CHAPTER 4
SELECTION AND ELECTION EXPERIENCES

Free election to legislative bodies is a prerequisite for representative democratic systems. Such elections not only facilitate free choice to the electorate but also popular control over representation. More than what rulers do, who the rulers are is an important aspect that gained importance in behavioural studies. Legislative roles constitutionally are accessible to all citizens. But those with adequate capacity need to be chosen to make these structures effective. There are several operational problems associated with the choice of representatives. Caste, money, influence, control and several related factors have a bearing on the election of representatives. The ultimate result is uneven representation of social groups in the legislative bodies. This is the reason why the legislatures are considered by some as unrepresentative houses, even misrepresentative houses. In the process of selecting candidates in parts based democracies, the political parties, while playing crucial roles, are faced with several problems. Political parties are the important instruments of candidate selection in the process of elections and parties are expected to adopt democratic means. Apart from interest aggregation the parties have the functions of fielding candidates, conducting campaigns, raising funds and working for the success of their nominees. In the process they involve in negotiations, persuasion, representation, recruitment deliberation and given the opportunity, make determinant of government. In the process of recruitment, they identify tram and prepare leaders. These become crucial factors in the working of representative government.

Selection and election of candidates to legislative bodies constitute significant pans of political recruitment in general. The recruitment process
will have its influence on the subsequent behaviour of the recruited. The style of recruitment also will have its impact on the image that a party has. The mechanisms adopted to field candidates and the approaches to understand the nature of political recruitment have also become the subject matter of research studies of contemporary. It would be useful to understand the views of writers like Barber. To him, political recruitment and official behaviour could be studied through three main approaches—First of these, the Traditional approach seeks to examine the conditions of political organisation in a constituency and the affects of inter and intra-party competitiveness.

The second approach, that is, Sociological approach intends to study the background of legislators and tries to observe how the background differs from that of the general population. The third approach, Motivation approach would lay emphasis on testing the interest capacity and need of the legislators. It can be said that, none of the approaches would help to fully understand the nature of recruitment. A combination of the 3 approaches would be useful to identify the chief factors contributing to the success of the candidates.

George Blair has identified the mechanisms that are generally adopted to field candidates in elections. They include Conscription, Self Recruitment, Cooption and Agency Recruitment mechanisms. In conscription mechanism the party persuades loyal candidates to contest even when chances of success are poor. Candidates enter the race with the support of friends before being cleared by the party, when self-recruitment mechanism is used. Persuading persons whose names can prestige due to social status is called cooption mechanism. The last of the mechanisms, that is agency recruitment mechanism is that through which the candidates are encouraged by interest
groups, but they hope that they represent and protect the interests of the groups. Thus, in the process of recruitment, the initiative may come from either the candidates themselves or the groups or parties.

In addition to the above, inter-party competitiveness has considerable relevance in the selection process of contestants. As is well known, each party wants its candidates to succeed and in the process of fielding candidates, each party would begin to weigh the strength of other parties and also assess the possibilities of success?

In this context, it is necessary to give some details of candidate selection in centralised and decentralised party systems. In centralised party systems, existing in countries like India and England, the party president has a very important role in finalising the names of candidates. In this function, the party leadership relies heavily on the reports of the local organisations and the leadership of the party. The party president’s decisions are also guided by candidates’ length of experience in the party and its organisations, articulating abilities, image in the constituency, contacts with party’s rank and file, hold over the communities to which they belong, economic capacity, affinity with the party leaders, gender and political background of the families.

In addition to the above, there are several informal stages before the names of candidates enter ballot papers. Cases of threats, offering money to party leadership or contributions to party funds are some extra legal activities which are not made public by persons seeking candidatures. These become activities in camera and cannot be proved. Such activities are considered forming part of ‘private affair’. As Palanithurai viewed, in a system where
party establishes dominance, decision of the party leader is for legislative bodies. Legislature in such systems could be called ‘reactive legislatures’ according to him. The success chances play a predominant role in choosing candidates.

In systems having decentralised party systems, the selection of candidates is done at different levels. For example, in U.S., candidates for elections to Senate are selected by the leadership at states’ level. Decisions about the candidates for the House of Representatives are taken by the leadership at the district level. Local contests are left to the decisions of local leaders.

A study conducted on recruitment process adopted by two major political parties in Andhra Pradesh, that is, TDP and Congress-I party, in the Assembly elections of 1994 reveals very interesting facts. The Congress-I party has set up a two-member committee to prepare a plan for candidate selection. The committee advised scientific method for selections and suggested the selection of those who have ‘track record’ and have winning chances. In this situation, it is difficult to explain the meaning of scientific method with objectivity. The final selections, in fact, have not been made by the party president using his judgment. The caste pressures and more importantly, the decision of the C M of the state prevailed over the central tesfclership. The result was that the party president was forced to distribute party tickets on the bases mentioned above. It is also to be pointed out that those who were close to the Chief Minister got selected in large numbers and the appeal of some caste associations made to the Prime Minister to choose some members have been of no avail, because the hold of the C M K. Vjiava Bhaskar Reddy te®.
been considerable over the party rank and file. In this context, the personality of the Chief Minister has influenced the Prime Minister’s (P.V.Narasimha Rao) decision. It should be noted that, in these elections, the leadership at the state level played a decisive role in candidates’ selection irrespective of the fact that the general trend is in favour of centralised decision-making. A large number of rejected candidates by the party leadership at the state level entered the fray as rebel candidates.

The TDP supremo, NTR started searching for candidates since a year before elections. Renomination of sitting MLAs and fixing of ‘merit’ and ‘capabilities’ have been declared as bases for recruiting the contestants. In the process, his two sons-in-law and his newly married wife Mrs.Lakshmi Parvathi have had considerable influence. The role of the wife has been more influential than that of sons-in-law, though the verdict has been declared as that of party president NTR. And the number of aspirants has increased and in fact, the increase was tremendous. The party president is reported to have declared that party tickets would be given to those who mobilise participants in TDP’s rallies. The party aspirants spared not even a single effort to impress their leader by mobilising people’s attendance in large numbers in the rallies organised. The media has reported that, those who contributed large amounts of money could easily get tickets. It is clear that, in the case of the Congress party, caste and decision of the then C.M., who is also a senior leader of the party have had a big say in candidates’ choice. Mobilisation of people in party rallies and money have been the decisive factors in the process of recruitment by the TDP.
Gender difference could be expected to have its influence in the selection and election of candidates for representative houses. The recruitment process adopted in the case of the legislators under study is analysed on the basis of interviews with the respondents.

INITIAL DECISION: In the political process, participation starts with thinking and discussing matters related to politics and assuming the role of candidates for selection will definitely preceded by other roles. As it is generally accepted, participation in politics implies the decision to participate or not, the direction of participation and the intensity of participation. The first stage of entrance into political roles and the factors responsible for the entry deserve careful investigation and understanding. These factors directly or indirectly influence the candidates' image and recognition in the party, which have some bearing on the success or otherwise in elections.

KINSHIP AS A FACTOR IN CANDIDATES' SELECTION: Democracy and hereditary principles are contradictory to each other. But, kinship holds a pre-dominant place in the choice of candidates for several public offices. This is true in both developed and developing systems. Modern democracies with written constitutions make clear mention of the fact that, political positions are elective and not hereditary. But the reality is, public offices are occupied by people with hereditary factors in the background. Some political parties have earned reputation of uncle-nephew parties implying the role of family members and relatives in the distribution of positions. In the case of women, the role of family and relatives is stronger around the world. This is precisely the reason why the widowhood qualification has been set up and accepted by political parties, especially when vacancies created by death or resignation of husbands.
are to be filled by the wives. It is the sympathy factor and also the place of deceased legislator that largely contribute to the success of the widow of deceased legislator. In the constituencies, where the widows are fielded as candidates, preferences to winning elections but not to field a woman candidate seems prominent. Table 2.1 makes clear that the status of spouse has a very great relevance in the case of women candidates compared to male candidates.

Table 2.1
Distribution of Respondents Based on the Family Members' and Relatives Involvement in Politics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELATION</th>
<th>MALE NO</th>
<th>MALE %</th>
<th>FEMALE NO</th>
<th>FEMALE %</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle (paternal/maternal)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (cousins/distant relatives)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. respondents</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen from the table 2.1 that 56% of the respondents have either close or distant relatives in politics. 44% of the women respondents have their spouses in politics, whereas only 1% of the male respondents have spouses in politics. It is important to note here that this respondent entered politics prior to his wife's entry. Both he and his wife have been members of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly during 1967-71. Women whose husbands were active politicians, entered political life after husband’s political
entrance. They became legislators to fill the vacancies through widowhood qualification. None of the women legislators had uncles in politics. The ‘others’ in the table include brothers, cousins and other relatives. Among 19 male respondents who have ‘others’ in politics, 3 members have brothers in politics. One among these 3 had a brother in local politics, who was murdered during local bodies' elections. The 3 women respondents, whose fathers were politicians also had politically active husbands. One among the eight women respondents, whose husbands were active politicians, was given party tickets by the CPI(M) only after her husband’s death, though she has been an active party member and worked in several organisations of the party from 1964. 48% of the male and 28% of the female respondents are not having any political relatives.

POLITICAL ENTRY OF THE RESPONDENTS: In democratic nations, entry into politics, theoretically speaking is not difficult. These systems provide a large number of political structures, periodical elections and political rights like universal adult franchise, to contest from political associations, due to which political involvement becomes easier in democracies. However, using all the avenues depends on individuals' decision to assume political roles which ultimately depends on various factors. In India, a set of people took up political careers being influenced by contemporary conditions like freedom struggle and emergency. The birth of new political parties also gave scope for new comers to politics. Apart from these, influence and encouragement given by individuals, self motivation and initiative also facilitate political entrance of many citizens into politics. To find out the key factor/factors that have contributed to the entrance of respondents into politics, five options have been examined. The options
include party, special event or conditions, specific individuals, self motivation and others. The ‘others’ include party workers, ideology of a party, important persons' organisational activities of a party.

### Table 2.2
Distribution of the Respondents According to the First Entry into Politics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>FACTOR</th>
<th>MALE NO</th>
<th>MALE %</th>
<th>FEMALE NO</th>
<th>FEMALE %</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Party</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Special Event or condition</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Specific Individuals</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Self motivation</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 reveals the determinants of the respondents’ political entry. It suggests self-motivation and influence of specific individuals have been the two chief factors leading to entry of the legislators in the sample into politics. But the influence of self-motivation has been far more in the case of male legislators compared to female legislators. One interesting and determining factor is that women's entry into legislative roles according to the study is largely due to encouragement given by specific individuals. Though the influence of specific individuals is seen in the case of male as well as female legislators, it has been less in the case of male legislators. Those have mentioned party as the contributing factor for their political entry are mostly from the TDP and Left parties. Freedom struggle, conditions during national emergency, miserable conditions existing in the society have influenced 15%
of men and 17% of women to join politics. The significant gender gap which can be identified is that, 38% of the male respondents identified self-motivation as the cause for their political entry, and only 22% of women assumed political roles with this factor as the contributing one. The role of individuals or encouragement given by them caused political entrance of 44% of women respondents whereas, 31% of male respondents too mentioned the same. Most of the specific individuals who encouraged the respondents involvement are politically active and visible. The specific individuals who have influenced the women respondents are, no other than their own blood relations. Male and female respondents who mentioned self-motivation as a determinant of political career have been mostly active in student politics. Some details of the interviews are worth mentioning here.

Kodanda Reddy, a senior Congress -I legislator said, "in my childhood only, I had an ambition to speak in the Assembly by holding the mike. This desire persisted in me and inspired me to join politics. Later I received encouragement from the Congress party members like T.Anjaiah, Sarojini Pulla Reddy, Chenna Reddy and others". A male respondent, who had been a member of CPI, Congress and TDP at different times and elected as an independent candidate in 1994 elections said that he is influenced by the emergency conditions.

It is only one legislator, B.Durga Prasad who said that the individual who encouraged him is one other politically active person. It is the friendship between the legislator and an advocate in his place, that started during the student life of the legislator that has established links between the two. This
legislator, later became a lawyer when the friendship got strengthened also due to peer group connection.

Ch. Rajeswar Rao of CPI, one of the very senior leaders who has long experience as legislator said that, the anti-people policies during Nizam's rule and the oppression of people by the Zamindars have had its influence on thinking about joining politics and the anti-Nizam and the anti-Zamindari movements inspired and forced him to decide in favour of entering the political arena and serving people through politics.

A representative, P. Mahender Reddy said that, certain events during the elections in 1988 to Zilla Praja Parishad in Ranga Reddy district have had impact on his deciding to join politics. In his words "my brother who contested for a seat in the Zilla Praja Parishad, Ranga Reddy district faced political murder. The people have been in our favour and the TDP offered the party ticket to me". Implied in this statement is the influence of the sympathy factor and the TDP's decision to choose a winnable candidate.

Narra Raghava Reddy, a senior CPI(M) legislator had his first entry into politics during freedom struggle. He said, "Mr M G Khan a communist party leader drew my love towards motherland. I entered freedom struggle. Since then, this legislator is actively associated with politics".

Mallu Swarajyam, a CPI(M) member toiiK long experience as legislator for two terms, elected in 1978 and again in 1983 said "my brother entered freedom struggle. He encouraged me and other siblings to take part in this
I also took active role in the anti-Nizam and Razakar and Telangana agitation.

Uma Venkatram Reddy who got elected for two terms to the Legislative Assembly in 1983 and 1989 after the death of her husband Venkatram Reddy, who was active in politics, said "the party workers requested me to contest for the vacant seat".

Annapurna Devi of the TDP said “the close political associates of my husband requested me to take politics as career. I accepted because, I want to complete the unfulfilled works of my husband”. Similar responses have been given by Lakshmi Devamma of TDP.

It should be pointed out that some women members who have assumed legislative roles through widowhood qualification have also been concerned with fulfilling the job of deceased husbands. An intense desire to see that what the husbands have aspired is done, is evident in the minds of some women legislators.

Evuri Sitaramamma who contested on TDP ticket while her husband contested and lost in another constituency on behalf of the Janata Dal said “the worst conditions of society made me to take up political role. She also said that her husband who was a close friend of the then TDP leader NTR had been offered a seat. He refused to contest on behalf of TDP as he did not like to change Janata Dal affiliation. This had led to the seat being offered to Sitaramamma who successfully contested the elections.
In party based democracies, the selection of candidates is an important stage in the process of election. According to the legally accepted procedure, any citizen with requisite qualifications is entitled to contest, campaign, get elected and assume and perform legislative roles. But these practices get relegated to the position of secondary importance and in the process, the leadership of the political parties has an important role in choosing candidates. These does not mean that, the parties and their leadership are free from several influences. Seniority, service to party organisations and winning chances are some important considerations that the party leadership takes into account while choosing the candidates. Apart from these, preferences to males and to those who can afford to spend money does figure prominently in the selection process though not with explicit acceptance by the leadership. Table 2.3 gives details of the determinants of selection of the respondents in the sample as candidates.

Table 2.3
Determinants of Candidates Selection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO.</th>
<th>DECIDING FACTOR</th>
<th>MALE NO</th>
<th>MALE %</th>
<th>FEMALE NO</th>
<th>FEMALE %</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Party leadership</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Service to the party</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Popularity</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Economic Status</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of respondents

81 + 6 + 7 + 0 + 2 = 95
It can be seen that in the case of a majority of the respondents, it is the decision of the party leadership that had decided the fate of several contestants to be fielded. But more than 50% of the respondents of both the genders have made clear that party decision was in their favour because of their service to the party and popularity that they have built in their constituencies. Perhaps that is the reason why some of the senior members of different parties specifically stated that their service to the parties helped them to secure party tickets. Though party leadership is the chief factor for selection of 81% of candidates, there is a difference between Left parties and other parties. In the Left parties, members cannot contest until party offers seat. Whereas in other parties, members apply for tickets and the decision is later taken by the party leaders.

Table 2,3 makes clear that in the selection of women candidates, preference by the party leadership is less compared to that of male candidates. In the context of popularity, the female candidates have an edge over the male candidates. The gender gap in identifying popularity as a decisive factor in candidates' choice is clearly visible. The respondents said that money does not have any role in candidates selection but this statement does not seem to be matching with what has been reported several tunes by the media. Further, the quantitatively low position of women candidates in all elections justifies the argument that women have not succeeded in assuming the roles of vote getters. For instance in the 1994 Assembly elections, only 61 women secured tickets from all the parties put together.
Five respondents in the sample have contested and won as independent candidates. Of these, four have tried to secure TDP candidatures. But their efforts went in vain. One of them won the previous elections and the other has made an unsuccessful bid, both on behalf of TDP. Thus, at least 2 of the 4 independents have been rebel candidates.

The respondents have been asked to identify the determinants of secondary importance. A majority of them identified single determining factor. Five female and thirteen male respondents identified secondary determinants. Of these, one woman and twelve men said that public support and service to the party have been the second influencing factors for their selection as candidates.

MONETARY SOURCES: The election expenses are more burdensome to the candidates in developing systems. Intending candidates take the risk of election costs hoping that political offices would give financial returns to them. The growing number of aspirants for political positions and the competition that follows would also contribute to an increase in election expenses. In the event of electoral corruption, continuous flow of money becomes a very visible factor. Apart from this, campaigning, preparation of material which includes leaflets, posters and display cards, wages to workers, maintenance of vehicles, election offices and telephones require considerable amounts of money to be spent. In addition, the polling day expenses ‘formidable’ in particular constituencies with polling stations numbering between 500-1000 spread over the constituency and finally the vote banks of ‘bankers’ (local bosses) again need lots of money. Money is paid by some candidates to see that other candidates withdraw from the election fray. Candidates would also
be expected to contribute to party funds. Distribution of money, liquor, sarees, dhotis and utensils has also been reported to have taken place in different elections. Thus, there is a big gap between permitted and real expenses of the candidates before, during and after elections. Apart from their personal sources, the candidates seek donations from industrialists, film stars, estate agents, financiers, large scale tax evaders, smugglers and the like.

It is true that where does the money come from is an important question to understand the realities in the process of election. Another question of considerable relevance is the means of raising money by male and female legislators. In the case of women, absence of control over or inaccessibility to the means of production have been responsible to a good extent for the low representation of women in decision making bodies like the legislature. An attempt is made in the study to identify the sources of fund raising by male and female legislators in the sample.

The respondents have pointed out that every party assists its nominees either financially or materially or through both. However, there has been unanimity among the respondents in stating that help given by parties both in cash and kind has been inadequate. This has made them to try for contributions from the public, well wishers, businessmen, farmers and others. Some respondents have given unconvincing answers saying that since permissible expenditure is fixed by legislators and since rules relating to elections are stipulated by election commission, the need for raising big amounts does not arise.
Candidates of the Left parties have pointed out that the elation expenditure has always been less to them when compared to that of other parties. The constituencies they contested from have, in general, been rural and dominated by poor sections of the society. Thus, campaign finance to them has relatively been less. The committed party cadre and the sympathisers of the left party candidates have been helpful in conducting campaigns and in extending support to these candidates. The party cadre has also been involved in performing the watch dog functions at polling booths to prevent malpractices.

A few respondents expressed the feeling that it is difficult to buy elections and succeed. It is an admitted fact that election expenditure has reached enormous proportions. The increased costs could also be related to the strength of the opposing candidate or candidates. Some respondents said that they have disposed off their houses to get money for electioneering. Since party assistance is limited, other sources of money for them are, friends, well wishers, public donations, small business groups, relatives, family income and properly. Among the 82 male respondents, 10 purely depended on family income and among women two out of eighteen. The remaining members of the sample raised money from more than one source. 75% of the respondents said that well wishers did contribute to electioneering.

A woman ex MLA of Congress who contested for four times from 1983 onwards to the state Legislative Assembly said that when she contested for the first time in 1983, she got donations from public worth Rs 5 lakhs. But she had spent only Rs.3 lakhs out of it and distributed the remaining money as gift.
to the party workers who helped her in elections. When she contested for 1994 Assembly elections, she became a debtor and went in heavy losses.

"I am one among those who have sold away property for the sake of elections" were the words of a male respondent of TDP.

"I raised some money legally and some illegally was the response of another male respondent of TDP. However he declined to give details of illegal raising of money!

While saying that his father gave him money for election campaigning a TDP respondent said "my father had a strong desire to become a legislator but he could not get opportunity. Since I got a chance to contest in elections, he gave me money for elections. Thus, he satisfied his desire through me".

25% of the respondents said that though money's role is limited, several persons do try to win elections by spending large amounts of finances. While saying that the elections have become very expensive, an experienced MLA belonging to CPI party revealed that in 1954 when he contested for the first time, he spent only Rs. 1500/- but in 1994 elections, his expenditure was Rs 50,000/- Given the exhorbitant expenditure patterns in contemporary times, both the figures mentioned by the respondent are low.

A TDP respondent who won elections for 3 times out of 6 times contested said, "I am a doctor by profession. I have no property in the form of house or land. I could not raise enough money for elections. This is the reason why, I could not even show my face to the colleagues in the party".
This respondent feels that his defeat in elections is because of lack of money. The reason for his not owning house or land could be due to use of large amounts money he earned in elections. Thus, there is a clear evidence of the enormous importance that money has in the elections.

ISSUES IN CAMPAIGNS: To get a favourable mandate, election campaigns play key role. Sometimes they change the fate of parties. Therefore, making campaigns more attractive, educative and vote catching has become common. These are much useful to inform the electorate about the policies to be adopted for the development of entire society, if they are given power. Political parties therefore, are considered as policy brokers. As part of election campaign, several political parties keep their manifestos before the public. These manifestos reveal to which section of society, to what kind of policies and issues the parties are giving importance and how far they promote general development. Commitment, sincerity and responsiveness of parties can be tested through their manifestos.

Before the 1994 elections to the Andhra Pradesh Assembly, all major political parties released their manifestos concentrating on schemes for poor sections and developmental issues. The TDP which first released its manifesto assured several schemes to attract poorer sections of the society (Rs.2 kg rice, free education, clothing and shelter to the needy people etc.,) it also promised assistance to widows, old aged and the rural unemployed. It promised commitment to prohibition and completion of irrigation projects.

Congress-I in its lengthy manifesto devoted more to the accomplishments of the party in power at the centre. To compete...
TDP, the Congress mentioned attractive policies for poorer section. Its manifesto included Rs.2 kg rice scheme to white card holders, prohibition from 1st January, 1995, 10 kgs free rice to students (in a month) to prevent discontinuity in education, 30% share for women in economic growth, irrigation and supply of power to farmers.\textsuperscript{12}

BJP which mostly received support from traders and small businessmen, concentrated on farmers and rural people to get their support too. It assured power supply, completion of irrigation projects and 2000 jobs in each assembly constituency.\textsuperscript{13}

Apart from the manifestos of political parties, campaigns carried out by the individual contestants also influence voters' decision. Generally, individual campaign involves propagation of party aims, achievements of party while in power, exposing the mischievous acts of other parties, defects of opponents; specific problems of constituency and its development.

The respondents were asked to identity the issues (social and economic) to which importance was given in the campaigns. Social issues include atrocities against depressed sections like SCs, STs, women, social discrimination, untouchability, eve-teasing and others. Economic issues include removal of unemployment, eradication of poverty, development of agriculture, industry, subsidies to poor, free housing facilities to the poorer sections etc. Table 2.4 gives details of these.
Table 2.4
Campaign Issues of the Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>ISSUES</th>
<th>MALE NO</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>FEMALE NO</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Constituency/</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Developmental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>79*</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Two of the male respondents belonging to the TDP gave importance to party manifesto in their campaigns. One of the 5 independents assured that he would work as a honest representative rather than speaking on several issues.

Table 2.4 discloses that 56% of women and 24% of men gave importance to social issues. 44% of the respondents gave priority to both the issues and 22% of women also did the same. While answering, a male respondent expressed that issues can not be separated into social and economic. Both are interdependent and interrelated. The secondary status of women might have influenced them to give priority to social issues. Among 17 men who gave importance to social issues in their campaign, 7 are those who are socially backward, that is, belonging to Sses, ST s, or BC s. Though constituency is not given in the list of options 21% of the respondents mentioned that developmental issues of the constituency received more attention in their campaign.
It is also to be noted that none of the women respondents gave importance to only economic issues to which 7% of men gave weightage. There is clear indications of differences in respondents’ tastes, aspirations and experiences. In these too, gender variations are noted.

ELECTORAL SUCCESS: Victory in the elections to the legislative assembly qualifies one to occupy a seat in the legislative office. Behind this victory, lot of time; energy, money, ideology, party to which they are affiliated, cooperation and coordination of party workers are involved- In addition, support given by family, friends, public, the party candidate’s individual identity, political experience, strength and weaknesses of opponents, situations prevailing in constituency; general problems of state and intra and extra party competitiveness are also involved. In fact, it is not easy to identify a single factor totally responsible for electoral success of a candidate. These multi variable factors involved in the election accomplishments of candidates are interdependent.

Before going into details of respondents’ individual opinion of their success, a brief discussion of 1994 Assembly elections to the Andhra Pradesh state legislature is needed. The number of contestants belonging to prominent parties is TDP - 253, CPI - 21, CPI(M) - 16, BJP - 285, BSP - 274, MIM - 27, MBT - 10. There was an alliance between the TDP and the Left parties in sharing scats. The TDP won 219 seats and the Congress 26 seats. The CPI secured 20 seats and the CPI(M) got 15 seats. The MIM won 1 seat; the MBT 2; the BJP 3 seats and the BSP failed to get even a single seat.
It was an unexpected and unprecedented victory to the TDP and none of the other parties have the status of opposition. It was a major setback to the Congress-I, which it tasted never before. Political analysts, election commentators and pollsters felt that there was no wave towards any of the parties and the chances of securing majority were equal to both the Congress and the TDP which were the chief competitors. A little sign of getting majority towards TDP without much gap was smelled by a very few predictors. There were no traces of success to other parties like BJP and BSP though they contested from a large number of constituencies. Leaders of both Congress and Telugu Desam expressed confidence of forming government. But the unexpected election results, shocking to everyone, gave absolute majority to the TDP. This was a pleasant surprise for NTR also as it was beyond his imagination.

The reasons given for loss of Congress are negative vote to the party, corrupt administration of party under the former Chief Minister Dr Chenna Reddy, Janardhan Reddy and Vijay Bhaskar Reddy, caste-based administration and party in-fighting.

TDP’s attractive election manifesto, jumbo rallies held by NTR, assurance of implementing Rs.2 kg rice scheme and prohibition; affective articulation of disaffection and discontent among large sections of electorate towards Congress government; TDP being considered as the best alternative for people who preferred change in the government, caste role reduced to the peripheral level within the party; high toned voice of NTR for the provision of minimum facilities for poor sections and also the presence of NTR’s new wife.
Mrs. Lakshmi Parvati in public meetings have all contributed the massive victory for TDP.

The positive reflection of TDP’s election outcome which brought exciting success to the Left parties though contested for a few seats. Other parties like the BJP, the MIM and the MBT received a token result in their favour. Though the BSP contested for 274 seats, it lost all seats as it had no support base in Andhra Pradesh. The independent candidates secured 12 seats.

To know the individual opinion of the respondents about the causes for their success in elections, they were asked to identify any three of the six options - party aims, personal character, money, public support, family and friends' cooperation in order of their preference. Table 2.5 discloses the factors responsible for the election of the respondents.

Table 2.5 makes one to find that, though a majority of the male and female respondents attributed their success to the party aims, there is 17% gender gap in it. There is no surprise in it since they belong to TDP and the Left parties which got elected from many of the constituencies they contested. A majority of this category of respondents have identified personal character and public support as secondary and the next factor of importance in their election.

There is an 11% gender gap among the respondents who had marked personal character as the primary factor for their success. A careful examination of the situation enables researchers to say that most of them are Congress members and the independents. Very few TDP members also are
Table 2.5
Respondents' Factors of Success

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SNO</th>
<th>FACTORS</th>
<th>PRIORITY - I</th>
<th>PRIORITY - II</th>
<th>PRIORITY - III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Party Aims</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Personal Character</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Public Support</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Family Support</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Friends Support</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Money</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>81</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Two of the total respondents (a male and a female) gave other factors as first priority which are not mentioned in the table.

As all members did not mention the three factors contributing for success, total number in second and third priority factors does not tally with total number of respondents.
there, who are either the most experienced in politics or those having strong hold over constituencies. After one gets established as a strong political figure, the dependence on party identity for success is less and this is noticed through the interviews. The Left party members, irrespective of their personality traits, have appeared as more party loyalists, because except two or three members from these parties, none has said that personality factor played a key role in success. The women respondents who felt that personal character played an essential role in their election were mostly Congress members. One among them later joined in TDP and two are ex MLAs of Congress party.

Two of the Congress respondents who were elected for the second term stated that party helped them in their first elections. But in 1994 elections, despite Congress’s defeat, they could be pushed on to the House due to their personal character and service to their constituencies.

Another male member of Congress felt the belief that he cannot give credit to his party because within the party there were several members who worked against him. He has overcome such difficulty and won elections because of his personal character which enabled him to go closer to the voters. This implies that the presence of dissidents is an additional challenge to the contestants and sometimes causes defeat also. This trend is noticed more in Congress than in other political parties.

There is a wide gender gap among the respondents who said that family played the most significant role in their achievement in elections. 1% or one male respondent whose family is responsible mainly for his election belongs to
a politically active family. Both his father and grand father were prominent members of Congress party and he too belongs to the same party. Among this category of women, 4 of them could succeed their husbands who were legislators. One woman's father-in-law was a legislator. Male respondents who identified family support as a factor of second and third importance received assistance from family members though they do not belong to political families.

None of the lady respondents identified friends’ support as a factor for success. Overall, 12 male respondents identified it as one of the factors. One male respondent of CPI who gave importance to friends for his election achievement was a trade union leader and his friends belonging to union worked hard for his electoral success. 4% and 10% male respondents marked friends support as the second and third important factors respectively.

A male respondent who won as an independent feels that sympathy of voters, preceded by his defeat twice, helped him to get through the elections. He was actually a TDP member. This time he was not given ticket. Therefore he contested as independent and won the elections.

A woman contestant Laxmi Devamma of TDP who won elections two of the three times contested, expressed that voters' sympathy brought her success in 1985 as she was the wife of an ex MLA. In 1989 she lost the election and in 1994 again she came back because of TDP. She viewed that her husband’s death made her to be associated with the TDP.

M. Laxmi Devi of Congress party said “more than party and personal character, it is my father-in-law’s dedicated service to the constituency that helped me very much in getting elected.”
Along with party’s support, my moral values played equal role in my success” said a woman belonging to TDP. Abdul Gaffor, a CPI(M) member (male) said "along with party aims, the anti congress mood in public, weak opponent and the alliance with TDP played important role in my success**. A few other members of Left parties also shared this opinion.

A senior member of the CPI, Ch. Rajeswar Rao who was elected for the fifth term gave primary credit to the party and next to personal character. People elected him, he said, by appreciating his work in implementing party principles.

It is now clear that along with gender differences, party-wise differences are also there. More than the Congress and TDP, it is the members of CPI and CPI(M) who gave importance to party than to any other factor. The way the Congress party lost elections prevented them from giving priority to the party’s role in their success. CPI and CPM members who found alliance with TDP did so for electoral success as the objective.

It must be pointed out that the true role of money in elections is hidden by the respondents. None of the respondents marked money at least as a third factor. According to them money has a limited role in election results. They said that it is necessary to campaign but not to buy voters. In their opinion, money is not the chief determinant of success, because, many of their opponents spent more money than what they did but faced defeat only. They also did not deny the fact that some have purchased party tickets. The general opinion of these legislators is that money plays role from getting party ticket to
securing an assembly seat. Most of the respondents tried to explain that their party is an exception to this general rule.

It is only one respondent, who came out openly and honestly saying that "nowadays, nothing but money is playing the role". She is no other than Sarojini Pulla Reddy who served as a legislator for a long time and who also served as a Minister for Municipal Administration during 1970s.

The above discussion makes clear that political parties are not having specific criteria for candidate selection. Their selection process is influenced by different factors at different times. Kinship relations have had influence in the selection of both male and female candidates. Rut spousal relation played a pre-dominant role in the selection of women whereas, in case of men, it is other relatives who had a great bearing. Kinship has its significance at the stage of entry itself and at the stage of assuming specific political roles. Encouragement by individuals in the case of women and self-motivation in case of male respondents that have influence significantly. Party leadership decided largely the fate of respondents candidature which also made the respondents to give credit to the parties for their electoral success. However, a reasonably good proportion of female respondents said that family is responsible for their success in elections. Social issues received priority in the campaigns of female respondents whereas, men gave importance to both social and economic issues. Secrecy regarding the role of money in elections is maintained by both the sexes. Apart from the above marked differences between the male and female respondents, party based differences are also notable.
FOOT NOTES


8. Ibid.


10. Ibid. p. 368.


12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.