sabha Elections: An Ascendancy of Alliance

It is also true that the BJD was a part of the NDA, government at centre (1999-2004) and believed in its National agenda, and addition to that it had brought out a special package for Orissa. It issued its 22-point programme since 1998 Lok Sabha elections. The 1999 Lok Sabha election the BJD experienced a

47 The major provisions of the 'National Agenda' are as follows:
   a. Appointments of a commission to review the constitution of India in the light to 50 years experience.
   b. Re-evaluating the nuclear policy and exercising the option to induct nuclear weapons;
   c. Enactment of a Lok Pal bill with adequate powers to deal with corruption charges against anyone, including the Prime minister;
   d. 33 percent reservation for women in legislature;
   e. Providing full statehood for Delhi and creation of Uttranchal, Vananchal and Chhatisgarh states (as later is already came into force);
   f. Electoral reforms on the basis of Goswami Committee report;
   g. Steps to ensure harmonious center-state relations as per the Sarkaria Commission report;
   h. National Judicial Commission to recommend appointment to high court and supreme court and to frame a code of ethics;
   i. National security council to undertake India's first strategic defence review;
   j. Improve the Prasar Bharti Act as originally enacted and also enacted a broadcasting bill to regulate private broadcasting.

The Agenda also says to analyse carefully the effects of globalisation and to take steps for strengthening national economy, the indigenous industrial base and the financial and service sectors. In addition to the above features the agenda also promises to have a national water policy and a separate ministry for the Northeastern states. The Agenda puts aside the contentious issues of BJP like building of Ram Temple at Ayodhya, the abrogation of Article 370 and the enactment of a uniform civil code.

48 The BJD-BJP alliance was issued its 22 point programme, a special package for Orissa can be fallout on following were:
   a. to make Orissa one of the leading states in the country in terms of development of railways, highways, communication and industry;
   b. to accord special category status to the state;
   c. to remove regional disparities by according central university status to one of the university of the state;
   d. special assistance and greater justice for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, women, minorities and weaker sections;
   e. to provide facilities for increasing agricultural workers;
   f. old age pension to agricultural workers;
   g. to revise water and electricity tariff;
   h. to amend the Orissa Cooperative Act;
   i. to provide education, drinking water, health care facilities and electricity to all;
   j. to setting up of an autonomous body to promote Oriya; and
   k. to provide 27 percent reservation to backward classes in all government jobs and etc.

bid to power, in its election manifesto the party highlighted on Domestic issues like corruption clean politics, helping the poor to cross the poverty line, revitalising law and order machine, etc. While the Congress party was also promised to more funds for the development of the districts and substantial increase in the budget for the recently formed Western Orissa Development Council (WODC). The Congress and BJP highlighted the National issues like intrusion in Kargil.

The BJD contest 12 seats with alliance with BJP and 9 seats left to its allies. Its careful seat adjustments with the BJP in same district fetched good results. The electoral outcome was encouraging for the BJD as well as its allies. It improved its position in Lok Sabha to 10 as against 9 in 1998. However, its vote share was improved marginally only by 3%. More or less the results of the election went in favour of BJD and it send more representative to Lok Sabha as compared to its allies BJP (9) and Congress (2). (See Table No. 3.5).

The electoral performance of the BJD in Orissa mainly due to the ‘first-past-the post’ electoral system. Besides, its new allies in the state, the decline of Congress in certain districts and relative disunity among the 50 called secular non-Congress forces contributed greatly to the strength of the party. In the absence of any particular electoral wave in the 1999 Lok Sabha elections, the party adopted local strategies and projected local issues in the states. The BJD-BJP alliance bagged 19 of the 21 seats in 1999 Lok Sabha. While the BJD won 10 of the 12

49 Election manifesto of Biju Janata Dal, 1999, pp. 2-24
50 Election manifesto of INC, New Delhi, 1999
See also Congress’s Orissa manifesto, Bhubaneswar, 1999.
51 The BJD won in this election from Bhadrak (SC) Jajpur (SC), Kendrapara, Cuttack, Jagatsingpur, Puri, Bhubaneswar, Aska, Phulbani (SC), Sambalpur where as cost two seats to Congress, i.e. Dhenkanal and Karaput. The BJP won from all seats as it contested from Keonjhar (ST), Mayurbhanj (ST), Deogarh, Balasore, Berhampur, Kalahandi, Nawarangpur (ST), Sundargarh (ST), and Balangir.
seats it contested, the BJP emerged victorious in all the nine seats it contested. The Congress (I) which had fielded candidates in 20 seats and could manage to retain only 2 seats in tribal dominated areas of Karaput and the Dhankanal in central part of Orissa.

Lok Sabha Election in 2004: Resurgence of BJD-BJP alliance

Orissa was one of the few states that witnessed the Congress resurgence across India. Despite the dual dangers of incumbency at the state and national level, the BJD-BJP alliance were able to hold on their position in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha in 2004. The major parties that contested the elections were BJD, BJP Congress, JMM, CPI, CPM and others. This election is continuity of almost the same results of 1999 Lok Sabha elections. It is noteworthy to mention that in this election there existence of two nodal party politics. One hand BJD-BJP has strategically alliances, on the other hand, the Congress and its allies (JMM, OGP, CPI and CPCM).52

The major political parties were contested in this election between two poles on the issues of “stability” and “good-governance”.53 It is true that unlike many other states, in Orissa, the ruling alliance appears to have benefited the Vajpayee factor and clean image of Naveen Patnaik.54 The campaignning of India shining did not make much impact on the electorate. Ideological conflict about

52 The opposition leaders had several times meeting under the Leadership of J. B. Patnaik, before the elections to discuss about electoral alliance with JMM, CPI, CPI (M) and OGP. The joining of hands with JMM and the CPI was not a smooth affair. According to agreement the Congress (1) left one seat of Mayurbhanj to JMM and providing an alternative to the BJD-BJP alliance. The Samaj, dated 6-4-2004.
54 ibid.
“secular” alliance and “non-secular” alliance also did not impact on the electorate.\textsuperscript{55}

It shows that the BJD and its ally bagged 18 out of the 21 Lok Sabha seats, virtually representing its performance in the 1999 elections when it was 19 seats. The only difference was that the victory margin of the alliance nominees decreased in some seats. The BJD contested 12 seats and won 11 as against the 10 it got in the last election. The BJP contested 9, but won 7 as against of 8 won in last time. The Congress (I) managed to win – only 2 seats and its ally, the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha,\textsuperscript{56} one.


An ideal backdrop for the analysis of the electoral politics in the 1990s would be the outcomes of the 1990 assembly elections and subsequent political developments. Till the 1989 Lok Sabha elections, the Congress party had a near monopoly ever power in state political Map. No doubt in the parliamentary elections of 1977 for the first time Orissa witnessed a stable bi-polar political competition that it lacked in the earlier decades. At any rate, the electoral data from Orissa reveal that since 1977 until the early 90s the Congress and the Janata (first the party, then the Dal and now the BJD) have been the two main contenders of power, both enjoying an Orissa presence.\textsuperscript{57} Again the BJD-BJP and the Congress

\textsuperscript{55} ibid.

\textsuperscript{56} The Prajatantra (Bhubaneswar), May 14, 2004. The BJD won Bhadrak (SC), Jaipur (SC), Kendrapara, Cuttack, Jagatsingpur, Puri, Bhubaneswar, Aska, Phulbani (SC), Sambalpur, and Dhenkanal. The BJP won, Balasore, Navrangpur (ST), Kalahandi, Balangir, Deogarh, Sundergarh (ST), and Keonjhar (ST), while Congress won Berhampur and Karapur (ST), and its ally, JMM won Mayurbhanj seats.

have also been folly within the same framework. This constitutes significant shifts that have given a degree of 'stability' to the state politics.

In three years between 1996 and 1999, three general elections were held, which showed the fragility of coalition governments and the shifting political loyalties of the parties at the National level. Following the National pattern a new pattern of party system has existed in Orissa. In the elections of 1996, BJP emerged as a third political force in Orissa party system.

As is evident from electoral data concerning past elections, the pattern of state politics has had a great bearing on Lok Sabha election results. For example, Janata Dal won 16 parliamentary seats as against Congress's three seats from Berhampur and Koraput (South), and Navrangpur ST from western areas of the state. In 1991 the Janata Dal marginally loses but poor performed in 1996 winning only four seats from Kendrapara, Cuttack, Jagatsingpur, Jajpur (SC) and Aska, all parliamentary constituencies belongs to coastal regions of Orissa while BJD (later JD) was won 9 seats out of 12 seats as its contested in 1998 Lok Sabha elections. This coincides alliance with the BJP under the leadership of Naveen Patnaik at state level. It improved its seat tally by one in two conjunctive Lok Sabha elections in 1999 and 2004. It is noteworthy, as such, both the Lok Sabha and assembly elections in Orissa moved together till 1996 when a new trend emerged in party system of Orissa.

The researcher as to analyse the party politics under transformation visible since 1990 has put the main argument forth. But the main thrust on 1996 Lok Sabha elections, which change the relative power position of party polities bi-party

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59 Bishnu Mohapatra, 'Elections and Everyday Politics'.
system exist since 1977. Therefore, this section of study has been divided into two phases. The first phase beginning with early 1990s post 1996 Lok Sabha elections.

During this period there was significant political development in Orissa Party Politics. These were: relative decline of Janata Dal which is contributed two things: one is factionalism, inefficiency administration under the JD government, and thrice of BJP in state political map as the third political force as political scientist claimed in post 1996 Lok Sabha elections.\(^60\)

Thus, the later part of the, especially post-Biju phase as witnessed the few trends visible over elections. These were: the emergence of BJD as a regional party, the BJP as emerged as third political force, and the Congress Party was declining acceptability among various sections of society has changed the face of party competition in Orissa politics going for the National pattern of politics. At any rate, the electoral data from Orissa reveal that since 1998 until 2004 the Congress, the BJD and the BJP on the basis of vote shares and support base have been reveals that there is existence of tri-polarised political force into coastal (BJD), North-western (BJD) and Southern (Congress) past of the state. It does not mean that there is influence in vice-verse of other regions. The most significant shift occur in Orissan parties and party system in early 2004 has been clearly away from the ‘dominance’ pattern to a competitive multi-party system that can perhaps best be described as ‘bi-nodal’, a node being typically a ‘centering point of component party’ or a ‘central point in a system’.\(^61\) It is true that it is early to say there will be existence of ‘bi-nodal’ party-system in Orissa party politics. If this

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will constitutes a significant shift that has give a degree of ‘stability’ to the state politics. But the question arises whether the coalition of parties which were create a new political formation able to persist as a future course of discussion. But at this stage whether the BJD-BJP alliance will be persist in future is a researcher concerned of discussion. To understand this, the fifth Chapter we will analyse the some indication about the changing context of coalition survive at the state level.

**SC / ST, BJD and Electoral Politics in Orissa**

The ‘Tribes’ and ‘Scheduled Caste’ play an important role in the electoral politics in Traditional society. In Orissa they constitute 38% of total population (1991 census). The former were concentrated in the Northwestern districts while the latter were concentrated in coastal and southern part of the provinces.

Thus we find that the lord of SCs & STs political participation is law compared to other caste communities, especially upper castes. But it has gradually grown in a certain context of socio-economic development in the transitional society like in general and the state of Orissa in particular. No doubt these communities were generally more loyal to personalities then to political parties and ideologies. Many scheduled castes and scheduled tribes people participate in

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62 Myron Weiner and Field write: "The term 'tribe', is not easily defined in the Indian contest, where caste is the most widely used unit of social analysis. In India, tribes are generally non-Hindu, Indigenus; they speak non-Indo Aryan languages, are territorially more cohesive than castes, partake of no all India reference categories (as Hindu castes do in relation to Varnas), are not stassified in contrast with the hierarchical structure of caste Hindu society and relate to non-tribes of caste Hindu society and relate to non-tribes or castes in ways substantially different from the ways in which Hindu castes relate to another --- But there are no hard and fast distinction; some tribes have by now become Hindu (and some have became Christian), some tribes and castes do intermediary, some speak Indo-Aryan languages, some have hierarchical sub-divisions and some tribes are territorially dispersed : Myron Weiner and John Osgood Field, Electoral Politics in the Indian States, Ch. 11, p. 78.

63 Bijaya Nanda Sethy “Conclusion” in Political Participation of SCs in two reserved parliamentary constituencies in Orissa, Unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, CPS, JNU, New Delhi, 1999.
politics to support the party of their choice irrespective of frequently changes in party leadership. However, the forces of relatively weak form of democratisation and the processes of politicisation this scenario is poised to undergo change since 1980s. This is true in case of Orissa.

In this context, it would be better to analyse how does one tell the larger story of democratization in Orissa? Does an all India picture of democratic expansion in the 1990s adequately capture the nuances of the process at the state level. It is plausible to argue that the impulses for democratisation in India vary from state to state. For instance, the intense class contradiction in the rural society shaped the processes of democratisation in West Bengal. In the neighbouring state of Bihar it is land relations along with the caste contradiction that has played a key role in the expansion of democratic politics. The question arises why is it that mobilisations of such kinds are muted in Orissa?

Answering this question is beyond the Researcher scope of study but it is a puzzle whose exploration will throw new light on the nature of democratic politics in Orissa. In the absence of an intense class-caste contradiction in the state, the politics in the state in the future will be articulated around the ever-widening chasm that exists between the state/public/political institutions and the rural poor.

**SCs / STs Preferences:** The BJD as a party of middle classes which were constitute of three upper castes like Brahmin, Karan and Khandayat. Although the party have been supported by other communities as well. As far as the Orissa Party politics are concerned the JMM, and the BJP here tried to win the support of (Adivasi) Scheduled Tribes communities. Till now the JMM is not able to fought

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66 I am grateful to Manoranjan Mohanty alerting me to the pitfalls of an all-India reading that glosses over the specificities of experienced at the State Level.
for the interest of Tribal communities. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, were to be taken into Congress fold SCs and STs communities. There continuous support was necessary for any party’s strength and popularity. The Congress Party is concerned these communities breakaway since 1990s in Orissa politics.

The BJD (latter JD) have tried to win the support of these communities. The BJD has consistently recruited members from both the communities. This is can be clearly visible to analyse the SCs / STs legislators for O.L.A. and the Lok Sabha since 1990.

Table 3.5: SCs / STs Elected Legislators in BJD to the O.L.A. and the Lok Sabha since 1990

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<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
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<th>Lok Sabha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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b. Personal enquiry

Summing up:

Party competition here increases in subsequently elections. As political observer claimed that the pattern of Orissa party system as bi-party since 1977 to till date. The rise of BJP has created the multi-party system in Orissa for a short time in state politics (1995-97). But this pattern underwent change in 1998. The emergence of bi-party system was the outcome of a process of alliance with BJD-BJP in 1998 Lok Sabha elections. The major contesters were the Congress and the BJD-BJP alliance. This pattern again changed in 2004 elections in the sense that
the bi-party system exist in terms of anti-Congress Vs the anti-BJP. This is due to
the party merger, party splits and electoral alliances etc. Due to realignment of
parties, the pattern of Orissa party system again fall into bi-party i.e. the anti-
Congress and the anti-BJP. The BJD-BJP alliances are an example of anti-
Congressism. However, the emergence of a anti-Congress Vs anti-BJP party
system at the National level as well as state level have come under question.
Factionalism within the BJD as due to the individual interest to gain political
power rather than the party interest which means the involvement of anti-party
activities. Factionalism within Congress have initiated a processed of party
proliferation which has direct effect on the electoral process serve as a link
between traditional society and modern political institutions. Political parties and
party systems, however, here been successfully in initiating a process of
modernisation in the state through elections. The most important theory is the way
BJD, a newly formed regional party will make successfully or not in the process of
modernisation. Whether the elected government BJD-BJP has been able to provide
stability or not is a different question. The major concerned how BJD as a measure
of articulating various section of society in the political process. But parties as a
measure of bringing in peoples participation in the electoral process have been
successful to a large extent.

The changing pattern of alliances in the last two State Assembly elections
leads towards the coalition government at the state level. Because of no single
party has been able to won a 2/3 majority in O.L.A. won in its own. To this extent,
it helps to integrate more efficiently into the political system both the traditional
elite and modern elite who take part in the democratic process in the state.

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<th>% of Votes</th>
<th>Won Seats</th>
<th>% of Votes</th>
<th>Won Seats</th>
<th>% of Votes</th>
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JD contest from 1989 to 1996 Lok Sabha Election JD fought as first the party, (1977-85) then the Dal and (1989-96) now the BJD (1998 onwards).

Inside the brackets ( ) represents the number of contestants candidate of respective parties.

Note: In 1991 Lok Sabha Election Janata Dal alliance with CPI & CPI (M). In 2004 Lok Sabha election the BJD-BJP alliance while congress alliance with JMM, OGP, CPI & CPI (M).

Sources:
- e. The Hindu, Dt. 17.05.2004.
Table 3.7: Electoral Performance of Political Parties in State Assembly Elections in Orissa: 1990, 1995, 2000 and 2004:
Region wise analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Region</th>
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<th>BJP</th>
<th>INC</th>
<th>Left</th>
<th>JMM</th>
<th>Others/Independent</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>% of vote share</td>
<td>No. of Seats won</td>
<td>% of vote share</td>
<td>No. of Seats won</td>
<td>% of vote share</td>
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<td>36.8</td>
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Sources: CSDS Data unit and personal enquiry

North-west Regions:
1. Mayurbhanj (ST)
2. Sambalpur
3. Deogarh
4. Puri
5. Kendrapara
6. Bhadrak (SC)
7. Jagatsingpur
8. Bhubaneswar
9. Dhenkanal
10. Aska
11. Berhampur
12. Karpur (ST)
13. Navrangpur (ST)
14. Kalahandi
15. Phulbani (SC)

South Regions:

West:
1. Berhampur
2. Karpur (ST)
3. Navrangpur (ST)
4. Phulbani (SC)

North:
1. Mayurbhanj (ST)
2. Sambalpur
3. Deogarh
4. Puri
5. Kendrapara
6. Bhadrak (SC)
7. Jagatsingpur
8. Bhubaneswar
9. Dhenkanal

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<th>Region</th>
<th>Total Seats</th>
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<th>BJP W/C</th>
<th>Votes %</th>
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<th>Votes %</th>
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<th>Votes %</th>
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<th>Votes %</th>
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<th>Votes %</th>
<th>JMM W/C</th>
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b. CSDS Data unit and personal enquiry.
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Note: The Researcher have not able to lay his hand on district wise data of 2004 in Orissa State Assembly Elections due to unavailable.
The figures in brackets given in the district column shows the number of assembly constituencies in the respective district.
The figures in the brackets given in the column no. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 12 shows the total number of seats contested.
Figure 3.1: Performance of parties in 1990 State Assembly elections on the basis of seats won

Figure 3.2: Performance of parties in 1990 State Assembly elections on the basis of percent of votes.
Figure 3.3: Performance of parties in election on 1995 on basis of seat won

![Bar chart showing the performance of different parties in seat won]

- Congress: 80
- JD: 46
- BJP: 9
- JP: 0
- SAM: 0
- JMM: 4
- CPI-CCP (M): 1

Figure 3.4: Performance of parties in elections 1995 State Assembly Election on basis of percentage of votes

![Pie chart showing the performance of different parties in percentage of votes]

- Congress: 41%
- JD: 36%
- BJP: 0%
- CPI-CCP (M): 0%
- JP: 0%
- SAM: 2%
- Others: 11%
Figure 3.5: Performance of parties in elections 2000 State Assembly Election on the basis of seats won

Figure 3.6: Performance of parties in elections 2000 State Assembly Election on basis of percentage of votes
Figure 3.7: Performance of parties in 2004 State Assembly elections on the basis of seats won.

![Bar chart showing the performance of parties in the 2004 State Assembly elections based on seats won. BJD has 61 seats, BJP has 32 seats, Congress has 36 seats, OGP has 2 seats, JMM has 4 seats, CPI has 1 seat, CPI (M) has 1 seat, and Others have 10 seats.]

Figure 3.8: Performance of parties in 2004 State Assembly Elections on the basis of percentage of valid votes.

![Pie chart showing the performance of parties in the 2004 State Assembly elections based on percentage of valid votes. BJD has 35%, BJP has 16%, Congress has 27%, OGP has 1%, JMM has 1%, CPI has 35%, CPI (M) has 1%, and Others have 1%.]