## SUHAS PALSHIKAR

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Professional Experience: Taught at undergraduate level (S. P. College, Pune):1978-89 Faculty Member, Dept. of Politics & Public Admin., Savitribai Phule Pune University, Pune, (1989-2016)

### **Research Work:**

### A) Work/Projects Completed

- 1. CHIEF, Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Futures, a multi-institution project funded by EU, Member, India Team, 2018-2022, Member, India team.
- 2. Politics & Society between Elections, Joint Project of APU, Bengaluru and Lokniti, CSDS (2016), Member, Core Team.
- 3. Joint Principal Investigator, Round Two of Democracy in South Asia (2011-15), Lokniti-CSDS project.
- 4. National Election Study, Member, Coordination Team, NES 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019, 2024.
- 5. An overview report on Politics in Maharashtra, 2012-13; commissioned by Planning Department, Govt. of Maharashtra, for the Committee on Balanced Regional Development.
- 6. Electoral Democracy and structures of Domination: A Study of Assembly Elections in Maharashtra-2009, 2009-11; UGC for the Major research Project, Report submitted November 2011.
- 7. Comparative Study of State politics in India, 2009-11; University of Pune for the BCUD Project; report submitted (November 2011).
- 8. Review of Election Studies (1977-2010), 2010-11; ICSSR Project on Review of Research in Political Science, Report submitted-July2011.
- 9. Caste and Social Mobility: A case study of Pune city, 2006-08; CSSH, University of Pune, Co-Investigator: Dr Rajeshwari Deshpande.
- 10. Coalition Politics in Maharashtra, 2004-06; UPIASI, Delhi; Co-Investigator: Nitin Birmal.
- 11. State of Democracy in South Asia, 2002-06; Joint coordinator, A project of the Lokniti programme of CSDS, Ford Foundation and EU-India Programme, Co-Investigators: Yogendra Yadav and Peter R. De Souza.
- 12. Politics of Marginalized Groups: A Study of Aurangabad and Ahmednagar districts; 1997-2000; Major Research Project of UGC; Report submitted to UGC—December 2000.
- 13. National Election Study (NES), 1996, 1998 and 1999; Coordinator for Maharashtra, A project of the Lokniti Programme of CSDS.
- 14. A study of Assembly Elections, 1995 Maharashtra; 1995-96; DSA 1<sup>st</sup> Phase and ICSSR, Co-Investigator: Rajendra Vora. Marathi book published.

- 15. Comparison of Voting Behaviour in Vidarbha and Western Maharashtra, 1995; Unassigned Grant, University of Pune.
- 16. Caste and Politics at District level in Maharashtra, 1995-96; Special Assistance Programme. DSA 1<sup>st</sup> Phase Co-Investigator: Rajendra Vora
- 17. Sixth Lok Sabha Elections in Maharashtra (1980-81); Associate Director, ICSSR project; Chief Investigator: Rajendra Vora. Monograph submitted to ICSSR; 1982

### **Other Information**:

- Member, Maharashtra State Advisory Committee on Marathi Language (2022-2023)
- Chief Editor, *Studies in Indian Politics*; an international peer reviewed journal brought out by Sage (2013-);
- Hon. Co-Director, Lokniti-- Programme, on Comparative Democracy, CSDS, Delhi; 2008-;
- Series Editor (with Rajeshwari Deshpande), Series on State Politics (Sage), 2016-2022
- Member, Board of Governors, Centre for Social Studies, Surat, (2014-2021);
- Coordinator, CAS, Dept. of Politics & Public Administration, SPPU, 2015-2016;
- Member, Advisory Committee, ICSSR, Western Region Centre, Mumbai, 2012-2015;
- Visiting Professor at Brown India Initiative, Brown University, Providence, US, April 29-May 11, 2013;
- Acting Dean, Mental, Moral and Social Sciences Faculty, University of Pune, Sept. 2010-May 2011;
- Coordinator, Centre for Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Pune, July 2006-June 2009;
- Visiting Scholar at the South Asia Centre of University of Chicago, May 2008;
- Chief Advisor, Political Science, NCERT; 2005-2012;
- Fellow, Indian School of Political Economy, Pune, (2006-);
- Member, Executive Council, Samaj Prabodhan Samstha, Pune; (2000-);
- Head, Department of Politics & Public Administration, University of Pune, 2003-04; 2005-08; April 2011-12 and July 2013-May 2014;
- President, 24<sup>th</sup> Maharashtra State Political Science Conference, Dhule, February, 2007;
- Member, Editorial Board, Samaj Prabodhan Patrika, (1990-2004);
- Member, Board of Trustees, Weekly *Saadhana*, Pune (2017-);
- Member, Board of Trustees, MASHAL (Maharashtra Social Housing and Action League, NGO), Pune (2016-).

## **PUBLICATIONS:**

# A. BOOKS

- 1. *The Last Fortress of Congress Dominance: Maharashtra since the 1990s*, (with Rajeshwari Deshpande), 2021, Sage, New Delhi.
- 2. *Politics and Society Between Elections: Public Opinion in India's States* (e-book), co-edited with Siddharth Swaminathan, December 2020, Routledge, London.

- 3. *Reading India: Selections from Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 3: 191-2017;* Edited by Pulapre Balakrishnan, Suhas Palshikar and Nandini Sundar, 2019, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad.
- 4. Indian Democracy, 2017, OISI Series, OUP, New Delhi.
- 5. *Electoral Politics in India: Resurgence of Bharatiya Janata Party*, London & New York, Routledge, 2017 (South Asia Edition), Editors: Suhas Palshikar, Sanjay Kumar & Sanjay Lodha
- 6. Party Competition in Indian States: Electoral Politics in Post-Congress Polity, Suhas Palshikar, K.C. Suri and Yogendra Yadav (eds.), 2014, New Delhi, OUP.
- 7. *Desh-Pradesh: Pradeshik Rajakaranachya Badalatya Disha*, 2014 (2015; 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), Pune, Unique Academy.
- 8. Raajakaaranaach Taaleband: Bharatiy Lokashahichi Vaatachaal, 2013, Pune, Sadhana.
- 9. *Lokshahi: Arth ani Vyavahar*, Dec. 2010, (ed. With Rajendra Vora), Marathi Translation by Chitra Lele, Pune, Diamond.
- 10. Lokshahi Zindabad, August 2010, (ed. with Yogendra Yadav and Peter R. De Souza), Pune, Samakaaleen Prakashan.
- 11. Bharatatil Pradeshik Pakshanche Rajkaran, 2009, (ed.), Pune, Sadhana.
- 12. *State of Democracy in South Asia*, 2008, with Yogendra Yadav, Peter de Souza, et al, New Delhi, OUP.
- 13. Maharashtratil Sattasangharsh, 2007, (Edited with Suhas Kulkarni), Pune, Samakaaleen Prakashan.
- 14. Jamatwad, Dharmanirapekshata ani Lokshahi, 2006, Pune, Pratima.
- 15. Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices, 2004, New Delhi, Sage, (co-edited with Rajendra Vora).
- 16. *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, 2003; Vol. 15, Nos. 1 & 2, Special Issue on Electoral Politics in Indian States, Guest edited with Yogendra Yadav.
- 17. Samakaleen Bharatiya Rajkaran, 2004, Pune, Pratima Prakashan.
- 18. *Maharashtrache Rajakaran: Rajakiy Prakriyeche Sthanik Sandarbh*, 2004, Pune, Pratima Prakashan, (co-edited with Nitin Birmal) 2<sup>nd</sup> edition: 2007; 3<sup>rd</sup> edition: 2009.
- 19. Jat ani Maharashtratil Sattakaran, 1998, Pune. Sugava, (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2003).
- 20. *Shiv Sena: Nim-fascist Mohinividyecha Prayog*, (booklet in Marathi), 1996, Satara, Ambedkar Academy.
- 21. Maharashtratil Sattantar, 1996, co-author, Bombay, Granthali.
- 22. Satyagrahi Samajvad: Acharya Javdekar Nivadak Lekh Sangraha, 1994, Bombay, Sahitya Sanskriti Mandal, Govt. of Maharashtra.
- 23. *Ambedkaranche Hindukaran*, (booklet in Marathi) 1994, Satara, Ambedkar Academy. New Edition: 2019, Hariti, Pune
- 24. Ambedkaranchya Vicharacha Ashay, (booklet in Marathi), 1991, Ichalkaranji, Samajvadi Prabodhini.
- 25. *Rajyashastra Kosh*, (An encyclopaedic dictionary of Politics), 1987, Marathi, (Co-editor and author), Pune, Dastane Ramchandra Co.

### B. Articles/Paper/Essays

#### <u>B1. English</u>

- 1. Caste, Class and Vote: Consolidation of the Privileged and Dispersal of the Underprivileged (with Jyoti Mishra), *Studies in Indian Politics*, 11.2, December 2023, pp. 258-73.
- 2. Continuity of the second dominant party system, Comment, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 57 (51) 17 Dec. 2022, p. 8.
- 3. The expanding role of majoritarianism in India, *The Round Table*, 2022, 111/3; 291-308. https://doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2022.2082683
- 4. Understanding the Downslide of India's Democracy, The India Forum, 7 May, 2021.
- 5. Understanding the Nature of Party Competition and politics of Majoritarianism, EPW Engage, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2 March, 2021, 56 (10) (online): <u>https://www.epw.in/engage/article/understanding-nature-party-competition-and</u>
- 6. The Curious Case of the Congress Party, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 55 (38), 19 Sept. 2020, 35-39.
- Emergency, Rukmini Bhaya Nair and Peter Ronald deSouza (eds.), 2020, Keywords for India: A Conceptual Lexicon for Twenty first Century India, London, Bloomsbury Academic, 366-68.
- 8. Where does the Congress go from here? India Today Symposium with politicians and academicians, *India Today*, 3 Aug. 2020, pp. 45-62.
- 9. Onward March of BJP in Maharashtra, (with Nitin Birmal) in Paul Wallace (ed.), *India's 2019 Election: The Hindutva Wave and Indian Nationalism*, 2020, New Delhi, Sage, pp. 220-34.
- 10. Politics in the times of hegemony, Seminar, 725, January, 2020, 34-39.
- 11. The Political Culture of 'New' India: Some Contradictions, in Niraja Gopal Jayal (ed.), *Reforming India*, 2019, New Delhi, Penguin; 346-62.
- 12. Towards Hegemony: BJP Beyond Electoral Dominance, *Economic & Political Weekly*, 53-33, 18 Aug. 2018, 36-42; also published in Angana P. Chatterjee, Thomas Blom Hansen and Christophe Jaffrelot (eds.), 2019, *Majoritarian State*, London, Hurst, 101-117.
- 13. Designing to Distort: Simultaneous Elections, *Economic & Political Weekly*, (Of Power & Politics), 17March 2018, 53:11, 10-11.
- 14. Letter from Rahul Gandhi: Party President in Search of a party, *Economic & Political Weekly*, (Of Power & Politics), 10 February 2018, 53:6, 13-14.
- 15. Congress' Gujarat Model, *Economic & Political Weekly* (Of Power & Politics), 53:2; 13 Jan. 2018, 10-11.
- 16. An Attack on India's Democracy, *Economic & Political Weekly* (Of Power & Politics), 52:49, 9 December, 2017, 10-11.
- 17. Third Life of the Shiv Sena: Notorious Becomes 'Normal', *Economic & Political Weekly*, 52:48, 2 December 2017; 33-36.
- Discontent and Disconnect: Wages of Dominance?, *Economic & Political Weekly* (Of Power & Politics), 52:45, 11 Nov. 2017, 12-13.
- 19. Is Small Beautiful?, *Economic & Political Weekly* (Of Power & Politics), 52:41, 14 October, 2017; 12-13.
- 20. BJP Bhagao: How and Why?, *Economic & Political Weekly* (Of Power & Politics), 52: 37; 16 Sept. 2017, 13-14.
- 21. Democracy in India, 2017. with Rajeshwari Deshpande) in Oxford Bibliographies in Hinduism. Ed. Tracy Coleman. New York: Oxford University Press, uploaded: September

2017;http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399318/obo-9780195399318-0190.xml?rskey=jdglVb&result=24

- 22. Modi's Chale Jao vs Non-Politics of the Opposition, Column in *Economic & Political Weekly*, (Of Power & Politics), 52/32, 12 August, 2017; 11-12.
- 23. Remembering Emergency, Column in *Economic & Political Weekly* (Of Power & Politics), 52/23, 10June, 2017; 10-11.
- 24. Nitish's Dilemma: Power or Politics? Column in *Economic & Political Weekly* (Of Power & Politics), 52/28, 15 July 2017; 12-13.
- 25. What Makes BJP Really Different? Column in *Economic & Political Weekly*, (Of Power & Politics), 52/19, 13 May, 2017; 12-13.
- 26. Political Economy of a Dominant Caste (with Rajeshwari Deshpande) in R. Nagraj and S. Motiram (eds.), *Political Economy of Contemporary India*, 2017, Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 77-97.
- 27. Party with a Difference? Column in *Economic & Political Weekly*, 52/15, 15 April, 2017, 11-12.
- 28. India's Second Dominant Party system, Commentary, *Economic & Political Weekly*, 18 March, 2017; 52/12; 12-15.
- 29. Diluting Political Equality, Seminar, Annual Issue, 689, January, 2017, pp. 66-70.
- 30. Background Paper: Transformation and Social Cohesion in India, *Bertelsman Stiftung*, Germany. w.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/en/publications/publication/did/transformation-and-social-

cohesion-in-india/.

- South Asia: An Arm's-Length Embrace of Democracy, Sandeep Shastri, Reetika Syal, Suhas Palshikar and Shreya Sarawgi, in Denemark David, Robert Mattes and Richard Niemi (eds.), 2016, Growing Up Democratic: Does It Make a Difference? Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner; 105-124.
- 32. Who Is Delhi's Common Man?, New Left Review, 2016, No. 98 (March-April), 113-128.
- 33. From Congress-system to non-hegemonic Multi-party Competition: Politics in Maharashtra, ISAS Working Paper No. 220, Inst. Of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore, January 2016; <u>http://www.isas.nus.edu.sg/ISAS Working Paper 220</u>
- 34. The BJP and Hindu Nationalism: Centrist Politics and Majoritarian Impulses, South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies, 38:4, 719-735, December 2015, ISSN:0085-6401 (print); 1479-0270 (online)
- 35. The Ambivalence of India's Democracy, Seminar, 677, January 2016; 31-35.
- 36. Maharashtra: Congress' Dramatic Decline, (with Nitin Birmal) in Wallace Paul (ed.), 2015, India's 2014 Elections: A Modi-led Sweep, New Delhi, Sage; pp. 284-301.
- 37. Interpreting the Mandate in Jammu and Kashmir, Sanjay Kumar, Suhas Palshikar, Shreyas Sardesai and Pranav Gupta, Notes, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2015; 50 (19), 66-69.
- 38. Congress in the Times of the post-Congress Era: Surviving sans Politics, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2015; 50 (19), 39-46.
- 39. Ambedkar and Gandhi: Limits of Divergence and Possibilities of Conversation, *Economic* and Political Weekly, 50 (15), 11 April, 2015; 45-50.
- 40. Maharashtra Assembly Elections: Farewell to Maratha Politics?, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 49, Nos. 43-44, November, 1, 2014, pp. 10-13
- 41. India's 2014 Lok Sabha Elections: Critical Shifts in the Long Term, Caution in the Short Term, (with K.C. Suri) *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIX, No. 39, 27 Sept. 2014,

pp. 39-49. Also published in Palshikar Suhas, Sanjay Kumar and Sanjay Lodha (eds.) Electoral Politics in India, London & NY, Routledge, 2017 South Asia Edition, pp. 282-299.

- 42. The Defeat of the Congress, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIX, No. 39, 27 sept., 2014, pp. 57-63. Also published as Congress's debacle, in Palshikar Suhas, Sanjay Kumar and Sanjay Lodha (eds.) Electoral Politics in India, London & NY, Routledge, 2017 South Asia Edition, pp. 34-51.
- 43. Politics of Maharashtra and Its Environment, in Dusan Deak and Daniel Jasper (eds.) 2014, *Rethinking Western India: The Changing Contexts of Culture, Society and Religion*, New Delhi, Orient Blackswan, pp. 237-250.
- 44. Introduction: Normalization of the 'Post-Congress Polity', (with K.C. Suri and Yogendra Yadav) 2014, in Palshikar, Suri and Yadav (eds.), 2014, *Party Competition in Indian States*, New Delhi, OUP; pp. 1-41.
- 45. The Making of a Neo-Hindu Democracy, Seminar, 665, January 2014, 37-41.
- 46. Survival in the Midst of Decline: A Decade of Congress Rule in Maharashtra, 1999-2009, (with Rajeshwari Deshpande and Nitin Birmal), in Palshikar, Suri and Yadav (eds.), 2014 *Party Competition in Indian States*, New Delhi, OUP; pp. 431-50.
- 47. Coalitions in Maharashtra: Political Fragmentation or Social reconfiguration? (with Nitin Birmal and Vivek Ghotale), 2014, in E. Sridharan (ed.) 2014, *Coalition Politics in India:* Select Issues at the Centre and the States, New Delhi, Academic Foundation, pp. 107-72.
- 48. Modi, Media and the Middle Class, Seminar, 656, April, 2014, pp. 18-22.
- 49. Of Radical Democracy and Anti-partyism, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVIII No. 10, March 09, 2013, pp. 10-13
- 50. Election Studies, in Suri K.C. (ed.), 2013, *Indian Democracy*, ICSSR Research Surveys and Explorations, (Political Science; Vol. II), New Delhi, OUP, pp. 161-208
- 51. Regional and Caste parties, in Kohli Atul and Prerna Singh (eds.) 2013, *Routledge Handbook* of Indian Politics, Oxford & NY, Routledge, pp. 91-104.
- 52. Elections in India: Prestige Deriving from Practice, 2012, published in French: Les elections en Inde: Un Prestige puissant au Coeur de la pratique et du Soutine populaire, in *Governance Chronicle(Chroniques de la gouvernance)*, Charles Leopold Mayer (ed.), Paris, Inst for Research and Debate on Governance, ISBN: 978-2-84377-170-5; pp. 183-191.
- 53. A Moment of Spurious Democracy, Seminar, 629, Jan. 2012, pp. 28-31.
- 54. Limits of Dominant Caste Politics, Seminar, 620, April, 2011; pp. 47-50.
- 55. Transitions, Stagnations and Transformations, (with Yogendra Yadav), *Seminar*, 620, April, 2011; pp. 14-20.
- 56. Towards Radical Social Sciences: Lessons from D.R. Gadgil, in Sulabha Brahme (ed.), 2011, The Indian Political Economy: Problems and Prospects—Selected Writings of D.R. Gadgil, New Delhi, OUP, pp. 409-424.
- 57. Need for a Caste Census, Seminar, 617, January 2011; pp. 72-76.
- 58. Quality in Higher Education: Complex Issues, Superficial Solutions, 2010, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 45, No. 20, May15; pp. 29-31
- 59. In the Midst of Sub-democratic Politics, 2010, *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vo. 45, No. 7, Feb. 13-19, pp. 12-16.
- 60. Maharashtra Polls—Continuity amidst Social Volatility (with Rajeshwari Deshpande and Nitin Birmal), 2009, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 48, 28 Nov; pp. 22-27.

- Between Fortuna and Virtu: Explaining the Congress' Ambiguous Victory in 2009, (with Yogendra Yadav) 2009, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 39, 25 September, pp. 33-46
- 62. Political Economy of Humiliation: Tale of a Failed Strike, 2009, in Gopal Guru (ed.), 2009, *Humiliation: Claims and Context*, New Delhi, OUP, pp 163-78.
- 63. Tentative Emergence of a New and Tentative Coalition? (Commentary), 2009; *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 21, 23 May, pp.8-10
- 64. Maharashtra: Towards a New Party System (with Nitin Birmal), 2009 in Shastri Sandeep, K.C. Suri and Yogendra Yadav (eds.), 2009, *Electoral Politics in Indian States: Lok Sabha Elections in 2004 and Beyond*, New Delhi, OUP; pp.108-129
- Principal State Level Contests and Derivative National Choices: Electoral Trends in 2004-09; 2009, with Yogendra Yadav, *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 7-13, Vol. 44, No.6; pp. 55-62
- 66. The Mirror Crack'd from Side to Side...: Are we Becoming a Majoritarian Society? 2009, in Basrur Rajesh (ed.) *Challenges to Democracy in India*, New Delhi, OUP; pp. 248-270.
- 67. In the Shadow of Terror: Anti-Politician or Anti-politics? (Commentary); 2008, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 43, No.50, December 13-19; pp10-11.
- 68. Ten Theses on State Politics in India, (with Yogendra Yadav), 2008, Seminar, 591, November; pp. 14-22.
- 69. Occupational Mobility: How much Does Caste matter? (co-author with Rajeshwari Deshpande), 2008, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 43, No. 34, August, 23; pp. 61-70.
- 70. Challenges before the Reservation Discourse, (Commentary), 2008, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 43, No. 17, April 26; pp. 8-11.
- 71. The Indian State: Constitution and Beyond, 2008, in Rajeev Bhargava (ed.), *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*, 2008, New Delhi, OUP, pp. 143-163.
- 72. Surveying South Asia, 2008, De Souza Peter R., Suhas Palshikar and Yogendra Yadav, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 19, No. 1, January, pp. 84-95; also published as The Fragility of Support to Democracy in South Asia, Diamond Larry and Marc Plattner (eds.) 2008, How People View Democracy, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press; pp.89-101.
- 73. Of Democracy and Diversity, 2008, Seminar, January, No. 581, pp. 83-87
- 74. An Enterprise called Faith? Tale of a Devsthan in Maharashtra, 2008, Naito M., I. Shima and H. Kotani, (eds.), 2008, *Marga: Ways of Liberation, Empowerment and Social Change in Maharashtra*, New Delhi, Manohar, pp. 357-382, (Co-author: Rajeshwari Deshpande)
- 75. Beyond Uttar Pradesh: New implications for party politics; (Commentary), 2007; *Economic and Political Weekly*; Vol. 42, No. 21, May 26-June1, pp.1890-92.
- 76. Dalit Politics in the Nineties: Electoral Politics and Predicament before an Underprivileged Community; 2007; *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 68, No. 1, January, pp.101-129.
- 77. Caste Politics Through the Prism of Region, 2006, in Vora Rajendra and Anne Feldhaus (eds.), 2006, *Region, Culture and Politics in India*, Manohar, New Delhi, pp. 271-98.
- 78. Shiv Sena's Dilemmas, 2005, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 40, No. 49, 3 Dec. pp.5144-46
- 79. Maharashtra: Dalit Politics in Hindutva Trap, in Teltumbde Anand (ed.) 2005, Hindutva and Dalits, Samya, Kolkata, pp.208-223
- 80. Maharashtra: Towards a New Party system (with Nitin Birmal), 2004, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, no. 51, December, 18, pp. 5467-5472

- 81. Participatory Norm: How Broad-based is it? (With Sanjay Kumar), 2004, *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 39, no. 51, December, 18, pp.5412-17.
- 82. Majoritarian Middle Ground?, 2004, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, no. 51, December, 18, pp. 5426-5430
- 83. Issues in an Issueless Election: Assembly Polls in Maharashtra, 2004, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, no. 40, October2-8, pp.4399-4403
- 84. Revisiting State Level Parties, 2004, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.39, Nos. 14 &15, April 3 and 10, pp.1477-79
- 85. Shiv Sena: Tiger with Many Faces?, 2004; *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, Nos. 14 &15, April, 3 and 10, pp.1497-1507; also published in Peter R. De Souza and E. Sridharan (eds.), 2006, India's Political Parties, Sage, New Delhi, pp. 253-280
- 86. Whose Democracy Are We Talking About? Hegemony and Democracy in India, in Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar (eds.), 2004, *Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices*, Sage, New Delhi, pp.127-164.
- 87. From Hegemony to Convergence: Party System and Electoral Politics in the Indian States, 1952-2002, (co-author); 2003, *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, Vol. 15, Nos. 1 & 2, pp.5-44; also published in Peter R. De Souza and E. Sridharan (eds.), 2006, India's Political Parties, Sage, New Delhi, pp. 73-115.
- 88. Challenges Before the Congress System, (with Rajeshwari Deshpande), 2003, *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, Vol. 15, Nos. 1 & 2, January-June, pp. 97-122.
- 89. The Regional Parties and Democracy: Romantic Rendezvous or Localized Legitimation? 2003, In Ajay K. Mehra, D.D. Khanna and Gert W. Kueck (eds.), 2003, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, New Delhi, Sage; pp. 306-35
- 90. Maharashtra: Fragmented Marathas Retain Power, (with and Nitin Birmal), 2003, in Paul Wallace and Ramashray Roy (eds.), 2003; *India's 1999 Elections and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Politics, New Delhi*, Sage; pp. 206-32.
- 91. Politics of India's Middle Classes, in Imtiaz Ahmad and Helmut Reifeld (eds.), 2003, *Middle Class Values in India and Western Europe*, New Delhi, Social Science Press; pp. 171-193.
- 92. Politics of Locality, Community and Marginalization, 2003, (co-authored with Rajendra Vora), in Sujata Patel and Jim Masselos (eds.) 2003, *Bombay and Mumbai: The City in Transition*, Delhi, OUP; pp. 161-182.
- 93. Triangular Competition and Bipolar Politics in Maharashtra, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37, No. 13; March 30- April 5, 2002, pp.1273-1280.
- 94. Federalism in India: Institutional Framework and the Political Context; 2002, in *Continuing Dialogues towards Constitutional Reforms in Indonesia*, Report of a conference held in Jakarta, Indonesia, October 2001, International IDEA, Stockholm; pp. 189-200.
- 95. Gandhi and Modernity, in S.N. Datye (ed.), 2000, *Rethinking Mahatma Gandhi*, Delhi, Kalinga; pp.165-176.
- 96. Dalit Movement at Crossroads, 2000, Contribution to the Background Paper for UNDP Human Rights Report; prepared by Centre For Women's Development Studies, Delhi, 2000; compiled by Lotika Sarkar, Veena Mazumdar and S.P. Sathe.
- 97. Electoral Competition and Structures of Domination in Maharashtra, (with Rajeshwari Deshpande), 1999, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34, Nos. 34-35, Aug. 21 & 28, pp. 2409-2422
- Maharashtra: Manipulative Politics Continues, 1999, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34, No. 13, March 27, pp. 743-745.

- 99. Gandhi-Ambedkar Interface: When shall the Twain Meet, 1996; *Economic and Political weekly;* Vol. 31, No. 31, August 3, pp. 2070-72.
- 100. Capturing the Moment of Realignment: Maharashtra Assembly Elections; 1996, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 31, Nos. 2 and 3; Jan. 13-20, pp. 174-178.
- 101. Class, Caste and Ideology in Maharashtra, 1994, (co-authored with Rajendra Vora), in K. L. Sharma, (ed.), 1994, *Caste and Class in India*, Rawat, Jaipur, pp. 263-294.
- 102. Maharashtra: Arrival of the Bahujan Idiom, 1994, *Indian Journal of Political Science*, IV.3, July-Sept. pp. 271-284.
- 103.Liberty, Equality and Fraternity in Ambedkar; 1993, in K. I. Vibhute (ed.), 1993, Dr. Ambedkar and Empowerment, Pune, University of Pune, pp. 37-54.
- 104. Neo-Hinduism: Case of Distorted Consciousness; (co-author), in Jayant Lele and Rajendra Vora (eds.), 1990, *State and Society in India* Delhi, Chanakya, pp. 213-243.
- 105. Ambedkar's Socialism: 1990, *Rajyashastra Patrika*, Journal of Maharashtra Political Science Assn., Parbhani, pp. 11-23.
- 106.Sixth Lok Sabha Elections: Maharashtra; (co-author) 1983; *ICSSR Research Abstract Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-2, Jan. June; pp. 61-74.
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## D. Book reviews

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#### E. <u>TEACHING AIDS / TEXT BOOKS</u>

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- 6. Course book on Ambedkar for IGNOU, Delhi.
- 7. Five course books on Indian Politics for YCMOU, Nasik.
- 8. Contributed to six course books prepared by Distance Education Centre, University of Pune.
- 9. Marathi Text book on American Government for undergraduates.
- 10. Co-author for std. VII Civics textbook for The Text Book Bureau of Maharashtra Government.

### F. Writings in Popular Publications:

Over one hundred articles and essays in popular press in Marathi and English and over twenty long essays in Special Issues and Annual Numbers of Monthly and Annual Magazines in Marathi