

## Winds of Change in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh during 2019 Indian General Elections: An Appraisal

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### ABSTRACT

The seeds of 'Opposition Unity' sown by the two regional parties- the S.P and B.S.P of U.P sprouted in Bihar and have, now, grown up in the Karnataka state by the Congress and J.D(S) combine where Congress being magnanimous to gift the Chief Minister ship of the state to the junior partner, the J.D(S) . By the time, the message is loud and clear that 'Modi can be defeated only if all the opposing parties of a particular state unites against his B.J.P'. Thus the 'United Opposition', in all probability, will face the mighty B.J.P together in 2019 General Election in the states of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. The present study discusses the various possibilities by which the parties opposed the B.J.P are expected to take on the ruling party though these states , for the last over more than two decades, have been bipolar between B.J.P and Congress in respect to the their state politics . B.S.P, though, always been a poor third in M.P. but has a strong vote bank in some pockets of this state. So in combination with other parties, it may become lethal for B.J.P and may bring a pleasant surprise for the 'United Opposition' in general and the Congress in particular. Modi's wave might have been on the wane, but only to a small extent. So it will be a walk on the razor's edge both for the B.J.P and the parties opposed to the B.J.P.

**Key Words:** Vasundhra Raje Scindia, Jaat, Gurjar, Meena, Shivraj Singh Chouhan, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Manmohan Singh, Adivasis, Mahagatbandhan

### INTRODUCTION

Politics of Rajasthan is dominated by two parties – the Congress and the B.J.P. The other National and Regional political parties have their presence only in some pockets of the state. The state , in general, have been a tie between the Congress and the B.J.P. Ms. Vasundhra Raje Scindia of B.J.P has been the C.M. of the state since 2013 when B.J.P. got 163 seats and Congress got only 21 seats out of 200 seats [1].Ms. Scindia, also, remained the C. M. of the state from 2003 – 2008. During this time, BJP won 20 out of 25 Lok Sabha seats while Congress could bag only 4 seats in 2004 General Elections [2].But the tables turned in December 2008, when the infighting within the BJP, Raje's perceived autocratic and despotic rule, and the police excesses in the Gurjar-Meena agitation [3] combined to overcome the incumbent Raje government's development and growth planks. So the Congress emerged victorious with the support of some independent MLA's. Ashok Gehlot was sworn-in as the new C. M. of the state. Congress won 20 seats in 2009 Lok Sabha elections and the B.J.P was relegated to poor second with 5 seats [4]. But in 2014, B.J.P. made a clean sweep by winning all the 25 Lok Sabha seats with 54.9% vote share while Congress trailed far behind with only 30.4% share of the polled votes [5].

M. P. being the second largest (after U.P) and fifth most populous state of India has a 230-seat state legislative assembly and sends 29 members to the India's Lower House of parliament. It has been ruled consecutively for the last about 13years by B.J.P's Shivraj Singh Chouhan who replaced Babulal Gaur as the 18<sup>th</sup> C.M. on 29<sup>th</sup> November, 2005. In the November 2013 state assembly, the party wise position was: B.J.P=165 seats; Congress= 58 seats; B.S.P=4 seats and others=3 seats [6]. B.J.P and Congress are the dominant political parties while the small or

regional parties have insignificant presence except the B.S.P. which has some pockets of influence in the state

According to the census of 2011, M.P. has (%): Hindus= 90.9, Muslims= 6.6, Jains = 0.8, Budhists =0.3, Christians =0.3 and Sikhs= 0.2 with *Adivasis* making 21.1% of the total population, 46 recognized Scheduled Tribes and three of them have been identified as "Special Primitive Tribal Groups[7]. The population consists of a number of ethnic groups and tribes, castes and communities including the indigenous tribals. The Scheduled castes and the Scheduled Tribes have quite a large concentration (30-50%) in Khargone, Chindwara , Sioni Sidhi, Singrauli and Shahdol districts while Dhar, Jhabua and Mandla are inhabited by over 50% population of the tribal groups[8].

In 2004 parliamentary elections, BJP won 25 seats, Congress bagged 4 seats with 48.13% and 34.07 % vote share respectively while the third force, the B.S. P, accounted for 4.75% votes without winning any seat. The Congress fared better by winning 12 seats though B.J.P was still ahead with 16 seats while B.S.P had to be content with only one seat. There was, also, an improvement in the %vote share of Congress (40.14) while B.J.P was still ahead with 43.45 % votes; of course B.S.P could maintain its third position and its vote share swelled to 5.85%. In 2014, B.J.P. swept the state by winning 27 Lok Sabha seats with 54.0% vote share while Congress remained far behind with only 34.9% share and could win only two seats. Though B.S.P did not get any seat but obtained 3.8% vote share [9.10].

### **METHODOLOGY**

The research material was collected both from the official and non-official agencies by using primary and secondary sources and had, already, been discussed in our previous publication [11]. Table: 1 lists the names of smaller political parties which have their presence in the states of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh

### **DISCUSSION**

The huge % vote share of B.J.P in 2014(54.0%) notwithstanding, Congress secured 3-0, i.e. one Assembly and two Lok Sabha by pole victories in Rajasthan on 1<sup>st</sup> Feb., 2018 [12] as given in Table: II. Congress's large victory margins in Rajasthan in the Assembly and Lok Sabha by-poles along with its sweeping victory in the local body by-polls [13] just a few weeks after the Lok Sabha by-poll wins coupled with one Lok Sabha [14] and two assembly wins in M.P.[15] over the ruling B.J.P ( Table: III) has, certainly, emboldened the Congress. So it is roaring to take on the ruling B.J.P in 2019 General Elections.

Referring to these victories, the Congress President Mr. Rahul Gandhi tweeted [16]:  
"This is a triumph over arrogance and misrule.  
Rajasthan and now Madhya Pradesh has shown  
that the winds of change are coming".

It should have been taken with a pinch of salt by the BJP rather than to gloat over that the two victories in M.P. came at thin margins; conveniently forgetting that they lost them despite holding 121 road shows.

Two other factors also added to the exuberance of the Congress .Though Congress lost the Gujarat Assembly elections [17] to B.J.P (18<sup>th</sup> Dec., 2017), but the narrow victory margin gave it a new lease of life. Secondly, in the most recently conducted Karnataka Assembly elections (14<sup>th</sup> May, 2018), the Congress and JD(S) formed a post-poll coalition with 115 M.L.A s and their combination succeeded in forming the government in the state. Congress consented to

make the junior partner JD(S)'s Mr. H.D. Kumara swami as the C.M. to keep B.J.P. out of power [18]. Though B.J. P became the largest party in the poll results with 104 MLAs [18] but fell short of 7M.L.As from the absolute majority.

### **The Coalition Idea**

Though the coalition arrangements among various National and Regional parties at the national level under different P.M s are nothing new in India, but the phenomenon called "Modi Versus The Rest of Opposition" got a fillip when the two electorally strong regional parties( S.P. and B.S.P) of U.P and an equally strong Lalu Parshad's R.J.D and Congress combine in Bihar trounced the 'Invincible' Modi's ruling B.J.P in the four Lok Sabha constituencies in the by poles[19,20] held in the two states.

A brief history of the various coalitions formed in India at the national level is given below:

### **Various Coalition Governments at National Level [21]**

The General Election that was held on 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1977 at the end of Emergency (declared by India's P.M. Indra Gandhi on 25<sup>th</sup> June, 1975) saw the formation of first-ever coalition government at the national level under the Prime Minister ship of Morarji Desai (24<sup>th</sup> March, 1977 to 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1979) of Janta Party (an amalgam of political parties opposed to Emergency). It was, also, the first non-Congress National government. As the popularity of Janata Party dwindled, Morarji Desai had to resign and Charan Singh became the PM (28<sup>th</sup> July, 1979 to 14<sup>th</sup> Jan., 1980). But due to lack of support, this coalition government did not complete its full five-year term.

Congress returned to power in 1980 under Indira Gandhi (14<sup>th</sup> Jan.,1980 to 31<sup>st</sup> Oct., 1984) and then continued under Rajiv Gandhi (31<sup>st</sup> Oct., 1984 to 2<sup>nd</sup> Dec.,1989). However, the next General Election, once again, brought a coalition government under National Front which lasted till 1991 with two Prime Ministers, i.e. Vishvanath .Pratap Singh (2<sup>nd</sup> Dec.,1989 to 10<sup>th</sup> Nov.,1990) and Chandra Shekahr (10<sup>th</sup> Nov., 1990 to 21<sup>st</sup> June, 1991); the latter being supported by Congress. The 1991 election resulted in a Congress led stable Minority Government of P.V. Narasimha Rao which lasted for five years (21<sup>st</sup> June, 1991 to 16<sup>th</sup> May, 1996). The next 11<sup>th</sup> parliament saw three Prime Ministers: Atal Bihari Vajpayee(16<sup>th</sup> May, 1996 to 1<sup>st</sup> June, 1996), H.D. Deve Gowda (1<sup>st</sup> June,1996 to 21<sup>st</sup> April,1997) and Inder Kumar Gujral (21<sup>st</sup> April,1997 to 19<sup>th</sup> March, 1998) in two years and forced the country back to the polls in 1998.The first successful coalition government comprising over 20 different political parties( some old parties left in between and new joined with time) in India which completed the full 5-year term was of NDA which was led by B.J.P's Atal Bihari Vajpayee as PM(19<sup>th</sup> March, 1998 to 22<sup>nd</sup> May, 2004). Then another coalition, led by Congress UPA consisting of over 13 separate parties (some old parties left in between and new joined with time) ruled India for two terms from 2004 to 2014 with Manmohan Singh as PM (22<sup>nd</sup> May, 2004 to 26<sup>th</sup> May, 2014).However, in the 16<sup>th</sup> parliament, B.J.P secured majority on its own (first party to do so since 1984) and NDA, again, came into power with Narinder Modi becoming the P.M. on 26<sup>th</sup> May, 2014.

### **Coalitions - The Unwieldy Partnerships**

As discussed, the coalition arrangements, both at the National and State levels formed from time to time among the parties of different hues did not last long as in Indian politics the 'Self', 'Opportunism' and 'Casts' would prevail over the 'Party Ideologies' and 'Welfare of the Peoples'. Some coalition partner or the other would leave on trifles to result in a collapse of coalition to necessitate a fresh election either in the state or a mid - term election in the

country to plunge its 1.34 billion peoples [22] into a state of uncertainty. In a way, the inherent contradictions among alliance partners have always made these coalitions short-lived.

A recent example of the fall of a coalition in the Bihar state can be cited as follows:

The alliance named Mahagatbandhan (The Great Alliance) formed by the coming together of Congress, J.D. (U) and R.J.D defeated B.J.P in Bihar (8<sup>th</sup> Nov., 2015) [23]. They fell apart after over one and a half year (15<sup>th</sup> July, 2017) [24] amid corruption allegations. There sprouted a new 'arrangement' allowing the defeated B.J.P to prop up J.D.(U), a constituent of the former Mahagatbandhan, which deserted its two former allies- Congress and R.J.D to join hands with B.J.P.

### ***Coined New Terms to Unite Against Modi***

In olden times, the opposition parties would unite against B.J.P. in the name of 'Communalism' versus 'Secularism'. As the time elapsed, this slogan did not remain a 'catchy' slogan against the B.J.P. So the divided opposition seized on newer ways to take on P.M Modi's B. J.P .The National and Regional political parties, now, would come together in the name of 'Dalits' versus 'Non-dalits ; 'Majority' versus 'Minority; 'Tolerance' versus 'Intolerance' and most recently by a change over from 'Hindu Terror' by 'RSS Terror'[ 25]. Their strategy worked and the 'United Opposition' consecutively won seven Lok Sabha by poles in the four states which fall in the Hindi Heartland: U.P-3 [19], Bihar-1[20], M.P.-1[14, 15] and Rajasthan-2[14, 15]. These states, together, had given B.J.P 145 members [5] out of 174 [6] in the Lower House of Indian Parliament where the B.J.P had a total strength of 282 members out of its total 543 member strength . Of course, with a series of defeats during the last four years, the B.J. P's own strength has come, now, down to 273 members [26].

We, now, try to qualitatively predict the number of parliamentary seats which the B.J.P would have lost in Rajasthan and M.P. if the opposition parties were united in 2014 as they , now, seem to unite to make the 2019 year- "Modi Versus The Rest" year. B.J.P had won 52 seats out of a total of 54 seats in these two states in 2014.

We take up the two states i. e. Rajasthan and M.P under two separate headings. In these two states, the Assembly Elections are expected to precede( tentatively October- December, 2018) the General Elections for the 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha ( Lower House) in March- May, 2019. The data represented in the form of two Tables: IV and V will give us an idea to know whether there would be any significant increase in the number of their parliamentary seats if 2019 replicates 2014 with the 'United Opposition'.

### **Rajasthan**

Rajasthan is a unique state in the sense that its politics, till today, is bipolar between B.J.P and Congress parties but revolves around a few dominant casts-the Jaats (9.28%), the Gujjars (6.0 %) ,Meenas (10.0%) and the Rajputs (5.65%). The Rajputs constitute mostly of predecessors and followers of the former kings of the pre-partition princely states. In some areas, their population is as high as 23.0 % of their total population. The Jaats, the inhabitants from much earlier times, are believed to be divided into 700 Gotras (sub castes); the Bishnois being most dominant and two, together, make almost a double of the population of the Rajputs [27]. Further, in this state, the three casts namely the Jaats, Gujjars and Meenas are politically most active. One or the other of the three, would keep the state governments (be of Congress or of the B.J.P), on their tenterhooks by demanding some sort of reservation for one or the other cast.

No doubt, in Rajasthan any Regional or National party is strong enough to cross swords with the B.J.P or Congress, but two new political phenomena have emerged in 2014 parliamentary elections. Firstly, the regional parties like N.P.P and N.U.P [Table: I] have made their inroads in some parliamentary constituencies (Dausa, Jaipur Rural and Ganganagar- Table: IV). Secondly, some prominent rebels leaders like Jaswant Singh, a Rajput and a B.J.P rebel, from Barmer; Buta Singh, a Dalit leader and a Congress rebel, from Jalore; Dr. Raj Kumar, a B.S.P rebel from Jhunjhunu; Hanuman Beniwal, a B.J.P rebel from Naagaur and Subash Maharia, a Congress rebel from Sikar have emerged to pose a serious threat to the two dominant national parties by contesting this parliamentary election as independent candidates.

### ***Two Scenarios in 2019 for Rajasthan***

On perusal of the % vote share of various political parties during 2014 Lok Sabha elections (Table: IV), there would emerge two scenarios:

- (I). If Congress, B.S.P., S.P., N.C.P, Splinters (consisting of N.P.P and N.U.P and the rebels of various political parties), A.A.P and the seven Communists groups [28] form a pre-pole alliance (**Scenario-1**).
- (II). If it becomes 'Modi versus all the Opposition Parties', i.e. all opposition parties including the smaller parties under the name "Others"[29] align (**Scenario- II**).

On adding their respective % vote share (Table: IV), we find that:

- (a) In the first case, they could have bagged 4 seats, i. e, there would have been a gain of 4 seats as their score was zero when they separately contested against B.J.P in 2014.
- (b) In the second case, they might have bagged 8 seats, i. e. a gain of 8 seats.

### **Madhya Pradesh (M.P.)**

Though the preceding Assembly Elections will give a better idea of the things to come in 2019 Lok Sabha elections, yet we consider two scenarios while projecting the expected number of seats in M.P.

### ***Two Scenarios in 2019 for M.P***

Although it is uphill's task to attain 100% index of unity for the various coalition parties having different ideologies as the complete inter party transfer of votes would be virtually impossible, yet we dwell upon the various possibilities of their forming coalitions among themselves.

- (I) When Congress, B.S.P., S.P., N. C. P and the 7 Communists groups [27] form an alliance (**Scenario-1**).
- (II) When all opposition parties including the smaller parties under the name "Others" [30] align against their common political foe, the B.J.P (**Scenario-1I**).

From the % vote share data of various parties as given in Table: V, we can derive as:

- (a) On adding the vote % of all the parties represented in **Scenario-1** and, thereby, assuming that had fought the 2014 Lok Sabha elections together, they could have bagged 7 seats. This is 5 more than the number of seats won by these parties when they fought separately against the B.J.P (Congress =2; B.S.P., S.P. and the Communist =0).
- (b) If there were an alliance among all opposition parties (**Scenario-1I**) which includes all the parties named in (I) as well the Others [30], they might have won 9 seats in 2014 i.e. a net gain of 7 seats from their previous score in 2 seats in 2014.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

The politics of both these states (particularly Rajasthan) is bipolar. So even if the parties opposed to B.J.P were united in 2014, and extrapolating it for 2019, they would not have cut much ice with respect to their winning ability in the 2019 parliamentary elections in Rajasthan.

The 'United Opposition' may stand some chance in M.P. because here the B.S.P has a solid vote bank ranging in between 3.5- 6.0% ever since 2004. To add to the benefit of the 'United Opposition', B.S.P has some, very strong, pockets in the state of Madhya Pradesh [in **Churu- it got 26.61% votes; in Jhunjhunu - its rebel obtained 20.71 % votes in 2014 and it won Rewa parliamentary seat in 2009**] and may win a day for the opposition in some constituencies or may even get a seat or two single handedly. So Congress must have very cordial relations with B.S.P if it wants to give some surprises to the mighty B.J.P. Yes, there is another factor which may favor the 'United Opposition' and that is that the 'Pro-Modi Wave' which was on its zenith 2014 is showing some down trend; but things look not that bad for him because with parties of different ideologies, their index of unity may not reach 100%.

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Communist Party of India (Marxist), Communist Party of India , All India Forward Block, Revolutionary Socialist Party, Communist Party of India (Marxist- Leninist) Liberation, Communist Party of India (Marxist- Leninist) Red Star, Socialist Unity centre of India (Communist)

See Table: I - under Rajasthan.

See Table: I- under Madhya Pradesh.

**Table: I Political Alliances, Some Relevant National and Other Political Parties in Rajasthan and M.P.**

<p><b>Political Alliances and Relevant Political Parties in Rajasthan and M.P.</b> National Democratic Alliance(NDA), United Progressive Alliance( UPA), Samajwadi Party(SP), Bahujan Samaj Party(BSP), Rashtrija Janta Dal ( RJD),Janta Dal ( Secular)[JD(S)], Janta Dal ( United) [JD(U)], Aam Aadmi Party(AAP)</p>
<p><b>Rajasthan based Other( Smaller) Political Parties</b> Bharat Hindu Mahasabha, Ambedkarite Party of India, Jago Party, Bahujan Mukti Party, Rajasthan Vikas Party, Bharatiya Yuva Shakti, Bahujan Sangharshh Dal, Bharatiya Sant Mat Party, Prabuddha Republican Party, National Unionist Zamindara Party, Hindustan Janta Party. Megh Desham Party, Jai Maha Bharath Party, Socialist Party (India)  * National People's Party (NPP) and NUP= National Union Party( NUP) are comparatively stronger parties and thus are discussed separately.</p>
<p><b>Madhya Pradesh based Other( Smaller) Political Parties</b> Rashtrija Samantha Dal, Loktantrik Samajwadi Party, Bahujan Mukti Party, Bahujan Sangharshh Dal, Jan-Nyay Dal, Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha, Poorvanchal Rashtriya Congress, Shivsena, Bartiya Shakti Chetna Party, Republican Party of India( A),National Peoples Party , Ambedkarite Party of India, Gonvana Gantantrik Party, Bhartiya Satya Sangharh Party, Chattis garh Swabhiman Manch, Jai Mahabharat Party, Republican Party of India( K), Prajatantrik Samadhan Party, Samta Party, Samta Samadhan Party, Bhartiya Minorities Surakha Mahasangh, Minorities Democratic Party, Aadijan Mukti Sena. Akhil Bhartia Viks Congress Party, Social Democratic Party of India</p>

**Table: II Rajasthan By poles**

Constituency	%Vote Share of Congress	%Vote Share of BJP
Mandalgarh (Assembly)	38.9(2014); 39.5( 2018)	50.0(2014); 32.2(2018)
Alwar( Lok Sabha)	33.71(2014); 58.0( 2018)	60.0(2014); 40.0(2018)
Ajmer( Lok Sabha)	40.0(2014); 51.0(2018)	57.8(2014); 46.2( 2018)

**Table: III M.P. By poles**

Kolaras (Assembly)	BJP lost by 8,086 votes while it lost by 24953 votes in 2013
Mungaoli (Assembly)	BJP lost by 2014 votes while it lost by 20765 votes in 2013
Ratlam (Lok Sabha)	BJP lost by 88832 votes but it won by 108447 won in 2014

**Table: IV. Vote% (Rajasthan.): BJP Vs the Rest of Opposition**

Constituency	BJP	Congress(1)	BSP,SP,NCP(2)	Communists(3)	Splinters(4)	AAP(5)	Scenario1 <sup>a</sup>	Others(6) <sup>b</sup>	ScenarioII <sup>c</sup>
Ajmer	54.79	40.06	1.73	---	---	---	41.79	3.47	45.21
Alwar	60.26	33.16	1.83	---	---	0.8	34.99	3.96	39.75
Banswara	49.30	41.46	2.38	---	---	---	43.84	6.86	50.70(1)
Barmer	40.09	32.92	1.06		JS <sup>d</sup> 18.12	1.22	52.1(1)	6.60	58.70(2)
BHARATPUR	60.44	34.85	2.30	----	----	0.41	37.56	2.00	39.56
Bhilwara	56.79	34.60	1.36	----	----	0.53	36.49	6.72	43.21
Bikaner	62.91	29.78	1.22	----	----	1.52	32.52	4.56	37.08
Chittorgarh	60.62	33.31	0.35	2.00	----	0.51	36.17	3.19	39.36
Churu	52.67	15.64	26.61	0.92	----	1.24	44.41	2.89	47.30
Dausa	33.86	28.98	1.62	----	NPP <sup>e</sup> 19.48	0.34	50.42(2)	15.71	66.13(3)
Ganganagar	54.19	30.17	----	1.23	NUP <sup>f</sup> 8.78	----	40.18	13.53	53.71(4)
Jaipur	66.10	24.89	0.40	1.25	----	4.23	30.77	2.93	33.70
Jaipur Rural	62.90	29.82	Sp 0.14	---	NPP <sup>e</sup> 3.14	----	33.1	4.05	37.15
Jalore	53.39	18.34	2.76	----	BS <sup>d</sup> 16.13	-----	37.23	9.39	46.62
Jhalawar-B	58.69	34.25	2.95	----	----	----	37.20	5.00	42.20
Jhunjhunu	49.01	25.53	1.46	0.25	RK <sup>d</sup> 20.71	---	47.95	3.45	51.4(5)
Jodhpur	66.31	28.20	1.25	----	----	0.79	30.24	3.44	33.68
K-DhoPur	47.57	44.35	2.98	----	----	4.40	51.73(3)	4.67	56.40(6)
Kota	55.83	38.45	0.94	---	---	1.61	41.00	3.31	44.31
Nagaur	41.31	33.82	1.85	----	HB <sup>d</sup> 15.93	-----	51.60(4)	8.09	59.69(7)
Pali	64.96	28.54	1.50	----	----	0.46	30.50	4.53	35.03
Rajsamand	65.33	25.24	1.48	----	----	0.91	27.63	7.46	35.09
Sikar	46.88	24.43	0.39	4.99	SM <sup>d</sup> 17.73	1.47	49.01	4.16	53.17(8)
S. MadhoPur	53.16	40.03	1.07	---	NPP <sup>e</sup> 1.42	---	42.52	4.36	46.88
Udaipur	55.51	35.61	2.41	2.84	----	----	40.86	3.64	44.50

a = Sum of % votes of Parties: 1 to 5; b = See reference 29; c = Sum of % votes of the Rest of Opposition (1 to6); d -Independents: JS= Jaswant Singh; BS= Buta Singh ;HB= Hanuman Beniwal : SM= Subash Maharia; RK= Raj Kumar; e = National Peoples Party ; f=National Union Party



**Table: V. Vote %( M. P.) BJP Vs the Rest of Opposition**

Constituency	BJP	Congress(1)	BSP(2)	S.P (3)	Communists(4)	(1+2 +3+4) <sup>a</sup>	Others(5) <sup>b</sup>	(1+2 +3+4+5) <sup>c</sup>
Mo r n ea	43.93	21.57	28.39	---	--	49.96 (1)	6.07	56.03(1)
Bhind	55.51	33.56	5.57	---	--	39.13	6.35	45.48
Gwalior	45.05	42.03	6.94	---	--	48.97 (2)	5.98	54.95 (2)
Guna	40.57	52.94	2.81	--	--	55.75 (3)	3.68	59.43 (3)
Sagar	54.11	40.57	2.23	--	--	42.80	3.93	46.73
Tikamgarh	55.19	27.96	3.13	6.20	1.98	39.27	5.54	44.81
Damoh	56.25	32.87	3.46	---	----	36.33	7.42	43.75
Khajurao	54.31	26.01	6.90	4.58	0.36	37.85	7.83	45.68
Satna	41.08	40.13	13.64	---	----	53.77 (4)	5.14	58.91 (4)
Reva	46.45	26.00	21.28	---	----	47.28 (5)	6.27	53.55 (5)
Sidhi	48.08	37.16	3.98	--	0.44	41.58	10.34	51.92 (6)
Sahdol	54.25	29.35	2.00	0.58	2.85	34.78	10.98	45.76
Jabalpur	56.34	35.52	1.60	---	---	37.12	6.55	43.67
Mandla	48.08	39.01	1.75	--	---	40.85	11.17	52.02 (7)
Balaghat	43.17	34.54	4.16	8.93	1.82	49.45 (6)	7.38	56.83 (8)
Chindwara	40.02	50.54	1.11	---	--	51.65 (7)	8.33	59.98 (9)
Hoshangabad	64.88	27.07	1.37	---	---	28.44	6.73	35.17
Vidisha	66.54	28.28	0.90	0.31	----	29.49	3.97	33.46
Bhopal	63.36	30.47	0.90	0.51	0.41	32.29	4.35	36.64
Rajgarh	59.04	36.41	1.37	----	----	37.78	3.18	40.96
Dewas	58.19	35.43	1.51	----	----	36.94	4.87	41.81
Ujjain	63.08	32.61	0.98	----	0.12	33.71	3.21	36.92
Mandsour	60.13	33.99	0.70	----	0.69	35.38	4.50	39.87
Ratlam	50.42	40.41	1.71	----	0.56	42.68	6.89	49.57
Dhar	51.86	42.17	1.36	----	----	43.53	4.62	48.15
Indore	64.93	29.47	0.56	----	----	30.03	5.03	35.06
Khargone	56.34	33.97	0.72	----	2.25	36.94	6.72	43.66
Khandwa	57.05	36.40	1.09	----	----	37.49	5.46	42.95
Betul	61.68	30.19	1.58	----	----	31.77	6.55	38.32

a = Sum of % votes of Parties: 1 to 4; b = See reference 30; c = Sum of % votes of the Rest of Opposition (1to5)