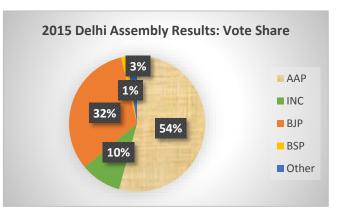
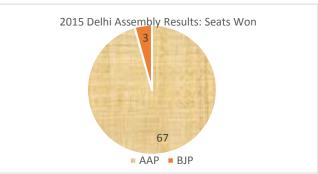
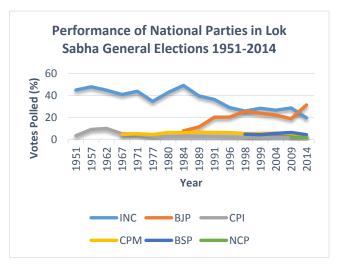
2015 Delhi Assembly Elections Verdict: An Analysis

-- Dr Volker Bauer & Sandeep Kumar Dubey

On 10 February 2015, the results for the 2015 Delhi Assembly elections were announced.1 Total 673 candidates fought this election.² Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) achieved a landslide victory, bagging 67 out of total 70 seats in Delhi Assembly. Three seats went to Bharatiy Janata Party (BJP). In other words, AAP got almost 96 per cent of the seats. By winning 96 percent of seats, AAP made a history. Before this, in 1989 Sikkim Assembly elections, Sikkim Sangram Parishad (SSP) won 100% of the seats (all 32 seats); in 2004, Sikkim Democratic Front (SDF) won almost 97 percent of the seats (31 out of 32 seats) in Sikkim Assembly elections and in the 2009 Sikkim Assembly elections SDF won 100% of the seats (all the 32 seats).3 Therefore, in terms of seats, this is fourth largest victory in the history of Assembly elections in India. In terms of vote share, AAP got nearly 54% of votes polled in this Assembly election. There are only 37 cases in the history of State Assembly elections in India where the winner has got over 50% of the vote share and AAP stands on the 13th position in the list.⁴ In fact, it would be interesting to highlight here that since the first Lok Sabha⁵ elections (1951-52) in India, no national parties have ever been able to gain even 50% of the votes polled (the highest ever was 49.1% in 1986).6 In the First-Past-The-Post electoral system, which is in operation in India, what







http://ceodelhi.gov.in/WriteReadData/assemblyelection2015/PN%20for%20NCTD 12012015.pdf (Accessed on 11 February 2015)

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ Voting took place on 7 February 2015. For more details, see

² Facts at a Glance- Delhi, *Press Information Bureau*, 29 January 2015, available at http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=115039 (Accessed on 11 February 2015)

³ AAP's Delhi win a land mark in poll history, *The Hindu*, February 12, 2015, available at http://www.thehindu.com/elections/delhi2015/aaps-delhi-win-a-landmark-in-poll-history/article6879392.ece?ref=relatedNews (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Alternatively, it is called *House of the People* or Lower House of India's bicameral Parliament.

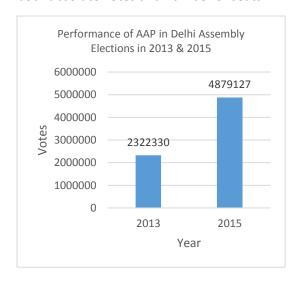
⁶ INC: Indian National Congress, BSP: Bahujan Samaj Party, NCP: National Congress Party, CPM: Communist Party of India (Marxist), CPI: Communist Party of India.

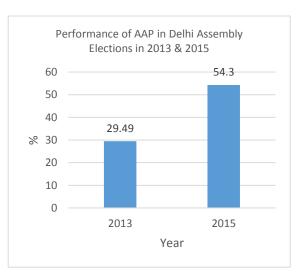
matters is not the vote share but number of the seats won to prove the majority in the Assembly.⁷

Mr Kejriwal was sworn in on 14 February 2015, exactly after one year since he had resigned from the office of the Delhi's Chief Minister (CM) on 14 February 2014, after being in power for about 49 days. In between, he and his party also fought Lok Sabha elections in April-May 2014 but lost miserably by losing deposits on about 400 seats and just won in four Parliamentary Constituencies (PCs) in Punjab. It is in this context that the spectacular victory is seen as sudden resurrection of the party, which could emerge an alternative to the mainstream political parties in the upcoming Assembly and next Lok Sabha elections.

AAP in 2013 Vs AAP in 2015

AAP performed spectacularly well in 2015 as compared to 2013 Delhi Assembly elections, in terms of both absolute votes and number of seats.





AAP's absolute votes got increased by 25,56,797 from 23,22,330 in 2013 to 48,79,127 in 2015. Increase in its vote share was about 25 per cent.

Now the question is: From where did AAP get this about 25 lakh votes? Elections resemble zero-sum games: one's loss, other's gain. However, in the Assembly elections, there were many candidates in fray, not just two. Therefore, it is very difficult to tell which party's vote bank switched to which party. It is assumed that mass exodus of the voters from one party goes in favour of another party *en masse*. Also, it is still a viable hypothesis that the loyal voters do not change their loyalty 'overnight'. As BJP got increased its absolute votes by about 3 lakhs, there is no reason to believe that there was mass exodus of voters from BJP to some other party. Therefore, it seems AAP benefited from the addition voting, mass exodus of voters from Indian National Congress (INC) and Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), and from other small and regional parties/independents.

⁷ For details on the First-Past-The-Post Electoral System, see Trends in 2014 Lok Sabha Elections, 2 April 2014, available at http://www.hss.de/fileadmin/india/downloads/Trends Elections 2014 02.04.14.pdf (Accessed on 11 February 2015)

⁸ Arvind Kejriwal resigns as Delhi Chief Minister, hands over resignation letter to Lt Governor Najeeb Jung, *The Indian Express*, 14 February 2015, available at http://indianexpress.com/article/india/politics/delhi-assembly-live-aap-jan-lokpal-bill-arvind-kejriwal-resignation/ (Accessed on 17 February 2015)

⁹ AAP may have lost Rs 1 crore in election deposits, *The Times of India*, 25 May 2014, available at http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/news/AAP-may-have-lost-Rs-1-crore-in-election-deposits/articleshow/35575404.cms (Accessed on 14 February 2015)

Below are the explanations for increase in AAP's votes:

The total population of Delhi as per the 2011 Census of India is 1,67,53,235, out of which the rural population is 4,19,319 and urban is 1,63,33,916.10 In terms of gender, male population is 89,76,410 and female population is 77,76,825.11 The total number of voters this time was 1,33,14,215 (male: 73, 89,089, female: 59, 19,127, others: 862, service: 5110 and NRI: 27). 12 In 2013, it was 1,19,36,360. 13 It means compared to 2013 Assembly elections, 13,77,855 new voters got registered for the 2015 Delhi Assembly elections. In 2013 Delhi Assembly elections, total votes polled were 78,80,903 out of 1,19,36,360 registered voters. In 2015 Delhi Assembly elections, nearly 89,33,838 people voted (67.1% votes were polled). Therefore compared to 2013, the number of the additional votes was 10,52,935.

Indian National Congress' absolute vote got decreased by 10,65,906 from 19,32,933 in 2013 to 8,67,027 in 2015. And BSP's absolute votes also got decreased by 3,03,802 from 4,20,926 in 2013 to 1,17,124 in 2015. So if we just sum these three segments of votes, it would be about 24.5 lakh. There is a possibility that these three major segments of votes got transferred to AAP, which led to increase in its absolute vote by about 25 lakh.

Why AAP won?

Although most of the pre-poll surveys predicted the victory of AAP, none of them were close to what finally AAP accomplished—a historical victory.¹⁴ Political scientists are not unanimous in projecting what exactly contributed to AAP's landslide victory. There are as many views as the number of experts are. However, the factors, which contributed to AAP's victory, could be summarised as following:

AAP won because it,

- 1. Crafted an effective campaign strategy.
- 2. Did innovative campaigning.
- 3. Managed media in its favour.
- 4. Succeeded in mass communication of the Party's poll promises.
- 5. Gained huge social media support.
- 6. Constructed common man's narrative.
- 7. Projected the CM candidate as common man.
- 8. Projected the Party as victim of larger political forces.
- 9. Projected Party's socialist outlook.
- 10. Promised Freebies (in terms of water, electricity, Wi-Fi etc.).
- 11. Promised instant delivery of civic services.
- 12. Left and left liberal academia and intelligentsia's moral and political support.
- 13. Benefitted from the growing threat perception among minorities community. 15
- 14. Received open supports from NRIs/overseas Indians, which had impact on public perceptions.
- 15. Successfully projected the Party as the crusader against corruption.

¹⁰ Statistical Abstract of Delhi 2012, available at http://delhi.gov.in/DoIT/DES/Publication/abstract/SA2012.pdf (Accessed on 13 February

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Facts at a Glance- Delhi, *Press Information Bureau*, 29 January 2015, available at http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=115039 (Accessed on 11 February 2015)

¹³ Statistical Report on General Election, 2013 to the Legislative Assembly of NCT of Delhi, available at http://eci.nic.in/eci main/StatisticalReports/AE2013/DelhiAE 2013 stat report.pdf (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

¹⁴ Delhi election: AAP likely to win 38-46 seats, BJP 19-25, says India Today-Cicero survey, India Today, 3 February 2015, available at http://indiatoday.in/story/india-today-pre-poll-survey-delhi-assembly-elections-aap-bjp-wining-seats/1/416772.html (Accessed on 14 February 2015)

^{15&#}x27;Christians in Delhi are living in fear', The Hindu, 18 January 2015, available at http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Delhi/christians-indelhi-are-living-in-fear/article6798180.ece (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

- 16. Received overwhelming support from migrated labourers from other states where corruption is a big issue.
- 17. Projected its Party as the party of young generation, by showcasing party's young faces.

Who voted for AAP?

In politics and elections, what matters most is the "social coalition". In modern democratic polities, usually different social blocks flock together to form sort of alliance, especially during elections to push for fulfilment of their common agenda/interests. This alliance can be called social coalition. In a country as diverse as India, this coalition is not very rigid and therefore subject to reshuffle and change. This coalition happens to be a product of various intersections of bottom-up aspirations and top-down socio-political engineering. In the Delhi Assembly elections, the social coalition was in favour of AAP. The coalition was predominantly made up of urban poor, lower class/castes, lower middle class, minorities and migrants.

The slum dwellers in Delhi are about 14.5 lakh.¹⁷ In fact, over 60 per cent of Delhi's population live in slums and unauthorised colonies.¹⁸ It is reported that 65 per cent of the urban poor voted for AAP.¹⁹ The Scheduled Caste population in Delhi is about 23.5 lakh.²⁰ So far as migrants are considered, their population is 60 lakh.²¹ Dominant segment in the migrant population comes from Eastern Uttar Pradesh/Bihar (Poorvanchalis). It is estimated that there are about 40 lakh Poorvanchalis in Delhi. Punjabis constitute around 35 per cent of the total population.²² Reportedly, both Poorvanchalis and Punjabis voted in large number for AAP.²³

It is also believed that lawyers played a key role in AAP's victory.²⁴ As per one report, total number of lawyers in Delhi is about 54 thousand.²⁵ It is very powerful community in Delhi and known for its lobbying. Apart from lawyer community, it was trader's community (*baniya* in Hindi), which is believed to have supported AAP. Mr Kejriwal himself comes from this community.²⁶ As per one estimate, the total population of *baniyas* is about 14 lakh.²⁷ One more important group, which supported AAP, is of

¹⁶ Gatecrasher's Gig, *Outlook*, available at http://www.outlookindia.com/article/Gatecrashers-Gig/293406 (Accessed on 15 February 2015)

¹⁷ Statistical Abstract of Delhi 2012, available at http://delhi.gov.in/DoIT/DES/Publication/abstract/SA2012.pdf (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

¹⁸ Delhi results: How AAP emerged as the "baap" of all parties, 11 February 2015, available at http://www.dailyo.in/opinion/delhi-results-how-aap-emerged-as-the-baap-of-all-parties-kejriwal-bjp-modi-kiran-bedi-amit-shah-congress-rahul-gandhi/story/1/1965.html (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Out of which 188,378 is rural and 2,154,877 is urban. Statistical Abstract of Delhi 2012, available at http://delhi.gov.in/DoIT/DES/Publication/abstract/SA2012.pdf (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

²¹ Statistical Abstract of Delhi 2012, available at http://delhi.gov.in/DoIT/DES/Publication/abstract/SA2012.pdf (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

²² Delhi Assembly elections 2015: Important facts and major stakeholders, *India TV*, 6 February 2015, available at http://www.indiatvnews.com/politics/national/delhi-assembly-elections-2015-important-facts-and-stakeholders-25298.html (Accessed on 14 February 2015)

²³ Delhi poll results 2015: 10 reasons for the AAP tsunami, *The Economic Times*, 11 February 2015, Available at http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/delhi-poll-results-2015-10-reasons-for-the-aaptsunami/articleshow/46198044.cms (Accessed on 16 February 2015)

²⁴ Delhi elections: Lawyers appeal to people not to vote for BJP CM candidate Kiran Bedi, *IBN Live*, 29 January 2015, available at http://ibnlive.in.com/news/delhi-elections-lawyers-appeal-to-people-not-to-vote-for-bjp-cm-candidate-kiran-bedi/525560-37-64.html (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

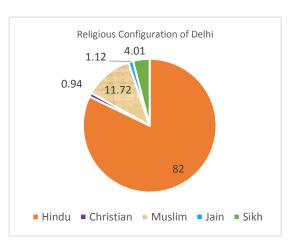
²⁵ RTI reveals: 1.3m advocates; 1 in 300 Delhi-ites a lawyer; Maharashtra lawyers 'richest'; Jharkand, Assam, J&K fastest, *Legally India*, 18 February 2013, available at http://www.legallyindia.com/201302183448/Bar-Bench-Litigation/rti-reveals-number-of-lawyers-india (Accessed on 14 February 2015)

²⁶ Delhi polls: AAP leader Arvind Kejriwal calls himself 'baniya', promises traders end of VAT raids, *The Indian Express*, 29 December 2014, available at http://indianexpress.com/article/cities/delhi/arvind-kejriwal-calls-himself-baniya-promises-traders-end-of-vat-raids/ (Accessed on 14 February 2015)

²⁷ People Groups of India, available at http://www.peoplegroupsindia.com/profiles/bania/ (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

auto-rickshaw drivers. They also helped in poll campaigning of AAP. Many of them did it voluntarily. Total number of auto-rickshaw drivers is estimated to be about 75 thousand.²⁸

It would also be pertinent to give some idea of minority communities from which AAP received an overwhelming support. Reportedly, Muslim and Sikh communities, which are about 12 and 4 per cent of the Delhi's population, voted in large number for AAP.²⁹ The religious composition of Delhi is given in the pie chart. Christian community is relatively small in Delhi. It is just 0.94 per cent of the total population. Apart from Muslim and Sikh, they also voted en masse for AAP.³⁰ (Source of the data for the pie chart: Statistical Abstract of Delhi 2012,



http://delhi.gov.in/DoIT/DES/Publication/abstract/SA2012.pdf)

Apart from lower class and lower middle class, AAP also attracted a major chunk of young voters. ³¹ This time there were a large number of young voters. Just in the age group of 18-19 years, the number of voters were about 2.5 lakh. ³²

Here one thing needs to be clarified that the Election Commission of India releases the break-up of electors in terms of age, male, female and SC/ST, not in terms of profession or religions. The data on their population are given here is just to give an idea of demography of Delhi. What finally matters is the voters turnout, which means number of the registered voters who actually voted in the elections.

Why BJP lost?

BJP won just three seats in this election. It surprised anybody in the political circles. It is the party, which swept all the seven Lok Sabha seats in Delhi just few months ago! Then what went wrong in the 2015 Assembly elections that it lost miserably? There are many opinions/theories floating around on why BJP lost. However, some of the important reasons could be summarized as following:

BJP lost because,

- 1. It could not outsmart AAP's electioneering strategy.
- 2. It lacked coordination among its top leadership and cadres in its campaign.
- 3. It solely depended for campaign on its star campaigner PM Modi.
- 4. Given his official engagements, PM Modi could not well focus on the campaign.
- 5. It lagged far behind AAP in communicating their promises assertively to the voters.
- 6. It failed to control its fringe elements who made communal statements in public, which damaged party's image.

²⁸ For Dikshit, Kejriwal or BJP: Why Delhi auto rickshaws are a key vote bank, *Firstpost*, 27 June 2014, available at http://www.firstpost.com/politics/for-dikshit-kejriwal-or-bjp-why-delhi-auto-rickshaws-are-a-key-votebank-910499.html (Accessed on 11 February 2015)

²⁹ 77% Muslims, 57% Sikhs voted AAP, *The Indian Express*, 12 February 2015, available at http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/77-muslims-57-sikhs-voted-aap/ (Accessed on 16 February 2015)

³⁰ Muslims, Christians celebrate AAP victory, Business Standard, 10 February 2015, available at http://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ians/muslims-christians-celebrate-aap-victory-115021001112 1.html (Accessed on 14 February 2015)

³¹ AAP owes it to the young and poor, *The Hindu*, 13 February 2015, available at http://www.thehindu.com/elections/delhi2015/aapowes-it-to-the-young-and-poor/article6888673.ece (Accessed on 17 February 2015)

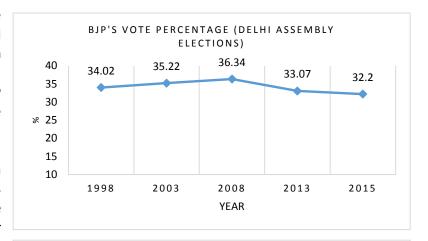
³² Facts at a Glance- Delhi, *Press Information Bureau*, 29 January 2015, available at http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=115039 (Accessed on 11 February 2015)

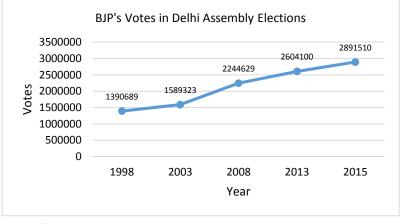
- 7. Declaring newly inducted Kiran Bedi as its CM candidate backfired as it did not go well down to the cadres and local leaders.
- 8. It ignored party's local cadres in decision making that further added fuel to the fire.
- 9. It possibly failed to attract the incremental voters.
- 10. It failed to reverse the people's first preference for Mr Kejriwal as CM.
- 11. There was absence of young faces in BJP's core leadership as compared to AAP.
- 12. It lost hold on auto drivers, emigrant workers and Punajabis/Poorvanchalis.

There are many who view the defeat as rejection of PM Modi's governance style at the centre.³³ Apparently it looks plausible. However, as per some post-poll survey, the faith of people in Modi's governance style seems to be intact.³⁴

Interestingly too, BJP's vote share since 1998 Delhi Assembly elections has been almost intact.35 It is on an average about 34 per cent. BJP came to power in Delhi for the first time way back in 1993. And then it lost to INC in 1998. Since then INC remained in power in Delhi up to. 2013 Assembly verdict. When there was a hung Assembly after 2013 elections, AAP formed the government with the help of INC. Since 1998, BJP could never manage to come to power in Delhi.

However, remaining almost 16 years away from power, it seems BJP still enjoys the confidence of large chunk of voters in Delhi, as it is clear from its increasing votes. Its





absolute votes got more than doubled from 13,90,689 in 1998 to 28,91,510 in 2015. This gives some hopes for the BJP not only for the next Assembly elections but 2019 Lok Sabha elections as well. Delhi has seven Lok Sabha seats.

³³ Delhi election results: Voters reject Modi wave, elect Kejriwal's AAP for 5 years in historic verdict, *The Hindustan Times*, 10 February 2015, available at http://www.hindustantimes.com/newdelhi/delhi-election-results-live-vote-counting-begins--delhi-waiting-for-newgovernment-in-aap-bjp-battle/article1-1315293.aspx (Accessed on 17 February 2015)

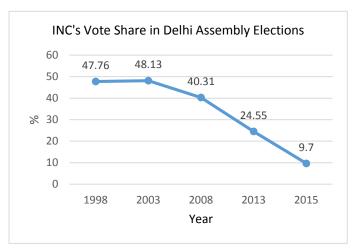
³⁴ Post-poll data says Delhi still happy with Modi, *India Today*, 14 February 2015, avaialable at http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/pm-narendra-modi-bjp-delhi-elections-2015-rahul-kanwal/1/418863.html (Accessed on 16 February 2015)

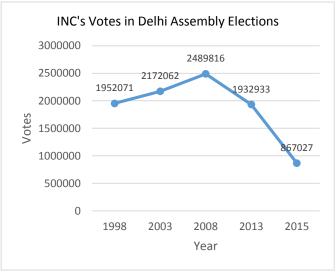
³⁵ BJP's vote share in Delhi undented since 1998, *The Economic Times*, 11 February 2015, available at http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2015-02-11/news/59043545 1 vote-share-delhi-assembly-2013-assembly-polls (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

Indian National Congress (INC):

After remaining in power for almost 15 years in Delhi since 1998, INC faced its first debacle in 2013 with the rise of AAP. In 2013 Assembly elections, it got just 8 seats and in 2015, it scored a zero. It is a serious cause of concern for INC as the oldest party of India. Since 1998 when it came to power in Delhi, its vote share has been continuously diminishingfrom 47.76% in 1998 to 9.7% in 2015. And since 2008, it has drastic decline in its absolute votes as well from 24,89,816 in 2008 to 8,67,027 in 2015 (almost 3times less). BJP came to power at the centre with the slogan of "Congress-free India". It has been an empirical fact now that after BJP came to power at the centre; INC has been facing serious challenge not only by BJP, but by the regional parties also.

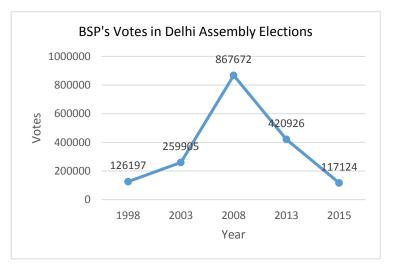
Complete rout in the 2015 Delhi Assembly elections was an alarming call for the highest echelons of the party to revive it to suit the burgeoning aspirations of the people.





Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)³⁶:

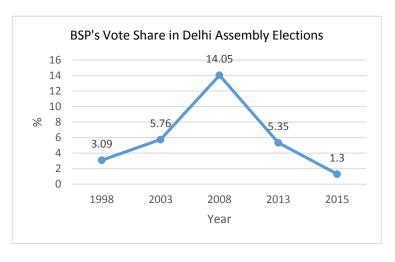
BSP's main area of operation is in Uttar Pradesh. It is a party whose mass base lies in *dalit* (oppressed class/caste) population. Delhi also has a substantial number of dalit votes. In 2008, it got about 8.5 lakh votes. However since then, its absolute votes have been decreasing from 8,67,672 in 2008 to 1,17,124 in 2015 (almost 8times less). Also, drastically decreasing is it vote share from 14.05% in 2008 to 1.3% in 2015.



³⁶ Official Website of the Bahujan Samaj Party, http://www.bspindia.org/ (Accessed on 17 February 2015)

In India, some political parties keep fighting elections in the areas, where they are not dominant

player, just to maintain their status as national party.37 And the best example is BSP. Once a party is recognised as national party, it needs to continue to fulfil the criteria as laid down by the Election Commission.³⁸ After the debacle in Delhi Assembly elections, BSP is now all set to lose its recognition as the national party.³⁹ When a political party loses its recognition as national party, it also loses all the benefits enjoyed under this recognition.⁴⁰



Challenges ahead for AAP:

AAP has made many promises in their manifesto for the people of Delhi. ⁴¹ Considering the budget constraints and centre's efforts towards fiscal consolidation ⁴², experts see difficulties in the fulfilment of all these promises. ⁴³ Apart from budgetary and financial constraints, Delhi's important governmental organs are run by the Centre. For example, out of five civic bodies, one reports to the Union Ministry of Defence and other four report to the Union Ministry of Home Affairs. ⁴⁴ Delhi Development Authority (DDA) is controlled by the Union Ministry of Urban Development. ⁴⁵ Another challenge facing the AAP is that the Delhi Assembly does not have power to make laws related to police, public order and land, thanks to the 69th Amendment to the Constitution of India. ⁴⁶ So in brief, civic services is covered by municipalities, which is regulated by the central government's legislation; Delhi policy comes under the central government and the law making capacity of the Delhi Assembly is limited. These factors will definitely impinge upon the AAP's promises of Jan Lokpal (Ombudsman), public order, women security etc. Also, interestingly the municipalities are now governed by BJP.

³⁷ For the benefits enjoyed by the national parties, see FAQs: Registration of Political Parties, available at http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/RegisterationPoliticalParties.aspx (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

³⁸ Political Parties and Election Symbols, available at

http://eci.nic.in/eci main/ElectoralLaws/OrdersNotifications/Election Symbol 2011 order 1968.pdf (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

³⁹ Delhi polls kill its hopes, BSP to lose national party status, *The Indian Express*, 11 February 2015, available at http://indianexpress.com/article/cities/lucknow/delhi-polls-kill-its-hopes-bsp-to-lose-national-party-status/ (Accessed on 16 February 2015)

⁴⁰For the benefits enjoyed by the national parties, see FAQs: Registration of Political Parties, available at http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/RegisterationPoliticalParties.aspx (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

⁴¹ For all the promises and action plan, see Manifesto-2015, available at http://aamaadmiparty.org/sites/default/files/Action%20Plan.pdf (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

⁴² Fiscal consolidation: Modi govt feels indiscipline may hit credit rating & RBI's monetary easing, *The Economic Times*, 2 February 2015, available at http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2015-02-02/news/58711346 1 deficit-target-fiscal-consolidation-modigovernment (Accessed on 14 February 2015)

⁴³ AAP manifesto: Kejriwal's promises are fine, but where will he get the money?, *Firstpost*, 1 February 2015, available at http://www.firstpost.com/politics/aap-manifesto-kejriwals-promises-are-fine-but-where-will-he-get-the-money-2073945.html (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

⁴⁴ For more details, see Arvind Kejriwal's challenges, *Live Mint*, 11 February 2015, available at http://www.livemint.com/Politics/hBrjGOgFsEmuk2tuqZ1qTO/Arvind-Kejriwals-challenges.html (Accessed on 13 February 2015)

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Kejriwal will have to knock Modi's door often, *Business Standard*, 11 February 2015, available at http://www.business-standard.com/article/elections/kejriwal-will-have-to-knock-modi-s-door-often-115021000875 1.html (Accessed on 17 February 2015)

As AAP has full majority in the Delhi Assembly, it appears that it will demand for statehood of Delhi and for Delhi Police to come under the CM.⁴⁷ However, experts observe that it would not be easy to fulfil all the promises, even if AAP's demands for statehood and Delhi Police get fulfilled. The reason given is that Delhi receives huge sum of grants from the central government. When Delhi becomes a state, then it will get fund from the Centre as other states get. Also, to run Delhi Police and other state apparatus, then the Delhi state will require more money to pay the salaries etc. It means the Delhi would require to generate more revenues to meet the expenses of the government bodies etc. This may lead to increase in the prices of water, electricity etc. which would then be counterproductive to the promises made by the Party. Additionally, as Union government cannot come under the state territory, the Delhi has to be geographically bifurcated, in case the Delhi government demands for statehood.⁴⁸

In addition to the above challenges, the Delhi government may face the challenge in terms of water supply as promised by the Party during the elections. In summer, Delhi face acute water shortage. It depends for its water supply on the neighbouring states of Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. Even when there was INC's government both in Delhi and Haryana, the water shortage could not be resolved as to satisfaction of the people in Delhi.⁴⁹ This time there is a BJP government in Haryana and Samajwadi Party (SP)⁵⁰ government in Uttar Pradesh. However, the problem of water shortage in Delhi is not just because of water supply from the neighbouring states, but also poor management of the water resources within Delhi. Experts say to a large extent the problem of water shortage could be resolved by better water management for example by optimising the capacity of sewage treatment plants, fixing the leakage in the distribution pipe etc.⁵¹

It would always be better if the Union and Delhi governments coordinate with each other in the larger interest of people of Delhi.

Source of the Data used in the Charts:

All data used in charts making have been collated from the Election Commission of India's website (http://eci.nic.in/eci/eci.html).

⁴⁷ The day after: Kejriwal drives home Delhi statehood demand, *Hindustan Times*, 12 February 2015, available at http://www.hindustantimes.com/newdelhi/kejriwal-raises-full-statehood-issue-with-home-minister-rajnath-singh/article1-1315882.aspx (Accessed on 14 February 2015)

⁴⁸ For details on this, see Careful what you ask for: Kejriwal's full Delhi statehood demand could backfire, *Firstpost*, 12 February 2015, available at http://www.firstpost.com/india/careful-what-you-ask-for-kejriwals-full-delhi-statehood-demand-could-backfire-2094609.html (Accessed on 14 February 2015)

⁴⁹ Haryana CM to find solution to Delhi's water problem, *Business Standard*, 1 December 2014, available at http://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ians/haryana-cm-to-find-solution-to-delhi-s-water-problem-114120101334 1.html (Accessed on 16 February 2015)

⁵⁰ Official Website of Samajwadi Party, http://www.samajwadiparty.in/ (Accessed on 17 February 2015)

⁵¹ Why Is Delhi Running Out of Water?, The Wall Street Journal, 21 June 2012, available at http://blogs.wsj.com/indiarealtime/2012/06/21/why-is-delhi-running-out-of-water/ (Accessed on 14 February 2015)