CHAPTER-4

WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN
ELECTORAL POLITICS
AND ELECTED BODIES IN
WARANGAL
This chapter examines the extent of participation of women, in various elections held to the Parliament and State Legislatures in India, both as the voters and contestants. It focuses on the participation of women in the working of these two institutions. It also examines various emerging trends with respect to the participation of women in electoral politics as well as in the working of legislative bodies.

Women’s participation in politics in mainly influenced by the attitude of women towards politics, attitudes of family and above all the society’s attitude in India. Women could play an effective role in the politics of pre-independence period mainly because the attitudes, both of women as well as their families, were favourable. According to Sucheta Krupalani, Gandhi’s personality inspired confidence not only in women but also in their guardians, husbands, fathers and brothers who did not object to their women folk coming out of their sheltered homes to march in the streets. If Gandhi’s leadership had not been there, such a large number of women might not have come out. Society did not object to women’s participation in politics, because the atmosphere of the country was so nationalistic.

Today, many women feel that the idealism which characterized the politics during the nationalistic struggle has largely decreased. It is widely felt by women legislators in the Country that politics is a dirty game and women cannot identify with it. As women dislike any public discussion of their personal life, they are in general prone to such a political career. This observation may have some truth in it, but is certainly not universally applicable. There is no doubt that men are dominating in nature but one cannot close eyes to the contribution of the great male leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Karl Marx, J.S.Mill, Mao and others who not only took the initiative but spent large part of their lives for the cause of women. The fact that most of the outstanding male leaders worked for the equality and liberation of women goes against male conspiracy theory.

It has been generally believed for long that the quality and quantity of women’s participation in politics is determined by factors like: (a) political rights given to women by law, and (b) the stage of a society, and (c) women’s access to education, property and entry to different sectors of social life i.e., the economy, communication, decision-making in the community, social freedom in relationships, associations etc. The basic assumption on which this theory rests is that exclusion of women from any
The major sector of national life is an obstacle to political participation since politics is all pervasive. As education, urbanisation, and development spread, more and more number of women are taking active participation in politics, particularly in the West. In the case of India, however, recent empirical evidence challenges the importance of education, urbanization or development per se as determinates of political behaviour of individuals including women.

Any attempt to discuss women’s participation in Indian politics would be incomplete without discussing their political participation in the pre-independence era. During the Independence movement, women all over India took an active part in the struggle. Women were not merely tolerated but their men-folk depended on them for success of the movement. These women included those from cities and towns, rural areas, near and remote. They came from all walks of life and participated in an equal measure in the freedom struggle making scarifies on equal terms with men. The Constituting Assembly appreciated women’s participation and contribution in the struggle for freedom and several articles of constitution refer to the equality for economic, political, and social of men and women.

Surprisingly, one finds a definite change in the trend today. Though the percentage of women who voted at successive general elections has increased at a faster rate than that of men but the number of women has kept on shrinking in the legislatures. This is also seen in all elected bodies from the village panchayat to the Parliament. While comparing the participation of women in the two periods, one must keep in mind that the participation of women in politics cannot be understood in isolation from the total socio-economic problems. So, the problem of women’s education, employment and political equality are all interlinked.

Firstly, it was the environment which favoured women’s participation in the freedom struggle. The freedom movement and the period immediately succeeding Independence brought the involvement and commitment of women in the political process. However, the institutionalization of this process resulted in difference in perception of goals and methods of achievement. The movement after independence, the low involvement of the women in the political process is due to absence of any movement of struggle. Such involvement is however visible during national emergencies. The unity between political, economic and social issues that
characterised the freedom movement was one of the causes for the high degree of women’s participation in political process. Most women joined the freedom struggle because, like the men, they were inspired by patriotism and wanted to see the end of foreign rule from their motherland. Hansa Mehta, a noted women leader reveals that she took to politics in 1930 because the atmosphere in those days was such that one could hardly avoid the politics. Likewise, Usha Mehta remembers how the patriotic songs and the slogans inspired her to join in freedom movement. Most of the women leaders said they had done it out of genuine conviction, patriotic emotion, and out of regard for a leader and an overall for Mahatma Gandhi.

In the pre-Independence days, there were definite objectives before the two movements- freedom and justice for women and other oppressed groups, freedom for the country and transformation and development of the people as a whole. Women discarded social taboos, came out to society and attained and the restrictions on them were either lifted or overlooked. The political upheavals of the period helped in bringing about social change and it is doubtful if a century of preaching and social work would have brought about the same change in the position of Indian women as was achieved in the wake of two decades of political struggle.

Personalities were equally, if not more, important in bringing about a radical change in the outcome attitude across of these days. The charismatic personality of Mahatma Gandhi, his unique naturalness, his uncompromising championship of the cause of women was greatly responsible for drawing such a large number of women to the political field. He once said “If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with women”? If the women of India arose, he said, no one could stop the country’s march to freedom. It was Gandhi who gave a new direction, strength and inspiration to the freedom movement, and drew into it women in large numbers. It was only with the advent of the Gandhian era that women really played any significant role in nationalistic politics. His mode of struggle was such that women could easily participate. In a nonviolent struggle the qualities needed were such as could be fulfilled by women-tolerance, ability to suffer, and courage. The biographies and autobiographies of women in the Nationalist movement reveal the tremendous impact of Gandhi on them.
In contrast contemporary India presents an absence of both national movement and leadership. Today the political leaders make statements which go against the women’s interest. A part of the reason for women’s low involvement with politics may be their widespread disillusionment with the present political atmosphere of the country. Empirical studies have proved that there is lack leadership, as well as disillusionment with the parties and democracy in practice.

Another factor perhaps of equal importance which influenced women’s participation in the pre-Independence period and is missing today was the atmosphere and tradition of the family. During the Freedom movement there were many instances where women were active in politics because the atmosphere in their families was political. For example, women from families with such as those of Motilal Nehru, G.R. Das, Jamnala Bajaj or Lala Lajpat Rai naturally wanted to share the privation of and suffering of men folk. Where the atmosphere of the home was nationalistic women also imbibed it Bina Das father was teacher and a friend of Subhash Bose. Kamala Das Gupta recalls how her father was connected with the Swadeshi movement in Bengal. Sucheta Kripalani’s family had been wearing and using Swadeshi kadhi cloths since the 1920. There are many other instances where women were active in politics because the atmosphere in their families was political. For example, Ananda Bhavan was a centre of congress activities, which ultimately is responsible for bringing most of the women of the Jawahar Lal Nehru family into politics. Automatically after the arrest of Mothilal and Jawahar lal Nehru women had to take charge of everything. Women’s participation in the first non-cooperation movement was not on a mass scale and was mainly confined to those whose husband’s father’s brothers or sons had already joined to struggle and were in Jail.

**Women Freedom Fighters of India**

The struggle for freedom marked the beginning of a political awakening among women in India. With the establishment of the Indian National Congress, membership was open to women. The Swadeshi Movement in 1905 saw the entry of women into independence movement. It also marked the formulation of several women’s organizations. The entry of Annie Besant into Indian politics in 1914 accelerated the process of women’s associations with the freedom struggle. She was
the first woman to be elected as president of the Indian National Congress. Sarojini Naidu too became active in Indian National Movement. It is M. K Gandhi who drew large number of women into the freedom struggle. The participation of women in India’s historic freedom struggle was a country wide phenomena, their participation in a large scale was linked closely with the advent of Gandhi on the Indian political scene from 1917 on words. In response to Gandhi’s call large number of women plunged into the national movement. His message “when women, we call abala became sabala, all those who are helpless will became powerful”, reveals the importance he gave for the strength of women.

Through his experiments with sathyagraha (peaceful strike), he realized that women could equally participate together with men. His overpowering voice in the freedom struggle and his views on women influenced their position in it. His brand of politics and resistance, which rested largely on the principles like Ahimsa (non-violence), Sathyagraha and civil disobedience allowed women to participate in the political arena. Gandhi was therefore able to mobilize large number of women, cutting across caste and class lines, to play an active role in the freedom struggle. Gandhi’s own position on women evolved over time and he finally urged women to fight exploitation whether within the home or in the Congress Party. For Gandhi, the freedom fight was not merely political; it was also an economic and social reform. He said men and women are equal but not identical. Intellectually, mentally and spiritually, a woman is equivalent to a male and she can participate in every activity.

The main contribution of Gandhi to the cause of women lay in his absolute and unequivocal insistence on their personal dignity and autonomy in the family and society.

Gandhi succeeded in galvanizing the traditional house bound women as a powerful instrument of political action. Women’s traditional capacity to sacrifice was especially emphasized by Gandhi in an effort to mobilize women. He argued that women’s capacity to sacrifice her own personal interest for the family was held to extend to the community and nation and this motivated women to join the Non-Cooperation Movement.

The national movement brought women to the centre stage. From liberal homes and conservative families, urban centres and rural districts, women single and
married, young and old came forward and joined against colonial rule. Their involvement is extremely important, women’s participation called into question the British right to rule, legitimized the Indian National Movement and won for activist women, at for a time the approval of Indian men. Large number of women participated actively in the Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience, Swadeshi, And Salt Sathyagraha led by Gandhi. During the Non-Cooperation Movement, women in different parts of India joined processions and propagated the use of khadi (spun cotton) and charakha (spinning wheel). Vijayalaxmi Pandit, Renuka Ray, Basanti Devi, Urmila Devi and Kasturba Gandhi played an important role in the boycott of foreign goods. In the Barsad Satyagraha of 1922-24, women turned out in large numbers. In Bardoli Sathyagraha of 1928, women gradually outnumbered men in political gatherings. Maniben Patel and Bakti Desai fixed their tents on the land declared to be sold by the government. In the Salt Sathyagraha launched by Gandhi 6 in March 1930, many women walked to Dandi to break the salt law. Sarojini Naidu, Muthuban Patel, Mridula Sarabai, Khurseedben, Kamaladevi Chattopad yaya and Avanthikabai, Gokhale were some of the prominent women associated with the Salt Sathyagraha. During the Civil Disobedience movement of 1940, women participated and courted arrest in large numbers. Suchetha Krapalani was the first one to do so, who had been in charge of the Women’s Department of the All India Congress Committee, since 1939.

In the Quit India Movement of 1942, women took part in processions holding meetings, demonstrations and organizing strikes. Kanakalatha Barua, a young girl of Assam led a procession of 500 and was killed in the police firing. In Bombay (Mumbai), Usha Mehta operated an underground radio station. Aruna Asaf Ali was one of the most important figures of 1942 movement, for years she remained underground avoiding arrest. She published bulletins and edited the news letter ‘The Inquilab’ along with Ram Manohar Lohia. Few women who did not believe in non-violence adopted the revolutionary path. Young college girls joined secret societies. Kalpana Joshi, Preeti Waddadar was associated with Chittagong armory raid. The Chchatri Sangh started in Calcutta in 1928 was an important training and recruiting ground for future revolutionaries. In Delhi, Roopvati Jain at the age of 17 was in charge of a bomb factory under Chandrashekhar Azad.
These are the few examples of women who joined the freedom struggle and actively participated equally with men. Women were active both in the moderate and extremist factions. However, the number of women who acquired positions of power or membership in the representative bodies was less compared to men. In the 1937 election, eight women were elected from the general constituencies and 42 from the reserved constituencies, and became ministers when the provisional cabinet was formed. Vijayalaxmi Pandit became minister for local self government in Uttar Pradesh and later Ansuyabai Kale and J.T Sipahimalchi were appointed Deputy Speakers in Madhya Pradesh and Sindh, respectively. Hansa Mehta and Begum Shah Nawoy took office as Parliamentary Secretary in Bombay and Panjab respectively. In the Constituent Assembly which met in December 1946, there were 14 women members. But there were no proportionate increase in women as representatives or in power positions. For example, in 1922 the All India Congress Committee (AICC) meetings, out of 350 delegates, only 16 were women, in 1937, 13 and in 1940, 5 members were women. In the Constituent Assembly, only 14 members were women. It has been noted that the women who were active in politics or politically successful belonged to wealthy and progressive families. They were supported by husbands or family members who were active in Congress. This is being followed even after independence. But, there were large number of unknown women who participated in the freedom struggle. It provided an opportunity for large number of women to enter into active politics which was not seen earlier.

They were willing to join processions, and to go to prisons. Women joined revolutionary groups, helped in distributing newspapers and helped in the manufacturing bombs. Innumerable number of women provided support to freedom fighters by looking after their families. Vina Mazumdar says there are references in the reports during that period that thousands of women attended the political meetings. Very little is known of who they were, why they came, and from where they came? Geraldin Forbes notes that the participation of women legitimized Indian National Congress. Women’s activities validated Indian unity and sathyagraha. Most important, it legitimized their claim to a place in the governance of India. It also shaped movement for women’s rights. At the same time participation of women had some clear drawbacks. Those demonstrating, claimed to represent all India women, but the number of groups involved, other than upper and middle class Hindu women,
was never large. Participation of large number of women in the freedom struggle strengthened freedom movement. But gender equity was no where the agenda of Indian national movement. It was not the main thrust of the Indian national movement.

Either directly or indirectly large number of women participated in the freedom struggle. The contribution of women in getting freedom for India is noteworthy. They proved that women are capable of strengthening the political movement. The participation of women in freedom struggle had its impact on the society and family and on women themselves.

**Voting Pattern among Women**

God has gifted women with compassion, tender heartedness, caring nature and concern for others. These are very positive signs which imply that women can be leaders. Political empowerment refers to the equitable representation of women in decision making structure both formal and informal and established their voice in the formulation of policies affecting.

In order to help women to be in limelight, they need to be empowered. Therefore political empowerment of women is the pre requisite to transform a developing country into a developed country. Women’s equal participation in political life plays pivotal role in the general process of the advancement of women. Women’s equal participation in decision making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as necessary condition for women’s interest to be taken to account. Without the active participation of women and incorporation of women’s perspectives at all the levels of decision making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved.

Women representations in World wide
Throughout the world women face obstacles to participate in politics. The rate of female participation was only 16% globally. This figure has increased in recent years. Women participation in Parliamentarians Worldwide only 22 percent of all National Parliamentarians was female as of January 2015, slow increase from 11.3 percent in 1995. As of January 2015, 10 women served as Head of State and 14 served as Head of Government. Rwanda had the highest number of women Parliamentarians worldwide women there have won 63.8 percent of seats in the lower house. In India only 11 percent of the women elected in lower house globally, there are 38 States in which women account for less than 10 percent of Parliamentarians is single or lower houses, as of January 2015, including 5 chambers with no women at all.
TABLE-2

Ratio of Men and Women Participation in first to fifteenth Lok Sabha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General election period</th>
<th>Women Electors (Millions)</th>
<th>% of Women Participation the total</th>
<th>% of Men participation to the total</th>
<th>Difference between women participation &amp;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952-57</td>
<td>77.9</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-62</td>
<td>91.4</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>47.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1962-67</td>
<td>102.4</td>
<td>46.63</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-71</td>
<td>119.4</td>
<td>55.48</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-77</td>
<td>130.6</td>
<td>49.11</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-80</td>
<td>154.2</td>
<td>54.91</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-84</td>
<td>170.3</td>
<td>51.22</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-89</td>
<td>192.3</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-91</td>
<td>236.9</td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-96</td>
<td>234.5</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-97</td>
<td>282.8</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-98</td>
<td>295.7</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-99</td>
<td>295.7</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2004</td>
<td>322.0</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2009</td>
<td>342.0</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Election Commission of India, Data for Fifteenth elections based different sources women and men in India 2007, CSO, and Ministry of Statistics.

Women in India constitute nearly half of the population of the country but their representation is very poor in decision making-bodies. The position is depending through the Fifteenth General Elections. Table II shows the low representation of women in Lok Sabha. Their representation is low not only in Parliament but also in other decision-making bodies: less than 8 percent of parliamentary seats, less than 6 percent Cabinet position, less than 4 percent seats in High Court and the Supreme Court are occupied by women.
The percentage of representation of women in Lok Sabha varies from 4.4 percent in 1952 to 8 percent in 1984, it declined to 5.2 percent in 1989, rising to 7.9 percent in 1998 and 19.02 percent in 1991 and again declining to 8 percent in 2004 and increased to 10 percent in 2009.

Besides the factor which determines the extent of their political participation are the voting pattern, the size of contestants, the success rate and increasing political awareness. The voting pattern among the women in the Lok Sabha Elections held from the beginning till the one held in 2009 can be seen from the TABLE-3.

As can be seen from the Table 1 in the turnout of women voters in the Lok Sabha Elections are widely fluctuating without any systematic trend. Further, there is considerable gap between the number of male voters and women voters in different elections. In the First and Second General Elections held to the Lok Sabha slightly higher than 1/3rd of the total women voters cast their votes which is extremely low when compared with number of male voters. However, there is gradual increase in the turnout of women voters in the subsequent Lok Sabha elections. But the increase is not phenomenal as it did not maintain any uniform trend. Further, there is decline in the percentage of women voters in the every next election. In all these elections, male voters outnumbered women voters in considerable ways. However, in the Lok Sabha elections held in 1984 the number of women voters who exercised their franchise reached staggering figure of 68 percent and for the first time they exceeded the male voters by about 5 percent. However, in the subsequent Lok Sabha Elections held in 1989 and 1991, there was a steep decline in the number of women voters. It can be noticed that in all the Lok Sabha elections expect on held in 1984, the male voters outnumbered the women voters in considerable extent and the gap is extremely glaring in the case of Lok Sabha Elections held in 1962 and 1989. In the 1989 Lok Sabha Elections the difference is as high as 27 percent and for the first time they exceeded the male voters by about 5 percent. However, in the subsequent Lok Sabha Elections held in 1989 and 1991 there was steep decline in the number of women voters. An analysis of Election Commission of India (ECI) data highlights that in the outgoing 15th Lok Sabha, only 59 of the 543 seats were occupied by women. This is half the international average of 21 percent female representatives in Parliaments across the world. Even in terms of the number of candidates who
contested elections, the scales title vastly against women. Of the 8070, only 556 or 6.9 percent were women. Poignantly, as figure 3 shows, only 29 percent of these women candidates were ticket-holders of national or state political parties. While 34 percent of the female candidates belonged to registered unrecognized parties, 37 percent ran as independents. This has been the trend for women candidates since 1989. As figure 4 below shows, there have traditionally been more women who run as independents than those who run as a part of a political party.

The data on independent candidates point to another trend woman independent have increased at a greater rate than independents in general. Between 1991 and 1996 for instance, there was a spike in the participation of both total independents and women independents, but while the total increased by 93 percent, women independents increased by 175 percent. Similarly, between every subsequent election, the growth in women independents has been larger than independents in general. The 1998 elections saw a sharp decline in the number of independent candidates. A possible explanation for this might be the ECI’s decision to increase the security deposit for candidates from Rs.500, to Rs.10000. Next, we study the role of political parties in fielding women candidates. The number of women ticketholders from state parties fell sharply from 66 in 2004, to 27 in 2009. For national parties, the number of women candidates actually increased from 110 to 134, but nearly 60 percent of this increase is attributed to the BJP alone. While the Congress’ number of women candidates reduced marginally, increased participation is occurring in both rich and poor states in India. The sex ratio of voters has improved from 715 female voters for every 1,000 male voters in the 1960s to 883 female voters in 2000s. The Election Commission of India (ECI) has sought to increase voter turnout by cleaning up electoral rolls and removing missing or deceased members. Voter outreach has included door-to-door voter registration, and in 2014 elections, voters will be issued a photo id with polling station information to increase voter turnout. Increased voter turnout in India is also partially due to the women voters. ECI has sought to encourage voter registration among women and participation through education and outreach on college and university campuses. Growing participation has also been attributed to increased security at polling stations.
### TABLE-3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election Year</th>
<th>Voting Percentage of Men Voted</th>
<th>Voting Percentage of Women Voted</th>
<th>Total Percentage of Voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>37.00</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>56.00</td>
<td>38.77</td>
<td>45.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>62.10</td>
<td>46.63</td>
<td>55.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>66.70</td>
<td>55.48</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>69.70</td>
<td>49.15</td>
<td>55.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>65.62</td>
<td>54.96</td>
<td>60.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>57.69</td>
<td>51.22</td>
<td>56.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>63.61</td>
<td>68.17</td>
<td>63.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>70.90</td>
<td>43.90</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>52.56</td>
<td>47.42</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>62.12</td>
<td>53.19</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>59.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>58.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>66.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: CSDS Data Unit, New Delhi.*

**Women Contestants in Lok Sabha Elections**

A very dismal trend can be noticed in the case of women contestants who got elected in the various Lok Sabha Elections held after Independence. The number of women contestants in the various Lok Sabha Elections has been extremely low even since the first Lok Sabha elections held in 1952. The percentage of the women contestants to the total contestants varied between 2.7% and 4.4 percent which is extremely negligible and even nominal. However, there has been phenomenal increase in the number of women contestants in quantitative term over a period of time. In the first Lok Sabha elections only 51 women candidates contested whose number has gradually increased and reached the figure of 307 in 1996 Lok Sabha
Elections\textsuperscript{27}. Thus, there is a steep increase in the women contestants in the Lok Sabha election during period between 1952 and 2009. This trend indicates that there has been gradual increase in the political awareness among women which ultimately increased their participation in the parliament elections as contestants. However, this phenomenon has to be largely explained by an overall increase in the number of contesting candidate’s men as well as women. Seen as a portion of the total number of candidates, the share of women candidates has not registered any significant increase in all the Lok Sabha Election with regard to the number of women who won the Lok Sabha elections the trend was extremely bleak and also erratic. It is marked by wide fluctuations. In 1952 Lok Sabha Election out of 251 women contestants only were successful afterwards. However all the subsequent elections there was slight increase each elections on the whole the number of women who won these elections is extremely low throughout the period between 1952 and 2009 without any expectation. However, in Lok Sabha Elections held in 1984 the highest number of women candidates got elected when compared with all the previous elections but it was only 44. After these elections there is a decline in the number of successful women candidates in the elections. Their number came down to 28 in 1989 but slightly increased in the next General elections held in 1991 as it close to 33\textsuperscript{28}. In 2004 this number increased 44 and in 2009 women candidates were 59, and in 2014 women 61 candidates from all the elected bodies.

The number of women contestants as successful candidates along with their share the total members is presented in the following Table.4
TABLE-4
Women Contestants in Lok Sabha Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lok Sabha election periods</th>
<th>Total no. of seats filled</th>
<th>Total No. of men &amp; women contested</th>
<th>Total No. of women contested</th>
<th>Total No. of women winner</th>
<th>Percentage of women winners among total women</th>
<th>Percentage of women winners out of total seats</th>
<th>Total no. of men contested</th>
<th>Total No. of men winners</th>
<th>Percentage of men winners among total men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952-57</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-62</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>1519</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>1474</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-67</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>460</td>
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<tr>
<td>1967-71</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>2369</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>2302</td>
<td>463</td>
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<tr>
<td>1971-77</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>2784</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2698</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>18.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1977-80</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>2439</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>3.5</td>
<td>2369</td>
<td>501</td>
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<td>142</td>
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<td>5.2</td>
<td>4478</td>
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<td>7.7</td>
<td>5331</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-91</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>6160</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5962</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-96</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>7579</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>7254</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>5.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996-87</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>13962</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>13363</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>3.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1997-98</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>4750</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>4476</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-04</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>4448</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4164</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-09</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>5435</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>5080</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first Lok Sabha (1952-57) out of 489 seats, 22 were won by women members making 4.5 percent of the total number of women contestants are 43 percentage of women winners among total women is 51.16 where as percentage is more than men winners. Out of these two were appointed as Ministers. Raj Kumari Amrit Kour was the first Cabinet Minister with Health Portfolio and Maragatham Chanrasekhar was Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Health. During this Lok Sabha,
G. Durgabai, Ammu Swaminadhan, Renu Chakravarty, smt. B. Khongmen and Sushma Sen served on the panel of chairmen.

The Second Lok Sabha (1957-62) has 27 women winners out of the seats making 5.4% percent. At that time women contestants are 45 percentages of women winners among total women is 60%. Percentage of men winners among contested men is 31.7. It is very less nearly half the percentage of women winner’s percentage. There was no woman with the rank of Cabinet Minister or Minister of State. There were three woman Deputy Ministers at that time. Laxmi N. Menon was Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Violet Alva was the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs and Tarakeshwari Sinha was the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Finance.

In the third Lok Sabha (1962-67) out of 494 seats, 34 women candidates elected. The number of women contestants has also increased to 70. So the percentage of women winners out of total seats also gone up to 7.4% and the number of women ministers in the council of ministers also increased substantially eight women were given place in decision making process. Percentage of women winners among women are 50 and percentage of men winners among total men are less when compared to women winners among total women contestants which was 24 percentages only. Indira Gandhi, who was initially Cabinet Minister for Information and Broadcasting, also became the first women Prime Minister in 1966. She was also in-charge of various important Ministers like Atomic Energy, Home Affairs, etc. In the category of State Ministers, Laxmi N. Menon was looking after the Minister of External Affairs. On the other hand, Dr. Sushila Nayar was the Ministers of Health and Family Planning. As a Deputy Minister, Maragatham Chandrasekhar took care of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Department of Social Security and the Department of Social Welfare. Other Deputy Ministers were Jahanara Jaipal Singh, Soundaram Ramachandram and Nandini Satpathy, Tarkeshwari Sinha was once again the Deputy Minister of Finance. Renu Chakravarthy and Sarojini Mahishi also served on the panel of Voice-Chairmen.

The fourth Lok Sabha (1967-71) had only 31 women members out of 520 total seats making it to 5.8 percent. Also during this period number of women members in the Council of Ministers decreased from 8 in third Lok Sabha to 5 in the fourth. During this period it is observed that the percentage of men winners among total men
is 18.5 percent is less and percentage women winners among total are 24.4 percentages. Besides Indira Gandhi, who was Prime Minister of India, there was one Minister of State for Social Welfare and three Deputy Ministers. Phulrenu Guha was Minister of State for Social Welfare and Law, Nandini Satpathy was the Deputy Ministers of Information and Broadcasting, Jehanara Jaipal Singh was holding the portfolio of Tourism and Civil Aviation, Sarojini Mahishi, who was until then Parliamentary Secretary became a Deputy Minister. Inside the House, T. Laxmi Kanthamma, Tarakeshwari Sinha, Sushila Rohtagi and Jaben Shah were members on the Panel of Cairmen.

In the fifth Lok Sabha (1971-77) the number of women candidates dropped from 31 in the fourth Lok Sabha to 22 in the fifth making into a mere 4.0 percent of the total 518 seats. Only 4 women got ministerial berths including the Prime Minister in Council of Ministers. Percentage of women winners among total women is 24.4 but percentage of men winners among total men is 18.5 percent, it is less when compared with percentage of women winners. Indira Gandhi as a Prime Minister also held all important portfolios such as Atomic Energy, Home; Defence; Finance; Space, Planning and Information and Broadcasting. The other women in include Sushila Rohatgi who was the Deputy Minister of Finance; Sarojini Mahishi was the Deputy minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation and Manorama Pandey was the Deputy Minister of Information and Broadcasting and Home. Besides, Sheila Kaul was nominated to the of Chairmen.

In the sixth Lok Sabha (1977-79) the number of women candidates dropped sharply to only 19 members out of total number of 520 seats making to a mere percentage of 3.5. The sixth Lok Sabha had only one woman Cabinet Minister Satyavan Muthu in the Ministry of Social Welfare. The other women Ministers were Rejuka Devi Barakataki, Minister of State of Education, Social Welfare and Culture. Abha Mati, Ministers of State of Industry and Rahida Haque Choudary, Minister of State of Education, Social Welfare and Culture. Also Abha Mato, Sushila Nayar and Parvathi Krishnan were the members of the Panel of Chairmen. The other three women were the members of the Panel of Chairmen, but percentage of men winners and women winners out of their total participants are 22.1 and 27.1 respectively.
In the Seventh Lok Sabha (1980-84), there were 28 women members i.e. 5.2 percent of total membership of 542 in the houses. Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister. She also held the portfolios of Atomic Energy, Defence, External Affairs, Industry, Electronics, Space and Science and Technology. Besides her, 6 women members became ministers. Mohsina Kidwai was the Minister of State of Labour & Rehabilitation and Health & Family. Sheela Kaul was the Minister of State of Education, Culture and Social Welfare and Ram Dulari Sinha was the Minister of State of Information & Broadcasting, Home Affairs and Steel Mines. In the category of Deputy Ministers belonged Kumudben Joshi of Information & Broadcasting, Health & Family Welfare and Mamala Kumari of Education. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai was a member of Chairman in the Seventh Lok Sabha the Lok Sabha percentage of women winners among total women was 19.7 percent where as men winners among total men was 11.5 percent.

During the Eight Lok Sabha (1984-89) 44 members in that house constituted 7.7 percent of total membership of 542 out of these, ten women members were able to take part in the process of decision making. Mohsina Kidwai was a Cabinet Ministers for Health and Family Welfare. Later on, she was given the portfolio of Transport and Urban Development. Maragatham Chandrashekar held independent charge in the Ministry of Women and Social welfare. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai held independent charge of the Ministry of Welfare. Margret Alva was the Minister of State of Parliamentary Affairs and later on in the Ministry of Human Resource Development (Youth Affairs and Sports). Sheela Dixit was the Minister of State of Parliamentary Affairs, Saroj Khapadre was the Minister of State attached to Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (Depart of Health) and later on she became the Minister of State of Textiles. Sumati Oraon, a tribal leader who was initially the Deputy Minister of Welfare, became the Minister of State of Home, Environment and Forests. On the other hand, Sushila Rohatagi and Krishna Sahi were Ministers of State in the Ministry of Human Resource Development looking after the Department of Education and Culture at two different points at a time during this Lok Sabha. They also had brief stint with other important Ministers as well. Ram Dulari Sinha was the Minister of State of Home Affairs. She was also the Minister of State for Steel and Mines (Department of Mines) and Basava Rajeshwari served on the Panel of Chairmen. Only one woman served on the Panel of Chairman these elections there is a lot of
different between women winners and men winners i.e. 25.6 percent and 9.2 percent respectively.

In the Ninth Lok Sabha (1989-91), the number of women members declined considerably to 27, with 5.1 percent of total of 542 seats. There were only 2 women ministers namely, Menaka Gandhi as Minister at State in the Ministry of Environment and Forests and Usha Singh as Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Welfare (Department of women and Child Development) Vijaya Raje Scindia and Geetha Mukherji were the members panel of Chairmen. And two women were member of Panel of Chairman. The percentages of women winners out of total women are 13.6 and men winners out of total men are 8.4.

Participation of women in the Tenth Lok Sabha (1991-96) has increased considerably from previous Lok Sabha. It has 39 women members that are 6.9 percent out of the total 529 seats. Out of 39 became members of Union Council of Ministers. While Sheela Kaul was Cabinet Ministers for Urban Development, Selja was Deputy Minister of Human Resource Development (Deartment of Education and Culture). The three Ministers of State were Krishna Sahi, Department of Industrial Development in the Ministry of Industry, Sukhbans Kaur, Department of Tourism and Basava Rajeshwari, Department of Women and Child Development in the Ministry of Human Resource Development. Here also there is a half of difference in percentages between women winners and men winners i.e. 11.1 and 5.1 respectively.

In the Eleventh Lok Sabha Elections (1996-97) out of 545 seats, there were 40 women members making 7.3 percent of total. In the 13 days of BJP Government, there was a single women minister, Sushma Swaraj, who held three portfolios of Information and Broadcasting. In the election there was 50 percent difference between women winners and men winners i.e. 7.3 and 3.8.

In the Twelfth Lok Sabha (1997-98), out of 543 seats, 43 women candidates were elected with an average percentage of 7.9. Out of them 10 were given ministership. In the United Front Government 4 women members became Ministers. Kanti Singh with Deputy Ministers Cadre took part in decision-making process. The other women ministers were Sushma Swaraj who held the Information & Broadcasting portfolio, Menaka Gandhi, the Ministry of Forests, Kanti Singh held the Health Ministry while Sumitra Mahajan was looking after the Department of Women &
Child Development under the Ministry of Human Resource Development. Here the percentage of women winners is 15.7 and percentage of men winners among men is 11.2.

During the Thirteenth Lok Sabha (1999-2004), 49 women were elected out of 543 seats which were 9 percent. Percentage of women winners among women is 17.3 and percentage of men winners among men is 10.2. Out of them, 10 were given ministership. Mamatha Benarji was a Cabinet rank Minister with the portfolio of Railways. Sushma Swaraj was the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, with additional charge of Health and Family Welfare. She later held the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs also. Menaka Gandhi was a Minister of State with independent charge of Social Justice & Empowerment and also held the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Forests. Vasundra Raje was the Minister of State of personnel, Public grievances and Pensions. Later she also held independent charge of the Ministry of Small Scale industries, Agro and rural industries. Uma Bharathi was the Union Minister of Coal and Mines. Bijoya Chakravarthy was the Minister of State of Water Resources; Jayawntiben Mehta was the Minister of State of Power; Rita Varma was the Minister of State of Mines, also of Health & Family Welfare and Rural Development. Sumitra Mahajan was the Minister of State of Human Resources Development, Communication, IT, Petroleum and National Gas, and Bhavaben Chikalia was the Minister of State of Parliamentary Affairs, Tourism and Culture.

In the Fourteenth Lok Sabha (2004-09), out of 543 total members 43 women candidates were elected. They constituted 8.3 percent of total seats. Among these seven were given Ministership. Meira Kumar was Minister of Social Justice and Empowerment; Panabaka Laxmi was the Minister of State of Health & Family Welfare; Suryakanta Patil was the Minister of State of Rural Development and Parliamentary Affairs; Subbulaxmi Jagadeesan was the Minister of State of Social Justice and Empowerment; Kanti Singh was the Minister of State of Human Resource Development; Renuka Chowdary was the Minister of State with independent charge of Tourism and Kumari Selja was the Minister of State with independent charge of Urban Employment & Poverty Alleviation. In these elections also, women winning percentage is higher (12.7) than the men winning percentage among men (9.8).
It is to be noted that in the Fifteenth Lok Sabha (2009-14) out of 543 total members 59 were elected constituting 10.9 percent. 10.6 is the percentage of women winners among total women and 6.4 percent is the men winners among total men. Mamatha Benarjee is the Minister of Railways. Meera Kumar is the Minister of Irrigation, later changed into the Speaker position. Ambika Sony is the Minister of Information and Broad Casting, Kumari shelja is the Minister of Housing, Tourism and Urban Poverty Alleviation. Purandareswari is the Deputy Minister of Human Resource Development. Panabaka Lakshmi is the Deputy Minister of Textile. Agadha Sangma is the Deputy Minister of Rural Development.

Narendra Modi (2014-2019) has set an exemplary Union Cabinet after the historic win in the Lok Sabha Elections 2014. The 15th Prime Minister of India has not only taken some tough decisions over choosing his cabinet but also showed belief in the new talents. Narendra Modi has been instrumental in his motto of “Minimum Government, Maximum Governance” and this can be reflected over the list of cabinet ministers. One of the many surprising and unique factors of this cabinet has been the inclusion of maximum number of female ministers including six with Cabinet rank in the 45-member Council of Ministers, which is highest ever in the history of India. We take a look at these seven women in Narendra Modi cabinet: Union Cabinet 2014, Sushma Swaraj had sworn in as the Cabinet Minister of External Affairs or Foreign Minister at the age of 62. Uma Bharti, Bharatiya Janata Party’s leader has been made the Union Cabinet Minister for Water Resources, River Development and Ganga Rejuvenation. Cabinet Minister of Human Resource Development Smriti Irani is the youngest minister at the Union Cabinet Council of Ministers at the age of 38. Maneka Gandhi, Indian Union cabinet Minister for Women & Child Development. Harsimrat Kaur Badal, wife of Deputy Chief minister of Punjab Sukhbir Singh Badal has been made the Union Minister of Food Processing Industries. Najma A. Heptulla is the oldest and only Muslim name to the feature in the Council of Ministers of the Union cabinet. Nirmala Sitharaman is currently given the Commerce and Industry, Finance, Corporate Affairs, Minister of State (Independent Charge).

Above table shows that women contestants from First Lok Sabha election to Fifteenth Lok sabha elections were low. We can observe gender disparity in politics.
When compared to men contestants in the elections women contestant were very less.

**TABLE-5**

**Participation of Women Members in the Discussion of Lok Sabha**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Discussion</th>
<th>Total number of Women</th>
<th>Participation of Women</th>
<th>Percentage of Participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short Duration Discussions</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussions on Various Motion</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half an Hour Discussions</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statutory Resolutions</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Member Resolution</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Resolution</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privilege Matters</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A part from the above, a glance at the extents of participation of women Parliament arenas in the various stages of passage of bills in both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha for period during 1952-2009 confirms the limited participation of women members in the discussion held at time of passage of these Bills\textsuperscript{29}. Although few women members are actively involved in the passage of Bills in the 1\textsuperscript{st} Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha their involvement has remained glaringly low in all the remaining Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha’s. For example, of the total 35 Bills introduced none of them was moved by the women Parliamentarians. Similarly in the Rajya Sabha for the period 1982-89, all the 42 Bills in different sessions were moved by men parliamentarians and none of them were moved by women members\textsuperscript{30}. In 2014 Telangana Separate State Bill passed Lok Sabha with the many women leaders who played important role in passing the bill.
Women candidates from National Political Parties

There is no denying the fact that a political party is an authentic institutional voice in a democracy. In a multi-party democracy, such as India, the role of political parties in elections, in mobilizing public opinion and also in governance process cannot be overemphasized. Therefore, the backing of a political party for the success of a candidate in election is also imperative. This trend is evident when women contestants fielded by political parties won in larger numbers in comparison to independent candidates.

**TABLE-6**

Women candidates from National Political Parties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Elections</th>
<th>Total No. of Women Contestants</th>
<th>Women Contestants from Political Parties</th>
<th>No. of Women elected</th>
<th>No. of Women elected from Political Parties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninth</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenth</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleventh</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>125</td>
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<td>Twelfth</td>
<td>274</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thirteenth</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>Fourteenth</td>
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<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixteenth</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Election Commission of India.*

Reservation for Women in Lok Sabha/Assemblies

Previous efforts

Attempts to have seats reserved for women in the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies have had a chequered legislative history after years of painstaking struggle by women’s groups the Bills for women’s reservation were
earlier introduced in Parliament in 1996, 1998 and 1999, respectively, without being passed. The Constitution (Eighty-first Amendment) Bill, 1996, was introduced on 12 September, 1996. Some of the significant features of the Bill were as under:

1. One-third of the total number of seats filled by direct elections in the House of the People and in Legislative Assemblies of the States shall be reserved for women
2. One-third of seats shall be reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes from amongst the seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes under clause (1) of article 330 and clause (1) of article 332 of the Constitution
3. If the number of seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes was less than three in any State, no reservation for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes was provided for in the State
4. The seats were to be reserved for women by rotation in the manner laid down by law of Parliament
5. No time limit up to which reservation for women was to continue
6. It did not provide for reservation of seats for women belonging to the Other Backward Classes
7. It did not provide reservation of seats for women in the Rajya Sabha and the Legislative Councils of the States

After intense debates and dissenting opinions, the Bill was referred to a Joint Committee of Parliament consisting of 31 members from both Houses of Parliament. The Committee chaired by Smt. Geeta Mukherjee presented its report on 9 December 1996.

The Committee in its report, inter alia, recommended following:

1. The words 'not less than one-third' occurring in the Bill should be replaced with 'as nearly as may be, one-third'
2. The Legislative Assembly of the National Capital Territory of Delhi should also be brought under the purview of the Bill
3. The provision for reservation of seats for women should also be made in respect of nominations made under article 331 and 333 of the Constitution

4. The provision of reservation for women should cease to have effect on the expiry of a period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution (Eighty-first Amendment) Act, 1996

5. The issue of extending the benefit of reservation to Other Backward Classes may be considered by the Government at the appropriate time. The report of the Joint Committee on the Constitution (Eighty-first Amendment) Bill, 1996.

6. The Government should work out the modalities for providing reservation of seats for women in Rajya Sabha and in the Legislative Councils and bring out suitable legislation in this regard at the appropriate time.

The Constitution (Eighty-first Amendment) Bill, 1996, as reported by the Joint Committee of Parliament, lapsed with the dissolution of the Eleventh Lok Sabha.

Thereafter, a similar Bill, namely, the Constitution (Eighty-fourth Amendment) Bill, 1998 was introduced on 14 December 1998. The said bill also lapsed on the dissolution of Twelfth Lok Sabha.

Yet another attempt was made by introducing the Constitution (Eighty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1999 in Lok Sabha on 23 December 1999. But this Bill also could not be pursued due to lack of consensus amongst the political parties.

2004 and 2009 General Elections Issues in Andhra Pradesh

The following developments form the context of the 2004 and 2009 Assembly Elections and therefore are relevant to the electoral discourse.

- There has been a sharp polarization of the political spectrum between the TDP and BJP alliance on the one hand and the Congress, TRS, Left alliance on the other. This obviously has led to the sharpening of the discursive contestation in the electoral campaign.

- This election has seen the marginalization of small parties like the BSP, Maha Jana Front, etc., which had significant discursive presence earlier.
The intensity of political competition and the compulsions to co-opt the identity politics facilitated and expanded the space for policy issues in the electoral discourse and participation.

The discourse in the 2004 election is built around the performance of the TDP regime during its nine-year tenure. The TDP, as is well known, is a highly personalized party therefore there has been an overt and excessive focus on the person of former Chief Chandrababu Naidu. In fact, he has assumed an iconic status with regard to the State-level economic reforms in the international and national press and in the eyes of international donors and captains of domestic big business. The Naidu regime sought to cultivate a pro-reform image for itself with all the hype [Mooij 2003]31. What distinguished it from the other pro-reform State governments was not only its open commitment to the reforms agenda but more importantly its effort to justify reforms in a larger ideological framework. In this narrative the `global' was a strategic point of reference to judge the state of the AP's economy and all the criteria of such judgment competitiveness, efficiency and good governance are being drawn from the neo-liberal global discourse. Accordingly, the development of the State is seen in relation to the opportunities opened up by globalization. The emphasis on information technology and bio-technology as the priority sectors is informed by the above perspective. Further, it is this preoccupation with the global which underlines the regime's political criticism of the Left as redundant in the context of globalisation32.

Governance reforms thus were identified as an important precondition for the development of the State. The term SMART (Simple, Moral, Accountable, Responsive and Transparent) was popularized to send across the message that the government was serious about the governance reforms to simplify procedures, to speed up decisions and to create efficient and transparent service delivery mechanism. The TDP regime thus built up a discourse based on reform-development -good governance - global integration narrative33.

The 2004 elections in AP displayed a plebiscitary character. Conducted in the aftermath of the assassination attempt by the CPI-ML (People's War) on Naidu at Alipiri near Tirupati, the entire electoral campaign got centred on him. Naidu only facilitated this by declaring this election as a referendum on his nine-year rule.
TDP thus invested all its resources on Naidu. Within the above pro-liberalization framework, the agenda for election was set by the TDP in sharply polarized terms of law and order versus violence and anarchy, separatism versus integration of the State and stability versus instability.

This election, proposed by nine months prompted by the expectation of a sympathy wave following the assassination attempt brought the question of Naxalite violence in the State onto the political agenda. The debate on the Naxalite question is clothed in terms of law and order versus backwardness and deprivation. It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that the TDP’s approach to this issue has largely been informed by the law and order perspective. The numbers of so-called encounter deaths during the TDP regime and absence of any comprehensive socio-economic programme to tackle the issue of the sub-regional backwardness and socio-economic deprivation of the lower sections in the backward regions of the State are the pointers.

The violence and counter-violence in the State by the Peoples' War and the police has reached almost maniacal proportions. Responding to this violence, a forum, Poura Spandana Vedika, comprising civil rights activists and journalists formed on the initiative of a former civil servant, sought to advocate and push for a dialogue between the government and the Peoples' War Group (PWG). The premise on which this dialogue was supposed to be based is that the Naxalite problem should be viewed as a serious socio-economic issue. The recalcitrant attitude and lack of patience created serious hurdles and led to the eventual failure of attempt to initiate dialogue despite initial enthusiasm and promise.

In the post Alipiri period, with the TDP going aggressively against PWG, the Congress and the TRS along with the parliamentary Left opted to view it as a social issue. The initiative by the citizens’ forum could be seen echoing the larger sentiment in the Naxalite influential areas. It is fairly well known that the people, especially the youth, in the Naxalite dominated villages of Telangana are subjected to tremendous hardship. The unlawful detentions, torture, extortions and fake encounters are reported by the civil liberties organizations and the media. If the perennial drought and unemployment have been serious concerns of people here then the police repression has only added to their woes. The citizens’ forum has been instrumental in
bringing forth these concerns onto the political discourse and policy arena. The impact of this on the Congress and TRS’ stated position on the process of dialogue with the PWG is unmistakable.

By posing the Naxalite issue in extremely negative and hostile terms, the TDP could only sharpen the polarization of the discourse in terms of development versus anarchy. Accordingly the TDP projected itself as a party that stood for development and the Congress and the TRS as against it and for anarchy. As the electoral campaign progressed, with its top leadership as well as its grassroots cadres subjected to tremendous insecurity through threats and actual killings and its organizational network virtually paralysed by the PWG, the TDP sharpened its criticism of and hostility towards the PWG. With its hostile stand the TDP lost its manoeuvrability, which is crucial to the shaping of the discourse.

Separatism vs. Integration of the State

Another contentious issue that was pursued by the TDP government is related to the demand of the Telangana State. The Telangana issue has been brought back after more than three decades on to the mainstream political discourse by the TRS formed in 2001 by a former TDP leader, K Chandrasekhar Rao. In the last three years this issue picked up momentum and assumed electoral significance. If the performance of the TRS in the panchayat raj elections held in 2001 was an indication of its growing popularity, then the popular response to its rallies and meetings further demonstrated it. This obviously had an impact on the TDP’s support base.

To further compound the problems of the TDP, the Telangana issue came to symbolize the condensation of serious policy concerns pertaining to agriculture, drought, and irrigation and of course Naxalism, as large pockets of Telangana are perennially drought prone and agriculture here suffers from lack of irrigation. This region, which has the Naxalite presence in almost all the districts, is therefore subjected to tremendous repression by the State. By raising the Telangana question, the TRS sought to focus on the above concerns.

The Telangana issue posed a challenge not only to the TDP but also to the Congress. A section of the Congressmen from Telangana forming the ‘Telangana
Congress Forum' have been raising the issue of statehood to the Telangana region. This voice in the Congress grew in prominence as the TRS expanded its network and social base. With the demand for the Telangana State both inside and outside the Congress gaining prominence, the Congress High Command was forced to respond by promising to constitute a second States' Reorganization Committee (SRC)\textsuperscript{35}. With this the ground was prepared for electoral realignments in the State.

The Congress always contested elections in AP on its own, while the TDP from the beginning forged alliance with one or the other of the non-Congress forces. With the change in the Congress national policy in favour of forging electoral alliances\textsuperscript{36} to confront the NDA, the ground was cleared for the alliance with the TRS and the Left. What brought these parties together obviously was the main goal of defeating the TDP and BJP alliance. But differences among them on the statehood for Telangana along with other issues have been equally important while the Congress continuously harped on the Second SRC; the Left all along rejected the demand. The differences with the Left are reflected in the TRS putting up its candidates against the Left in some places.

On the other side of the political spectrum, while the TDP's stand has been against a separate State of Telangana, the BJP on the contrary found itself in an awkward position for the State BJP had taken a pro Telangana stand with its slogan of `one vote, two States' in its resolution in the Kakinada conference. But since its alliance with the TDP in 1999 it was forced to keep it in abeyance. Given the fact that the BJP has greater presence and influence in Telangana as comparison to coastal Andhra, it is a risk that the State BJP was to take with a view to improve the prospects of the NDA government at the Centre. Thus the BJP argued that though in principle it was in favour of small States, in the context of alliance politics it was forced to confine itself to the NDA agenda.

The discourse on Telangana therefore is marked by the internal dynamics and tensions of alliance politics. Given the fact that Telangana has been an emotive issue, the parties even when they are opposed to Telangana State had to exercise caution. Though the terms of discourse on Telangana have been clearly spelt out and battle lines clearly drawn, there could be noticed a perceptible difference in the tone and tenor of the political stands of parties on it between two phases of election.
the first phase held on April 20, covering the Telangana region and parts of northern Andhra and the second phase of polls held on April 26 covering remaining coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions. While during the first phase of campaign the TDP's chief campaigner Naidu emphasized the need of an integrated State of AP and reeled out what the TDP had done and promised to do if elected for Telangana, in the second phase campaign in coastal Andhra he sought to rake up Andhra sentiment by suggesting how separate State of Telangana would lead to a water war as Telangana would demand a share in the river water resources and fertile and irrigated coastal Andhra would be forced to suffer.

The third theme that dominated the TDP's electoral campaign was the question of political stability. The TDP, as it has done continuously in its two decade long history, equated the Congress rule with political instability. The Congress' track record of frequent change of chief ministers, internal factional infighting, interference of the party High Command into the State affairs were played on by the TDP leadership to paint a picture of instability in the Congress rule. The Congress and its allies countered this discourse by pointing to the 'real' instability in the AP economy and society under the TDP rule. The destabilization of agriculture and handloom sectors, which constitute the main sources of employment, caused by the gross neglect of these sectors during the TDP's nine year rule was the theme that the Congress emphasised in its campaign. Holding the TDP government responsible for the suicides of the farmers and artisans, the Congress and its allies put the TDP and its supreme on a public trial.

These broad positions on the questions of law and order, integration and stability have informed the TDP's position on specific policy issues like agriculture, handlooms, power, etc, in the fiercely fought elections. TDP by going in for early polls, apparently aimed at seizing the initiative and tiny set the agenda for the electoral debate this initial advantage could not be sustained and in fact turned out negative as it sought to define the electoral discourse in terms of sharp polarities. If the closed structure and the implicit negativity in the TDP's electoral campaign were striking then the Congress displayed a greater openness and inclusiveness in terms of agenda. This made the Congress party look more responsive to newer issues and demands from below.
Framing and Naming: Congress Policy Discourse

Policy discourse can be compared with storytelling. It should have a beginning, story line, narrative structure, and ending. The entry point in the Congress campaign in AP was the suicides of farmers and accordingly it built up a narrative that identified the phenomenon of farmers’ suicides during the TDP rule. The crisis in the agrarian sector during the last four years, and the absence of any effective intervention into this by the TDP government was projected as a clear instance of insensitivity of the TDP regime. A serious public debate on such a grave situation was sustained due to the efforts of the media, farmers’ organizations and the Left parties. In spite of the prolonged public debate on this issue there was no viable action on this front. The only visible government response was one of denial of any such suicides; suicides if any have been attributed to personal, family or health reasons. The following could be identified as the causes of the agricultural crisis, the brunt of which is borne by the small and marginal farmers, mostly belonging to the backward castes:

- Failure to control the spread of low quality and spurious seed, fertilizer and pesticides by fly-by-night companies;
- Near total collapse of agricultural extension services which would have helped the farmers with timely and necessary advice;
- The failure of agricultural credit system forcing farmers to go in for private moneylenders at high interest rates;
- High rise in the cost of agricultural inputs especially hike in the power tariffs impacting the dry land cultivation in Telangana and Rayalaseema regions;
- Decline of marketing support for farm products leading to huge losses; and,
- Lack of and in fact decline of irrigation facilities as a result of receding water table in dry land areas and drought conditions in large parts of the State.

The most important line in this story, given the TDP’s firm stand on the power sector reforms, is the galvanizing of the agitation against power tariff hike in 2000. Immediately after the 1999 elections, the incumbent TDP government hiked power
tariffs by claiming its victory as a popular approval of its reform package, which included power sector reforms. The above agitation, which got rallied in Hyderabad, was quelled by the TDP resulting in the death of two protestors and injuries to 26 of them. This was meant to be a signal of what was in store for such protesters. Further, government's resolve was made clear through its refusal to roll back the power tariff hike.

Critical to the intensification of the public discourse on these issues was the Praja Prasthan Padayatra undertaken by Y Rajasekhar Reddy (YSR) as the leader of the opposition in the State during the summer of 2003. Covering 1500 kms on foot, YSR could bring about a critical shift in the political discourse and State politics. Firstly, he emerged as a charismatic leader of the party. Dressed in white shirt, dhoti and a turban, walking in the mornings and evenings and resting under the shelter of thatched huts and roadside shamianas, YSR could easily establish rapport with simple and poor rural folks. YSR's self-projection and image was in sharp contrast to that of Naidu clad in shirt and pants and guarded by heavy security.

Secondly, through padayatra, YSR could not only gain public image and sympathy but could activate the Congress cadre by boosting up their morale. Thirdly, the padayatra gave an opportunity to local groups and activists to represent their problems to the leader of the Opposition and by rallying the elements critical of the Naidu regime, YSR could bring the grassroots issues pertaining to agriculture and handlooms, etc. into public gaze and sustain a critical debate on government priorities like Information Technology, British Telecom and Formula One car races and neglect of issues of employment and livelihood. The padayatra all along provided for impromptu discussions on one-to-one basis with YSR enquiring the village folk about their problems and consoling them. The rachchabanda or adda participation reduced the gap between the political elite and the popular classes and facilitated communication between them. The value of this becomes very noticeable when it is seen in comparison to the nature of participation in the TDP's high profile Janmabhoomi. Though started with a promise, soon the Janmabhoomi lost its voluntary participatory character and became a formality as the TDP cadre and local bureaucracy came to dominate it.

YSR by undertaking Jaithra yatra on the eve of elections held almost a year after his initial padayatra was only renewing his popular contact and pledge to
alleviate their conditions. Such yatras were made a famous mode of popular contact by NTR in the State politics with all the dramatics and glamour associated with it. Naidu had a big disadvantage in this respect. Traveling in helicopter and protected by a security cover he could not counter the populist image accumulated by YSR. On the contrary, he ended up reinforcing the image of being hi-tech, IT savvy.

If padayatra was an education for YSR as he could learn about the problems at the grassroots, then the Jaithrayatra was used as a means to come back with promises based on the feedback during the padayatra. These yatras were seen as reminiscent of the ones NTR was famous for and reminding the voters how far the TDP under Naidu has moved away from the founder's policies. This had come to be a very important and effective strategy of communication for the Congress to establish rapport with the popular classes and for the latter to have informal dialogue with the political elite.

Women and DWCRA

It is well known fact that women have been strong and reliable supporters of the TDP government. If NTR resorted to populist adapaduchulu (sisters) rhetoric to consolidate the TDP base among women, Naidu following the poor performance of his party in the 1996 parliamentary elections found in DWCRA (Development of Woman and Child in Rural Areas) an instrument to strengthen the women vote for the TDP. By extending an overwhelming patronage to the DWCRA women, Naidu could create a viable political constituency for his regime. This is the constituency that was the major factor behind the TDP's victory in the 1999 elections. And this constituency continued to be relied upon for the victory of the TDP in the 2004 elections as well. Precisely for this reason Congress had to make special attempt to address women, especially those who organized through the DWCRA programme.

The Congress discourse with regard to the DWCRA groups can be described as one based on a dual strategy. Firstly, the Congress tried to demystify the TDP’s projection of the women as a monolithic group to forge an identity - in which the DWCRA was a major instrument - by referring to their internal differences; the Congress appealed to women belonging to the agricultural families who as such were also suffering on account of the policies of the TDP government. This strategy
could be described as an attempt at the demystification of women as an autonomous social group based on coherent identity. Secondly, keeping in view the fact that the Naidu regime accorded top priority to the DWCRA through liberal allocation of funds, the Congress went a step ahead by promising loans to the DWCRA groups at the interest rate of three percent, which is far below the rate of interest under the TDP government.

**Congress-led Discourse Coalition**

What is involved in the Congress’ campaign, which following Hajer [1993], could be called the ‘mobilization of bias.’ By making suicides of farmers and weavers a signifier of a deep crisis and making the TDP’s policies responsible for this a political judgment in the form of popular verdict was sought. The narrative contains multiple story lines: drought, Telangana’s backwardness (resulting in the demand for a separate State implied), and TDP’s surrender to the World Bank. The condensation of the discourse in the term ‘crisis’ is noteworthy. In other words, crisis had become a short hand expression of the seriousness of what was rotten in the State of AP. It is true that the issue of the crisis during the TDP regime is not as simple as stated by the adversaries. But it may be noted that simplification of the problem is a rhetorical device that is often put to an effective use to convey clear political messages.

The concept of discourse coalition defined as an "ensemble of a set of story lines, the actors that utter these storylines, and the practices that conform to these story lines, all organized around a discourse"[Hajer 1993: 47] is useful in this context. The electoral discourse pursued by the Congress and its allies is characterized by differences in terms of story lines or rather versions of story, narrative styles and rhetoric. What is common to them all is that the chief antagonist in the story is Naidu. These different versions of the story begin and in fact substantially revolve around Naidu. In all of them the narrative on agrarian crisis occupies a major space. But in each of them, the narrative assumes different twists and turns and the finale is explicitly different. As we shall see, despite these differences there is an underlying political necessity recognized by all of them that the TDP must be defeated and the premise on which that is possible is to accept the Congress as the leader of the alliance. Therefore it may be suggested that the political alliance between the Congress, TRS and the Left be considered as a discourse coalition as well.
The concept of discourse coalition could be expanded to include a wide range of initiatives, organizations and social groups. Thus the acute perception of the crisis in a majority of social groups - apart from farmers and weavers, the students, unemployed youth and especially the teachers and NGOs - and an unprecedented sense of insecurity felt by a large number of them led to the widening of the discourse coalition associated with the Congress. Thus farmers' and workers organizations, students and youth organizations, teachers and employees associations overwhelmingly identified with the Congress coalition sharing its narrative topography, in spirit if not in detail.

The TRS, the Left and other organizations pursued their own story lines that are different from each other and distinct from that of the Congress. It is curious to note that sometimes their narrative structures and especially the closures they aimed at were not compatible with each other. The TDP's counter-strategy was to highlight these differences and contradictions and draw the attention of the voters to how these differences camouflaged or played down by the alliance partners could play havoc in the State politics. In spite of this entire if the alliance is voted to power then it can only be seen as a vindication of the points of convergence in the discursive narrative.

**Telangana Rastra Samithi and Telangana Demand**

To illustrate the above argument, let us look at the discursive persuasions of the TRS and the Left. The narrative on Telangana build by the TRS and the different discursive groups even when they have serious differences with the former has an almost predictable storyline. That the Telangana region has been backward and the coastal region has developed phenomenally and that too at the cost of the Telangana region; that the backwardness of Telangana is the logical outcome of the developmental policy pursued by the political elite from the Andhra region; this is evident in almost all the sectors - in irrigation, education, health, etc. According to this narrative the regional unevenness has increased with the coming into power of the TDP, which is clearly a party of the coastal neo-rich, and during the last nine years of the Naidu regime it has reached huge proportions. In this narrative there is a silence on the Congress party's role but this is sought to be effected by highlighting the culpability of the TDP. But it cannot be said that the Congress has been exonerated.
What is significant here is not the factual veracity of the above construction but how through the deployment of rhetorical devices and powerful imagery it is sought to be imprinted on the popular memory as an irrefutable ‘fact.’ The backwardness of Telangana and innocence of Telangana people (which is portrayed not as a lacuna but celebrated as a positive quality) become emotive devices through which mobilization is attempted. What is noticeable about the present discourse on Telangana, in contrast to that of the 1969 movement, is the deliberate underplaying of the anti-coastal Andhra sentiment. The choice of target has been the TDP and its policies. Such a critique has a positive correlation if not conformity with the critique of the TDP by other parties in the coalition. But there are also serious differences and curious convergences among the coalition partners. While the State Congress maintained a studied silence on the Telangana issue- giving credence to the TRS’ claim that it has reached an agreement on the issue with the AICC - the Left, especially the CPI (M) sticking to its linguistic nationality thesis, has taken a firm stand to oppose the demand. The Left instead proposed a special package for the development of the backward regions. There has been a strong convergence between the Left and the TDP on their stand on Telangana. But the points of divergence and disagreement that occupied larger discursive space have overshadowed this common ground.

The Left Parties

The Left’s discourse covers a wider policy space and situates the TDP regime in the macro-policy context. Thus the conditionality’s of the World Bank and the accumulation of external borrowings during Naidu’s tenure became issues hotly debated in this election. The Left, during its six years of separation from the TDP, virtually conducted a public trial on this issue through pamphlets, booklets, public meetings and agitations. Along with the Left parties, a number of citizens’ initiatives like, for instance, the Forum against Globalization (FAG) comprising of activists, academics and journalists have played a key role by bringing out booklets and informative pamphlets with analyses of the implications of liberalization to the vulnerable and marginalized communities. It is true that Naidu’s regime has seen a whopping increase in loans amounting to Rs. 50,084 cores. But the fact of the matter is that the external loans amounted to only Rs. 15,364 cores of which loans from the
World Bank was Rs. 8,922 crores. The World Bank has become a short hand expression of the reforms face of the regime and that too with a stigma attached to it. The ground was thus prepared for the populist discourse. Not lagging behind the Left, the Congress also made it an election issue peppering it with emotions. Thus asked YS Rajashekar Reddy in his road shows and public meetings "Where has this huge money gone" What did the farmers get? How many irrigation projects were built?" The answer was obviously in the negative. This rhetoric went well especially with the rural electorate.

In the same refrain the standard claim of Chandrababu Naidu that his government enhanced the stature of the State among international donors and brought huge funds for the development of the State has been clearly turned upside down. The Congress' response to this claim is simple, straight and matter of fact one. All the borrowings made in the name of development have gone into the pockets of 'pacha chokkalu' (yellow shirts), the TDP cadre, who like 'bandicoots' have not only swallowed up the developmental funds but also the rice allotted by the central government for the Food for Work Programme (FFW). It may be noted that there has been a remarkable change in the TDP’s organizational structure under the leadership of Naidu. While NTR ran the party on the strength of his charisma and popularity, Naidu lacking both sought to build his organizational base on managerial lines through an elaborate network based on distribution of spoils. Thus the organizational base of the TDP at different levels began to comprise of people belonging to the class of contractors, builders and even speculators. This needless to say is in sharp contrast to the Congress, which counts in its ranks the traditional dominant caste elite and professional pyravikaars (power brokers). This contractor class, for whom politics is primarily a business proposition, the developmental work and even the FFW programme has become a 'feeding channel'.

The TDP’s image in fact took a clear beating with the surfacing of scams involving pilferage of the rice meant for FFW programme. It may be noted that the State government was allotted 55 lakh tons of rice estimated to be of worth rupees 5500 crores by the centre for drought relief work. The scams of rice 'recycling' that were in reference when YSR declared, "while the farmers grew emaciated the TDP men became fatter by eating away government funds meant for development and
drought relief like bandicoots." Thus when the Congress and the Left raised the issue of 'disappearance' of the loans meant for development the political message was loud and clear.

This put the TDP clearly on the defensive. The already accumulated voter fatigue with the persona of Naidu was further intensified when he made it a point to paint a picture of Swarnandhra (Golden Andhra) through a series of live telecasts of the review of the performance of different departments on the private TV channels. The numbers that were reeled out during these reviews not only made no sense to the everyday life experiences of large sections of population but increased their distrust of the TDP regime.

Every story must have an ending - preferably an optimistic one. The discourses of the different parties suggest happy endings. In this sense the TDP is clearly at a disadvantage for being in power for nine long years its closure is only too obvious and has nothing to offer prospectively except promising to continue its earlier policies with a different accent.

The Congress' discursive diagnosis suggests a series of solutions. The most significant of them is the promises of the free power supply to agriculture. It may be recollected that Congress made the promise of free power supply to agriculture sector during the 1999 elections as well. But it was an indication of the low credibility of the party that it could not gain much on this count. During the last few years, by joining popular grassroots initiatives and keeping the debate on agriculture live in the assembly and other fora the Congress gradually gained a pro-people image for itself.

Like in 1999, the TDP tried to neutralize the Opposition campaign with all the resources at its command. Naidu, through TV advertisements and in his speeches sought to convey the message that the Congress' promise of free power was impractical and irresponsible. For free power would only mean no power, as there would be no power left to supply. Thus he warned, "We will end up using transmission lines for drying cloths." Free powers will throw fiscal discipline to winds. Naidu repeatedly told his audience that this was the reason why Sonia Gandhi never referred to this promise.
Power is crucial to farmers in dry land areas in Telangana and Rayalaseema. There are estimated to be around 22.82 lakh pump sets in these two regions. The impact of hike in power tariffs has been quite disastrous on the poor and marginal farmers. The power subsidy is justified on the ground that it would cost the state exchequer only rupees 300 crores whereas the expenditure incurred on the publicity by the TDP government was estimated to be above rupees 350 crores. This is the reason why this promise went well with the farmers and the poor households.

The electoral discourse in the State has historically shown a high proclivity for populism. This is largely because of the sharp political polarization and the intense electoral competition the State has seen since the early 1980s. But none of the elections have ever seen any informed debate - except for an inclination to score points in the debate – on the desirability and viability of populism as the basis of public policy. Thus the populist turn in the promise of free power. The entire farming community is treated as a suffering lot and the internal differences are glossed over. When as a matter of fact the farming community is highly differentiated and the strata that have suffered as a result of the governmental negligence and apathy are the small and medium farmers. The discourse on free power also raises certain other important issues. The most important one pertains to the propriety in pursuing such a promise given the fact that the crisis of the dry land farming to a large extent is due to the phenomenal decline in the ground water, which in turn is a result of an unchecked bore-well digging. The free power supply would only worsen the situation for the poor and marginal farmers and play ecological havoc as there would be much more intensive water exploitation by the big land owners. Perhaps a comprehensive debate is required on the control over ground water usage and the regulation of the cropping pattern in tune with the agrarian ecological conditions of different regions. These issues found no place in the electoral debate. TDP’s argument against the free power promise was also largely in the nature of a techno-economic objection based on its non-viability (because of the cost factor and the inability to maintain quality supply) rather than based on the invocation of a larger perspective.

The narrative of the Congress-led alliance was woven around the theme of evil and anti people rule (interestingly in the speeches of YSR and KCR, the TDP rule is referred to as Dusta and/ or Narakasura palana) under which all the sections of
the society had suffered therefore it is time to end it. There are interesting sub-plots or narratives in the story line of the Congress which are basically meant to further cement and expand the process of forging a social coalition that would win it power. If the free power promise to agriculture and poor households (along with a package consisting of whole lot of other promises like completion of irrigation projects, supply of quality seeds, subsidized fertilizer and pesticides, loans at a low interest rate, revival of extension services, etc.) is meant to stabilize its support base among the farmers and poor households then the promises to weavers to ameliorate their conditions with regulation of yarn supply, revival of Janata scheme and creation of credit and marketing facilities, to the employees to do away with harassment and creation of employment to the educated youth through recruitment to the vacancies in the government accumulated as a result of the ban on recruitment during the TDP tenure. Thus the social unrest and discontent against the TDP rule is sought to be tuned by the Congress to forge a social base with the promise of specific packages to each of them.

The discourses of the TRS and the Left have predictable closures. Though they differ with the Congress in detail and final goals, the immediate objective, which is the defeat of the TDP, weighed over them.

Since the TRS owes its existence to and has built up its political image on the demand of statehood to Telangana, its narrative of the major issues, crisis in dry land agriculture, suicides of farmers, unemployment problem and the insecurity and lawlessness in the Telangana countryside are argued to be due to the neglect of the region as a result of the political and economic dominance of the coastal Andhra elite. The solution to the problems of the Telangana region is suggested to be possible only through the statehood. The major obstacle to this is stated to be the TDP. The alliance with the Congress is premised on the recognition of the need for the Telangana State. Despite the multiple voices in the Congress on this issue, there was an attempt by the TRS to project the acceptance of its demand by the Congress High Command.

The parliamentary Left, which built up a sustained critique of the TDP’s economic reform agenda, made the conditionality’s of the World Bank, the ‘surrender’ of the TDP government to the Bank and the neglect of agriculture leading
to the agrarian crisis and farmers' suicides, and unemployment as the main issues in its campaign. The review of reform agenda and reprioritization of sectors, interests and subsidies were the main demands of the Left. The discourse coalition forged by the Congress, as suggested earlier, accommodated these issues in its macro-narrative. The closure of the Left thus coincided with that of the Congress. The electoral alliance forged by the Congress therefore was also substantially a coalition of discourses, narrative and story lines, and closures.

The policy discourse in 2004 election in AP displayed a plebiscitary character. This was because of the dominance of the TDP by the persona of Naidu and political investment of the party in terms of its image, resources, choices and risks in him. For this reason the defeat of Naidu's regime, which gained an iconic status with regard to the State-level economic reforms, has been interpreted as a 'vote against anti-people reforms.' The discourse analysis of the election campaigns of different parties clearly shows that except for the Left no mainstream party made this election a contest on reforms.

The dominant discourses of the Congress and the TDP are framed in terms of crisis vs. development. While the TDP’s development centric discourse in view of the multiplier effects of demand for demonstration of proof hypothetically remained a closed option, the crisis-centric discourse of the Congress campaign displayed possibilities for new discursive coalitions and political alliances. Because of the discursive centrality of crisis, the concerns of the marginalized groups gained prominence in the electoral campaign of the Congress and its allies. Through a continuous focus on the suicides of the farmers and weavers to demonstrate the TDP's insensitivity to the people's anguish, the Congress sought to deepen the legitimacy crisis of the TDP regime.

Popular initiatives and grassroot organizations can play a crucial role in policy discourse. The more dynamic these organizations are the more pressure they exert on political parties to respond to their issues. If any party fails to do that it can only do at its own risk and loss of legitimacy. We find such organizations playing a catalytic role in discursive terms in this election - against the TDP for its closed discourse and in favour of the Congress because of its discursive openness. The presence of these initiatives is evident in the three crucial issues of rural crisis, Naxalite question and
Telangana demand that dominated the electoral debate this time. All the above issues have been shaped and presented as social questions pertaining to the marginalized sections (in the TDP's discourse they were treated as administrative or law and order issues) and interestingly have been inclusively presented as part of the discourse of crisis. Generally, reference to historical personalities and legacies is a strong element in the political discourses. In this respect the TDP clearly had a disadvantage. While the Congress invoked the legacy of Indira Gandhi and promised Indiramma rajam36 (Indira Gandhi's rule) the TDP could not draw on NTR's popular legacy because of its move away from NTR's legacy had been decisive.

It is necessary to distinguish between the cooption of the subaltern concerns by the dominant structures for electoral gains and providing of spaces to marginalized groups so that they can participate in policy discourses. It may be suggested that the 2004 election in AP has shown certain degree of convergence of these two processes of cooption by the dominant and carving a space for themselves by the marginalised. The sustained activities of the subaltern organizations have played a key role in making the crisis visible and central issue in the electoral discourse. Further they could be seen expanding the spaces in the policy discourse as these organizations were accorded visibility and promised a role in the policy making in the form consultations and involvement in the deliberations.

The Congress' promise of involvement of the farmers' and weavers' organizations in the formulation of policies for agricultural and handloom sectors and the Poura Spandana Vedika with regard to the Naxalite issue are important indications of expansion of policy spaces for the marginalized and their concerns.

2009 General Elections

India held general elections to the 15th general elections in five phases between 16 April 2009 and 13 May 2009. With an electorate of 714 million (larger than the electorate of the European Union and United States combined, it has been the largest democratic election in the world till the Indian General Elections 2014) held from 7 April 2014.
By constitutional requirement, elections to the Lok Sabha (lower house of the parliament of India) must be held every five years, or whenever Parliament is dissolved by the President of India. The previous election to the 14th Lok Sabha was conducted in May 2004 and its term would have naturally expired on 1 June 2009. Elections are organised by the Election Commission of India (ECI) and are normally held in multiple phases to better handle the large electoral base and its security concerns. The 2009 elections were held in five phases. In February 2009, Rs.11.20 billion ($200.5 million) was budgeted for election expenses by the Indian Parliament. A total of 8070 candidates contested for 543 Lok Sabha seats. The average election turnout over all 5 phases was around 59.7%. The results of the election were announced within three days of phase five, on 16 May 2009, following the first past the post system.

The United Progressive Alliances (UPA) Government led by the Indian National Congress formed the government after obtaining the majority of seats based on strong results in Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, TamilNadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Manmohan Singh became the first Prime Minister since Jawaharlal Nehru in 1962 to be re-elected after completing a full five-year term. The UPA was able to put together a comfortable majority with support from 322 members out of 543 members of the House. Though this is less than the 335 members who supported the UPA in the last parliament, UPA alone had a plurality of over 260 seats as opposed to 218 seats in the 14th Lok Sabha. Hence the government appears to be more stable than the previous one. External support came from the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), Samajwadi Party (SP), Janata Dal (Secular) (JD(S)), Rastriya Janata Dal (RJD) and other minor parties. On 22 May 2009, Manmohan Singh was sworn in as the Prime Minister at the Ashoka Hall of Rastrapathi Bhavan. As per convention, on 18 May, he had already submitted his resignation as the Prime Minister to the President of India Prathiba Patil with a recommendation to dissolve the Council of Ministers.

The election, while following the normal five-year cycle, came after a break in the old UPA alliance after the Left Front withdrew support of the Indo-US nuclear deal forcing a vote of confidence (which the government won).
Electoral Issues

Delimitation

The 2009 elections adopted re-drawn electoral constituencies based on the 2001 census, following the 2002 Delimitation Commission of India, whose recommendations were approved in February 2008. In the 2009 general elections, 499 out of the total 543 Parliamentary Constituencies were newly delimited constituencies. This affected the National Capital Region of Delhi, the Union Territory of Pondicherry and all the States except Arunachal Pradesh that is Assam, Jammu and Kashmir, Jharkhand, Manipur and Nagaland. While comparing election results, it must be borne in mind that in many instances a constituency with the same name may reflect a significantly different population demographic as well as a slightly altered geographical region.

Electronic Voting Machines

As in the 2004 election, this election was also conducted completely using electronic voting machines (EVMs), with 1,368,430 voting machines deployed across the country.

Polling Stations

There were 828,804 Polling Stations around the country – a 20% increase over the number from the 2004 election. This was done mainly to avoid vulnerability to threat and intimidation, to overcome geographical barriers and to reduce the distance travelled by voters.

The CEC announced that the polling station in Banej village in the Unna Segmentt of Junagadh, Gujarat had the unique claim to being the only polling station in the country that catered to a single elector Guru Shree Bharatdasji Bapu, a priest of a Shiva temple in the middle of the Gir Forest.

Electoral Rolls

The electoral rolls had to be completely updated because of the delimitation that took effect from February 2008. The process of updating the
electoral rolls continued until the last date of filing nominations. 714 million people were eligible to vote in 2009, up 6.4% (43 million) from 2004. This election also saw the entire country except the states of Assam, Nagaland and Jammu & Kashmir use photo electoral rolls. This meant that the photo of each elector was printed on the electoral rolls and this was intended to facilitate easy identification and prevent impersonations. In addition to the photo electoral rolls, the electors also needed to provide separate photo identification. Those electors who had already been issued Electoral Photo Identification Cards (EPIC) were only permitted to use the EPIC for identification at the polling station. According to the EC, 82% of the country's electors (except those in Assam) have been issued EPIC before the 2009 election was announced.

By requirement, elections to the Lok Sabha must be held at an interval of five years or whenever Parliament is dissolved by the President. The previous election, to the 15th Lok Sabha, was conducted in April–May 2009, and its term would have naturally expired on 31 May 2014. The election to the 16th Lok Sabha was organized and conducted by the Election Commission of India (ECI) and was held in multiple phases, to better handle the large electoral base and security concerns. Since the last general election in 2009, the anti-corruption movement by Anna Hazare, and other similar moves by Baba Ramdev and Arvind Kejriwal (founder of Aam Admi Party), gathered momentum and political interest. Kejriwal went on to form a separate political party, Aam Aadmi Party, in November 2012. The 2012 Presidential election resulted in Pranab Mukerjee of Indian National Congress becoming the President. Andhra politics was further shaken following the death of its chief minister, Y.S.R Reddy. His son, Y.S Jagan mohan Reddy, then broke from the INC and founded the YSR Congress, taking several politicians with him. The final session of parliament started on 6 February and ended on 21 February. Amongst the agenda in the final session was passing the Lokapal and Lokyuktha Bill, 2013 in tackling corruption and the creation of Telangana.

**Issues**

Important issues during the campaign included high inflation, lack of jobs, economic slowdown, corruption, security and terrorism, religious division and communalism, and infrastructure such as roads, electricity and water. In another
survey by Zee News for about 14% of people, corruption is the main issue in the election.

**Economy**

Bloomberg highlighted India’s slowing economy amidst a record high current account deficit and a falling rupee in summer 2013. It pointed out a lack of infrastructure investment and a government increasingly likely to give subsidies that the national finances cannot afford just before the election. Other points it mentioned were stagnant policymaking and an inefficient bureaucracy. Economy was the main issue in the campaign. The lack of a clear mandate as a result of the election could lead to an increase in the price of gold in the country. Modi also brought up the issue of farmer suicides that resulted from high debt and poor yield on their crops. Former Finance Minister Yashvanth Sinha criticised the incumbent Chidambaram in saying that he had a "habit that he will get a strong economy, and he will ruin it before he leaves. Shri Chidambaram will be remembered in history as a spoiler, as someone who specialises in sub-five per cent growth rate, for his hubris, arrogance".

**Corruption**

During the UPA-2, a number of scams came to public attention, deteriorating the image of the government among the common man. These scams included coal scam, 2G scam and Commonwealth games scam.

**Price Rise**

The price of onions, a staple in Indian cuisine, faced a dramatic increase. In the lead up to the election, consumer price inflation increased more than expected while, paradoxically, industrial production fell by more than expected causing a dilemma amid slowing growth. The price of salt was also indicative of general food inflation.

The spate of crimes in the name of honour continue, the most recent being a gruesome incident of gang rape of a adivasi girl in West Bengal and the beheading of the couple in Rohtak, Haryana. More and more such crimes are being reported from Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu. The government has failed to take action against khaps and other such extra constitutional bodies who encourage such criminal acts, for fear of losing political
support. There has been a singular failure on part of the UPA-II government to enact a special law to deal with crimes of honour, despite recommendations from the Planning Commission's Working Group on Women's Empowerment. The Empowered Group of Ministers that was set up to look into the matter has been quietly withdrawn.

The horrific gang rape and murder of a young medical intern in the capital city in December 2012 saw unprecedented outrage and anger flowing into the streets all over the country. It resulted in the preparation of a comprehensive report by the Verma Committee, whose recommendations constituted a big step forward in the struggle for women's rights. Unfortunately, the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, 2013 passed by the UPA Government was a piecemeal legislation that does not fully address the various dimensions of violence against women. It failed to address the important issues of marital rape exception, does not acknowledge the social, economic and political power of those who rape with impunity women from the most vulnerable sections of our society, does not protect young boys and girls who are in a consensual relationship between the ages of 16 and 18 years from the criminal consequences of statutory rape; does not accept the recognition of command responsibility, excludes Armed Forces Special Powers Act from its purview and retains the death penalty.

The recent demands by young women for personal freedom and choice and an equal right to public spaces and the rising protests against crimes against women have led to a sharp conservative and patriarchal backlash that blames women themselves for the violence against them. Their clothes, their very presence in public spaces, “modern values of freedom”, “free association of young women and men” are conceived as the causes of rising sexual crimes. For the Sangh Parivar, this presents an opportunity to reinforce the myth that “Hindu” women were safe and secure in a "glorious India" of the past. The attacks on young women sitting in a pub in Bangalore or questioning young couples in public spaces and opposing inter community relationships are examples of such moral policing. The Islamist fundamentalist forces are no less conservative, with attempts to impose dress codes, ban the use of mobile phones by young women and prohibit co-education. There are attempts to reinforce control over women in the name of safety through the creation
of extra-constitutional bodies and “women’s safety neighbourhood groups”. It is unfortunate that such views are shared by a large number of people, including government officials and members of the judiciary, whose opinions influence policy. For women, one of the biggest betrayals has been the utter failure of the UPA II to pass the 33% Women’s Reservation Bill, despite its majority in the Parliament. With the exception of the Left parties, not a single opposition party seriously pressed for its passage, and some openly opposed it. Along with the failure to have more women in decision making bodies, it means that women are unable to exercise an effective role in policy making. Several laws such as the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence, anti-dowry laws etc. have been enacted due to the protracted struggles of the women’s movement have been rendered ineffective due to grossly inadequate provision of finances, personnel and infrastructure. An additional allocation for the Nirbhaya Fund, of 1000 crores this year carries little meaning if the survivors and victims of sexual violence are unable to access the funds for rehabilitation and relief purposes. A similar allocation made grandiosely in the last budget has been spent only partially, and in a non transparent manner.

The 2011 Census figures have brought to the fore the further and steep decline in child sex ratios (CSR) from 927 to 914 between 2001 and 2011 and spread across 27 states and UTs. Recently released data from the 2011 Census shows a sex ratio of 919 for the age group for the age group 1 – 6 years, and even lower at 911 for 7-15 years, showing a gross neglect of the girl child. This is a damning indictment of the policies of the Central and some State governments and an exposure of the utter failure to implement the Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques Act. The government has taken virtually no action against those doctors and medical technologists who are out to make profits, without whose collusion sex selective abortion cannot occur. The PCPNDT Act continues to be violated with impunity. The monitoring and supervisory bodies are dysfunctional.

Despite a Constitution that mandates equality, women still do not have the right to property on the same terms as men. It varies according to personal and community laws that are patriarchal and deny women equal right to inherited and matrimonial property. Due to women’s struggles, the government was forced to incorporate changes in the Hindu Succession Act in 2005. Even where law has given
a right, conventions and practices do not recognize them. Women are still compelled to make relinquishment deeds since there is no bar on doing so. One of the most striking failures of the UPA government has been its inability to check the unrelenting rise in prices of food and other essential commodities. For seven long years since 2007, India has lived with persistent double-digit food inflation. Prices of potatoes have doubled and even quadrupled over this 5 year period, onion prices have at an average doubled from already high levels, and the increase in rice, wheat and groundnut oil too is between 50 to 100% per cent. LPG and kerosene prices have increased enormously causing huge strains on family budgets. The privatization of public services like health, education, transport, etc. is also increasing family burdens.

The singular pursuit of high economic growth has been accompanied with chronic food deficiency and hunger. As per the 2013 UNDP Human Development Index, India ranks 94th out of 199 countries in the Global Hunger Index. According to the World Food Programme, each minute, five Indians die of hunger which makes 7000 each day and 2.5 million people dying of hunger in India every year. The NSS reports falling average consumption of calories from 2246 per capita per day in rural areas in 1972-73 to 2020 in 2009-10, and from 2107 calories to 1946 in urban areas. The high growth states of BJP-ruled Gujarat and Congress-ruled Maharashtra are amongst the worst where malnutrition is especially pronounced for children and women. Almost half of India’s children under age five years (48 %) are chronically malnourished while seven out of every 10 children age 6-59 months in India are anaemic. 36% of women are undernourished, with a BMI less than 18.5, indicating a high prevalence of nutritional deficiency. Over half of women (55 %) are anaemic.

Food security has been severely impaired by the weakening of the PDS, the continuation of the hopelessly flawed targeted system and the exclusion of large sections of the poor in the name of their being APL. Four years after the expiry of the ‘100 day’ promise, the National Food Security Act was finally passed by both Houses of Parliament, at a time when 70 million tons of food grains were being held as stock by the government, four times in excess of the buffer norms. Far from being universal, the Act fall guarantees only 5 kg of food grain per month to 67% of Indian households, 75% in rural and 50% in urban areas. This is well below the ICMR’s 14
kg requirement. It does not ensure availability of sugar, pulses, oil and other essential items. This is resulting in irrational exclusions of many people.

UID-enabled Direct Benefit Transfer and Direct cash transfer schemes are being projected as an efficient means of transferring subsidies. In reality, once cash transfers are introduced, the prices of food and other commodities and services will be deregulated and left entirely to the market forces and further push up prices. The UID biometric technology is unproven and the infrastructure costs huge. There is no guarantee that DBT cash will actually be used for buying the commodity for which the cash is given. The implementation of schemes that are based on cash transfers to bank accounts like MNREGA, old age pension, widow pension, etc show that the problems of corruption and undue delays continue at present the LPG Cash Transfer Scheme has been suspended but has caused great hardship to women while it was being implemented.

Government’s own surveys show that women are increasingly out of work. Even those who are working are doing lowly paid work under highly exploitative and insecure conditions. More and more women are being pushed into unpaid domestic and outside work. Despite several cases of inhuman torture and sexual exploitation there is yet no law to protect domestic workers. Mechanization has led to a huge decline in availability of agricultural workers. Many poor women are being pushed into unsafe and exploitative migration and trafficking.

The Un-organized Sector Workers Act of 2008 cruelly excludes most poor women workers by limiting beneficiaries to the BPL category. There is a need for a single window system which caters to workers from all occupations and industries especially when women are simultaneously in multiple occupations.

The MNREGA has been an important instrument for addressing rural unemployment and distress. It witnessed a high participation of women which rose from 41% in 2006-07 to 52% in 2012-13. But the average days of work per household has fallen from the 54 days per annum peak in 2009-10 to 45 days in 2012-13. The fall is entirely due to the cut in fund allocation by the centre, which has not kept pace with the wages in the programme. High productivity norms, difficult working conditions, long delays in payment and the unequal wages received by women have continued thereby sabotaging a good Act.
The agrarian distress is unabated. It is reflected in the high and continuing rate of farmers’ suicides and distress migration. As per NCRB data, a total of 2,70,940 Indian farmers have committed suicide; the yearly average between 2001 and 2011 is 16,743, or 46 suicides a day. Women are still not recognised or registered as farmers; they are left out of the credit ratings, and excluded from the debt waiver schemes. The recommendations made by the Swaminathan Commission, which included specific measures for women, have been ignored.

Public expenditure for the provision of universal, affordable or free services like food security, health, water & sanitation, child care, etc. has sharply declined even as taxes foregone on account of concessions to the corporate sector and other elites have remained as high as 6-8% percent of GDP. As per the CAG reports, lakhs of crores of rupees have been lost on account of corruption in high places which could have been used for development of the common people.

The open plunder of natural resources by corporate with government facilitation has had adverse implications for women, who have the primary responsibility to collect fodder, fuel, water, minor forest produce, etc. The encroachment and annexation of natural resources and the widespread displacement on account of land acquisition and large projects has meant that these resources have become less accessible and more expensive, increasing women’s work and drudgery. The absence of adequate rehabilitation and resettlement takes a heavy toll off women.

The Government has been swift to safeguard corporate interests with concessionary loans, but has denied women’s self help groups lower rates of interest as part of priority sector lending. The Micro Finance Institutions (Development and Regulation) Bill, 2011 came in the wake of demands to effectively regulate and control the highly unfair and exploitative practices of microfinance lenders which drove some borrowers to suicide. However, UPA’s draft Bill was totally inadequate and pro-MFI with no interest caps or ban on for-profit MFIs and was rightly rejected by the Parliamentary Standing Committee.

Secularism has been under siege. The communal forces, led by the Sangh Parivar, have been unleashing communal violence against minorities in states like
Uttar Pradesh. Caste and community identity are being used to polarise society. But the government has refused to intervene and take stringent action to safeguard those affected by communal violence. Regional and ethnic chauvinism is raising its ugly head in many states. It is a matter of deep concern that the mainstream political parties are not just unwilling to stand up boldly against divisive hate politics but are actually using it for narrow political gain.

Successive governments have failed to address the needs of minorities. The UPA government failed to act in a substantive manner on the plight of the Muslim minorities highlighted by the Sachar Committee report. It has ignored the claims of Dalit Christians to reservation under the SC category, as recommended by the Justice Ranganath Misra committee. It has betrayed the cause of social justice by hastily passing a Bill in the Rajya Sabha that keeps 47 Institutes of excellence outside the purview of reservations for SCs and STs. It is time for women to stand up to protect the secular pluralists heritage of our country, push for alternative policies that will effectively deal with the agrarian crisis and the recession, for a government that is conscious of the need to protect the rights of the economically and socially oppressed sections and will work for their upliftment, a Government that will recognize the rights of women and will work towards gender equality and justice. On behalf of the undersigned women’s organizations, we call upon all political parties’ national, and regional, to include our following demands in their election manifesto for the 16th Lok Sabha elections. We will conduct a widespread campaign amongst the electorate on the basis of this Women’s Charter.

Telangana Rastra Samithi Election Manifesto

Assistance to Martyrs’ families

Formation of Telangana is the result of several sacrifices made by many from 1969 to 2014. Several people sacrificed their lives to achieve the Telangana statehood. To help the families of those who sacrificed their lives, the TRS government has done all that it could do. Each family of the martyrs will be given Rs.10.00 lakhs as financial assistance. The programme started with extending financial assistance to the family of police Kishtaiah in Karimnagar. One member in each family of the martyr will get a government job. Those families who depend on
agriculture will be provided with land. Children of the martyr will get free education and medical aid.

**Enhancement of Pensions**

In the past TRS demanded the previous governments to enhance the pension amounts paid to old aged people, Handicapped and widows as the amount paid to them was inadequate. None of the governments responded positively. It was promised in the TRS election manifesto that after coming to power it would enhance the pension amounts. To fulfill its election promise the government has decided to enhance the monthly pension to Rs. 1000 to old age people and widows and to Rs. 1500 to handicapped.

**Girijan Thandas as Gram Panchayats**

The Girijan have been agitating for several years to declare the Tandas and Adivasis habitations as special Gram Panchayats. Many a time they resorted to Dharnas and Rasta Rokos also. They agitated in many ways. They pleaded several political parties also for this purpose. However, no justice was done to them. This Government has decided to convert the Girijan Tandas and Adivasis habitations as Gram Panchayats. The CM is also firm to provide 12% reservations to Scheduled Castes and there by improve their opportunities in education and employment.

**Reservation for STs**

There are many scheduled tribes who are leading deserted life and living far from the modern facilities. Telangana government intends to bring in a change by providing employment and creating avenues by identifying such ST communities. The state government also proposed to include Valmiki, Boya communities in the category of STs. Chief Minister is firm to provide to all ST communities 12% reservation and see that they are further provided with facilities for their education and employment.

**Reservations for Muslims**

The Government’s objective is to see that the inequalities in the society are to be removed. The Government has accordingly decided to provide 12% reservations to Muslims. Towards this end it has appointed a commission to study the issue.

**Financial assistance to Muslim Bride and SC&ST**

Majority of Muslims and SC/ST live below poverty line. For them getting their daughters married does an added burden understand the precarious condition of the
families, the Telangana Government has decided to provide an amount of Rs. 51, 000 as financial assistance to the Muslim and SC/ST bride at the time of marriage and this will be directly credited to her bank account.

**Allotment of 3 acres of land to Dalits Families**

Ever since Independence, there has been lot of propaganda that the successive governments have taken up number of welfare programmes to benefit the Dalits and other depressed classes. In effect there has not been much of a change for the improvement of their lives except for pep talk by the powers that be. Even now in every village the worst downtrodden people belong to Dalits community. There are still many Dalits families who cannot afford a square meal a day. Majority of Dalits and their family members work as agriculture laborers in the un-organized sector. The Telangana government desires to change their status into a full-fledged farming community. This is the precise reason why the Chief Minister decided to provide 3 acres of land to every Dalit family. The Government feels that it is not just enough to give mere land but also to provide facilities like borewell, motor, power supply as well as initial investment for a year.

To facilitate landless poor to become owners of productive lands wherever Government lands are not available, SERP has purchased 1772 acres of cultivable agricultural land from willing private sellers and provided to 2142 families with an amount of Rs.1117 lakhs during 2004-2009. It is proposed to purchase land for 5775 SC families and 1092 ST families in 2014-15 under new land purchase scheme, subject to the allocation of funds to SERP under SCSP/STP.

**Special Committees to Study the Problems of Women**

In order to safe guard the modesty of women and redress their problems the government intends to appoint a study committee. This committee will go into details of problems the women face and suggest measures to overcome them. Based on their recommendations new laws will be enacted in favor of women interests. For example, there are no adequate safeguards against girl child abortions, sale of girl child etc. There is no law to control obscene movie and television shows. This committee will work in this regard.

**Financial Assistance to Beedi Workers:**

In the state of Telangana, thousands of poor households are involved in beedi rolling which exposes them to health hazards. This lively hood also gives them
meager wages due to which the poor households are struggling to live a descent life. Government after careful consideration of these poor households and distressed conditions of the poor Beedi workers have decided to extend the financial assistance under Aasara Scheme as a special case. The monthly financial assistance of Rs.1000/- will be paid to the identified poor Beedi workers under Aasara Scheme.

About 3.06 lakhs Beedi Workers are expected to be covered for the financial assistance under Aasara. So far, 2.75 Lakhs of Beedi workers are identified for Financial Assistance under Aasara Scheme. An amount of Rs.3860.00 Lakhs is provided under SCSP.

**Two bedroom house to the Poor**

Even though on the name of weaker sections housing program the earlier governments claimed to have constructed houses since 1982, in effect they did not yield results and did not help the poor. In several instances lot of corruption took place. Even the few houses that were built are of one bedroom and as a result they are inadequate for any family to stay. The government has decided to build to each of the poor family a two bedroom house with a hall, kitchen, bathroom and lavatory in about 120 square yards place costing about Rs.3.5lakhs. This would be not only sufficient for them to stay but also will enhance their self respect. The house building program will commence from next year.

**Committee to prevent atrocities on women**

The government has appointed a committee with IAS, IPS officers to make a comprehensive study on the subject of atrocities on women, the problems they face day to day and other related issues face by women. The committee after a thorough study will submit a report to the government. The government feels that the safety of women is very important.

**Free and Compulsory Education to all**

The Government has decided to introduce free and compulsory education phase wise. It intends to organize a symposium involving all concerned to arrive at modalities. To compete with the modern world the government aims at providing opportunities to all to pursue studies in English medium. With reference to implementing common service rules, the government intends to discuss with
Promoting teachers as DEOs and MEOs is also under consideration of government.

**Drinking Water Grid of Telangana**

The government intends to provide safe drinking water through pipes to all the households in the state. For this purpose the government decided to establish Drinking Water Grid of Telangana. A comprehensive report on the present availability of pipelines, reservoirs, water sources and related issues is being prepared by the concerned department. A meeting of engineers of rural water supply department working at mandal level is being organized to have an understanding about the Telangana Water Grid.

**Special focus on Four Cities**

The Government has decided to develop in all aspects with special focus Warangal, Nizamabad, Khammam and Karimnagar towns on par with Hyderabad accordingly, in tune with the decision, instructions have been issued that all the four towns shall have ring roads, internal roads as well as to prepare a master plan to cover the next 30 years. Contract Employees regulated for all category

**Political Leadership in Warangal Parliamentary Constituency**

Warangal Parliamentary Constituency is one of the most politically active seats in Telangana. As one of the 17th Lok Sabha (number 15) seats which belong to this Southern India State. The Warangal Constituency is reserved for a candidate belongs to the Scheduled Caste. It is located within the geographic boundaries of the district of Warangal, situated in Telangana. In 2009 Delimitation committee Warangal districts divide two Parliamentary Constituencies namely Warangal and Mahabubabad. Warangal Parliamentary constituency reserved for Scheduled Caste and Mahabubabad reserved for Scheduled tribes respectively.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Assembly Segment</th>
<th>Mandals covered under this Assembly segment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jagaon (Reserved for Open Category)</td>
<td>Jangoan, Cherial, Maddur, Narmetta, Bachannapeta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Palakurthy (Reserved for Open Category)</td>
<td>Palakurthy, Devaruppula, Kodakandla, Thorrur, Rayaparthy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dornakal (Reserved for ST Category)</td>
<td>Dornakal, Maripeda, Narasimhulapeta, Kuravi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mahaboobabad (Reserved for ST Category)</td>
<td>Mahaboobabad, Nellikuduru, Kesamudram, Gudur.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Narsampet (Reserved for Open Category)</td>
<td>Narsampet, Khanapur, Chennaraopet, Nallabelli, Nekkonda, Duggondi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wardhannapet (Reserved for SC Category)</td>
<td>Wardhannapet, Parvathagiri, Hasanparthy, Hanmakonda.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Ghanpur (Stn) (Reserved for SC Category)</td>
<td>Ghanpur (Stn), Dharmasagar, Jaffarghad, Raghunadhapally, Lingala Ghanpur.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Warangal East (Reserved for BC Category)</td>
<td>Warangal Town</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Warangal West (Reserved for BC Category)</td>
<td>Hanmakonda</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bhoopal Pally (Reserved for BC Category)</td>
<td>Bhoopal Pally, Mugullapally, Chityal, Shayampet, Regonda, Mulugu Ghanpur.</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Parkal (Reserved for Open Category)</td>
<td>Parkal, Sangem, Geesugonda, Atmakur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mulugu (Reserved for ST Category)</td>
<td>Mulugu, Venkatapur, Govindaraopet, Tadwai, Eturnagaram, Mangapet.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Women representation in local bodies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Total Members</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZPTC</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPP</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPTC</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>505</td>
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<td>Sarpanch</td>
<td>1014</td>
<td>335</td>
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<td>Ward members</td>
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<td>3413</td>
<td>6893</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corporators</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12180</td>
<td>4045</td>
<td>8135</td>
<td>33.2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Increase in numbers with 50% reservation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Total members</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Increase in</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZPTC</td>
<td>50</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPP</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPTC</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarpanch</td>
<td>1014</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward members</td>
<td>10306</td>
<td>3413</td>
<td>1740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12180</td>
<td>4045</td>
<td>2045</td>
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The district has the legacy of quite a few political movements of significance. A part of it was a citadel of the Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle (1948-1951) which was the first of its kind in the country. It was the hot bed of Andhra Maha Sabha movement, 1930-1946. It was major spring board of the Telangana movement (196-2014). In view of these movements, the districts are considered as one of the highly politicized in the State of Andhra Pradesh. The Congress, Telangana Rashtra Samithi, Telugu Desam Party and Communist Parties are the principal parties of the districts with a host of others having made their brief and mild presence here and
there in the district. Those who have brief and mild present in the district are MCPI, BJP, BSP, Janatadal, MIM and CPI (ML). Among all these political parties' only three political parties are important contenders for power.

A new wave in the form of revolutionary peasant struggle changed the political dynamics in the district majority of the people are rural areas, obviously the power centres are blocked by the upper castes other dominant caste Velma also play an important role in local politics. However, their dominance particularly that of Brahmins, Reddy’s and Velma’s is highly localized and their sway are restricted to few districts in Telangana State. They are all well entrenched in industry, Trade, commerce and politics. Economic power structure has enormously increased. Twenty years back, apart from the district collectorate in Warangal district. There were two Revenue Development Offices in Mulugu and Mahaboobabad (in the Congress rule). Now there are revenue offices to each mandal and agriculture and education departments, now the Jangama, Narsampet and Warangal revenue divisions are established. There are 6 revenue development offices in the district administration are decentralised and bureaucrats (employed section) and administrative department (political and ruling class) have developed in a big way.

Women are increasing in the technical, economic and political sectors. The bourgeois class is bringing them more for their own interests. Earlier only women of agricultural labourer class used to go to work. Now middle, rich and poor peasant women are also joining to DWACRA and thrifts societies they are participating in the activities of the women organizations. They are working as anganwadi teachers, nurses and private teachers. The reservation for women made them come into posts of MPTC, Sarpanches and Ward members in the party and the government. Women are gaining political consciousness by knowing the bourgeois political society mainly through the T.V. Because of the Schools, participation in the development activities taken up by the various organizations, they are increasingly coming out of the houses number of girl students increased.

In recently concluded local body elections the greater prominence of backward caste displayed their strength and position and enhanced their bargaining power in districts politics. Political scenario of the districts is marked by a consistent political behaviour of the people, which exhibited a tremendous capacity to maintain a
political equilibrium between contending political parties and the castes. The political parties of the district would be incomplete if mention is not made about the influence of CPI (ML). They are strongly positioned in a number of villages in the tribal areas of district. Its way in certain pockets of district is clearly visible in early 80s. They gain sympathy and support for the educated youth throughout the district later on the same educated youth is support the CPI (ML) politics. However, school dropouts and illiterates continue. Their support to CPI (ML) party this is against the political atmosphere of the state, central government initiated served progressive, and target oriented policies implemented all governments. All these programmes apart from state policies central government of India's major and important programme is introduced in the district as a pilot project to counter and check the influence of the CPI (ML) and expand the support structure of the democratic political system within the span of less than a decade these programmes were successively implemented and in every nook and corner of district and success rate of this scheme counted as 99 percent. This programme created a heightened political awareness influencing the bargaining capacity of the voter. More particularly targeted group of rural women awakened to grab the opportunities, which were initiated by both the governments.

Much before the declaration of reservation of panchayats, political activity in the villages picked up across the district. According to the latest details, there are a 1,014 Gram Pachayats in the district of which 42 were merged with Greater Warangal Municipal Corporation and 10 into different town Panchayats - Mahabubabad, Bhupalpalli, Parkal and Narsampet. Of the remaining 962 gram panchayats, 80 were in agency villages and would be allotted to STs as per the provisions of Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) (PESA) Act, 1996. For the remaining 882 Panchayat bodies, the reservation quotas for ST/ST/BCs were finalized. Of the total 962, fifty percent seats were allotted to women. In all 229 seats (Sarpanch) were allotted to STs, 156 allotted to SCs, 335 seats allotted to BCs and 242 allotted to general category candidates.

There are a total of 17, 62, 805 voters in the district of which SCs constitute 3, 19, 121, STs constitute 3, 14, 575, BCs - 9, 47, 329 and others 1, 81, 731. According to the official records, the gender wise classification, male voters are 8, 87, 965 and female voters are 8, 74,840 in the district.
The political profile of the district, i.e., the leadership, the fluctuating fortunes and the support enjoyed by them and respective seats held by them is briefly discussed below.

The district had just one Lok Sabha Constituency till 1971, Viz, Warangal prior to the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the seat was held by People's Democratic Front (PDF), which was a forerunner of the Communist Party of India (CPI) in the Telangana region. Later, following delimitation of constituencies, the representation has been enhanced to two seats, viz., Warangal and Hanmakonda. However, again with the delimitation of the parliament constituencies to the elections held in 2009 there was a reorganization of these constituencies. A new constituency, Mahaboobabad came into force while Warangal was retained. Both Mahaboobabad and Warangal Parliament Constituencies were reserved while the former for Scheduled Tribes and the latter for Scheduled Castes.

The Congress Party enjoyed the support of the electorate ever since 1957. Congress Party won the seats in 1957, 62, 1967 while in 1971 it went in favour of Telangana Praja Samiti, a Party led by Late Dr. M. Chenna Reddy, demanding the bifurcation of the State\textsuperscript{32}. The Telangana Praja Samiti later got merged with the Congress Party. During the election to Lok Sabha in 1977, both the seats had gone in favour of Congress Party, despite an anti-Congress wave throughout the Country that paved the way for the rise of Janata Party at the Centre. This speaks of the support Congress Party enjoyed from the electorate of Warangal District. However, soon there was a split in Congress Party and in the ensuing by elections (1979), Congress (I) won these seats.

It is interesting to point out that in the elections held in 1980; both seats were captured by Congress Party (I) with a massive majority. In the 1984 Lok Sabha Elections soon after the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi the Congress Party (I) secured massive majority in the Lok Sabha. However, the Congress Party lost both the seats in the District, while, the Telugu Desam Party wrested the Warangal seat, while BJP won in Hanamkonda.

Once again in 1989 and 1991 both the seats had gone in favour of Congress Party. In 1996, however, the regional Political Party, Telugu Desam Party (TDP) and
Congress shared the honours equally by winning one Lok Sabha seat each Warangal Constituency was represented by Telugu Desam Party, and Hanamakonda had gone in favour of the Congress Party. Significant gains were achieved by the Telugu Desam Party 1998 and 1999 as it won both Warangal and Hanmakonda Lok Sabha seats with comfortable majority. This trend was in tune with the decline of the Congress all over the Country.

In 2004 elections to Lok Sabha, the Telangana Rashtra Samithi, under the leadership of K Chandrasekar Rao, aligning with the Congress Party, had won both the seats. However, the Telangana Rashtra Samithi, after parting ways with the Congress in 2007, had opted for resigning en masse its Lok Sabha representation in the State Assembly, and therefore, it caused by-elections among these constituencies. In the elections held in 2008, the Telugu Desam Party and the Telanagana Rashtra Samithi shared one seat each. In 2009, the Congress Party won from both Mahaboobabad and Warangal.

In 2014 elections Telanagana Rashtra Samiithi a massive majority in Parliamentary Constituencies both Warangal and Mahaboobabad won by two seats.

Among the notable political leaders who had adorned the Lok Sabha from Warangal District, include former Prime Minister, PV Narasihma Rao, former Union Minister Kamaluddin Ahmed, R Suresh Reddy, tribal leaders Chandu Lal, Ravinder Naik and prominent Bharatiya Janata Party leader C Janga Reddy, who had the unique distinction of trouncing PV Narasimha Rao during 1984 elections with a majority of 54,000 votes.

With regard to the representation to State Assembly, Warangal District had 12 constituencies in 2009 elections, while it was thirteen during 1978-2004, twelve during 1962-1972, thirteen in 1962 and ten in 1957. These adjustments were brought following the delimitation of constituencies.

During 1957, the Congress Party had a predominant representation of ten seats, while the People's Democratic Front had three seats. In 1962, the Congress had won seven seats. The Communist Party of India secured two and socialist one seat respectively. Three seats had gone in favour of independent candidates.
In the elections to the State Assembly held in 1967, the strength of Congress Party had declined and its representation had come down to five, while the Communist Party of India secured two, Bharatiya Jan Sangh one and Independents four seats. These Independents were none other than the former Congress leaders who were denied the party banner to contest the Assembly, and therefore, they opted to contest as Independents. It is not out of place to mention that factionalism in Congress was the root-cause and this is reflected in the Fourth Assembly Elections.

The 1972 elections provided for a massive victory to the Congress Party throughout the State. Mrs. Gandhi’s policies such as, the nationalization of banks and other progressive measures, including land reforms were significant factors for such a massive victory all over the country in general, and the State of Andhra Pradesh in particular. In these elections, the Congress won nine seats, while one seat each had gone in favour of the Communist Party of India Marxists (CPI (M)), Sampoorna Telangana Praja Samithi and an independent.

Following the significant Congress split in 1978, Mrs. Indira Gandhi formed a new Political Party with name Congress (I), under her leadership and in these elections won a massive majority in the State. In these elections, six seats had gone in favour of Congress (I) and one seat in favour of CPM and two in favour of Janata Party and four seats to the Congress (R).

Regional political party, Telugu Desam, which secured massive majority in the elections held in 1983, could win only four seats in the District and two had gone in favour of Congress five seats had gone in favour of Congress (I), one each to CPM and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

However, there was a marked shift in 1985 mid-term elections to the State Assembly in which the Congress was thoroughly trounced in Warangal District. The Telugu Desam Party had improved its position to six seats, while the Congress had to be satisfied with just three, two seats to Bharatiya Janata Party and one each to CPM (M) and one independent. In these elections, the Telugu Desam Party had aligned with the Bharatiya Janata Party and the CPM. This alliance was responsible for the electoral victory of the Right and the Left Parties in the District.
In the 1989 Assembly Elections just two seats had gone in favour of Telugu Desam Party, the Congress had won eight seats, Bharatiya Janata Party two and one seat went in favour of an independent. These elections paved the way for Congress Party’s victory, while the Telugu Desam Party was trounced. The Telugu Desam Party which had ruled from 1983 till, 1989, and having won a landslide victory in 1985 mid-term elections, was made to face an electoral debacle.

Once again in 1994, the Telugu Desam Party was back to the power in the State of Andhra Pradesh and this trend is reflected in Warangal District. The Telugu Desam Party had a massive strength of nine seats in Warangal District and the position of Congress was reduced to just one seat alone. The CPI secured two seats and CPI (M) one seat.

And in the 1999 Assembly elections the Telugu Desam Party had won six seats, Congress made significant gains by winning six, and one seat had gone in favour of the Bharatiya Janata Party.

In the Assembly elections of 2004, as indicated earlier, the Telangana Rashtra Samithi, which entered the poll fray had, a representation of six seats, the Congress had five and two seats had gone in favour of the Telugu Desam Party. It was the reversal of the earlier election and the Telugu Desam Party was made to content with the position of the opposition Party in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

In 2009 Assembly elections, Congress Party won seven seats, while the TDP four and one seat had gone in favour of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi. Telugu Desam Party emerged as the second largest party by winning 91 seats in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

Among the prominent leaders of State Assembly from the district include M. Khammaliddin Ahmed, Suresh Reddy, and N. Ramachandra Reddy, M. Omkar, Dayakar Rao, T. Purushotham Rao, Ponnala Laxmaiah, Kdiam Srihari, Goka Ramaswamy, T. Hayagriva Chary, PV Ranga Rao and others.
## Warangal Parliamentary Constituency members details

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<th>PC Name</th>
<th>Category</th>
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<th>Party</th>
<th>Vote</th>
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Source: ceotelangana.org
These birds’ eye view of the electoral results of the party representation in the Warangal District in the successive elections from 1957 till 2009 pertaining to State Assembly:

Warangal District is the principal district of Telanagana State, and it has occupied a significant place in the State Politics. Therefore, the State leadership had always accorded considerable significance for accommodating the political representations from the district in the State Cabinet. In successive State Cabinet, a few prominent leaders from the District were accommodated as Ministers like Kammaluddin Ahmed, Ponnala Laxmaiah, Redya Naik, N. Ramachandra Reddy, Ms Rajalingam, T. Purushotham Rao, Goka Ramaswamy, Hayagreeva Chary, PV Ranga Rao, etc., of the Congress Party, while the Telugu Desam Party included N Yethiraja Rao, Kadiam Srihari (Present he is Migrated to TRS Party), etc. Madhikala Omkar of CPM was a prominent representative in the State Assembly and made a mark in the State politics highlighting the issue of Dalit and the backward castes in the State Assembly. Now TRS dominated role play in Warangal politics Chadu Lal, Dashyam Vinaya Bhaskar, Sitaram Naik (MP) Kadiam Srihari (MP), Madhusudana Chary these were prominent leaders in Waragal.

After discussing briefly the political leadership and the election trends to both Lok Sabha and Assembly during 1952-2009, it is fit for focusing the attention on the Women political empowerment and participation undertaken in Warangal District.

As women constitute half of the population of a country any development activities cannot be performed without active participation of them. It is most commonly heard that, ‘women are the mother of a society and progress of a society depends upon the development of women’. If a mother is empowered, a family, and eventually an entire society are also empowered. Empowerment is not merely something one does, but an attitude. Women Empowerment refers to increasing the spiritual, political, social or economic strength of women. It also involves developing confidence in their own capacities. All these realization that until and unless women are empowered, the progress of any economy is impossible lead to number of policies, plans, programmes and Act to empower them. Participation of women is felt essential in social, economic and political field. History reveals that the political participation of women is always there in India, but the figure is in minimum.
At present Panchayati Raj System is rolling as the grass root level democracy in India. Under this system each and every people of the rural areas can participate actively in democracy on the one hand and development of the rural areas on the other hand. However, India’s oldest sacred book ‘Rig Veda’ mentions about the existence of ‘sabhas’ between villages and higher authorities, which get popularity as ‘panchayats’ in later period. Up to Mughal periods it remained unchanged. The Bengal Chowkidari Act in 1870 empowered for setting up panchayat by nominating village members. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 brought local self-government under the domain of Indian Ministers in provinces. Article40 of the constitution of India included village panchayats in part IV of the constitutions which contain Directive Principles of State Policy. In May 1089, the Union Government introduced the constitution bill, which proposed constitutionally sanctioned Panchayati Raj. The Balwant Raj Mehta Committee remarked that Panchayat Raj would act as the representatives of the village and ensure the development of the village as well as participation of villages in development activities. The 73rd amendment Act (1992) is a stricken landmark in the transition of political power to the grass-Root democracy in our country. Decentralization of power has led to the local bodies to take active participation in all socio economic and political decisions. PRIs provide the opportunity to the rural masses to involve themselves from grass-root level to achieve all the national challenges. For complete involvement of the society participation of rural women is now ensured with 33 percent reservation of seats for them. The entrance of Elected Women Representatives (EWRs) into grassroots politics through Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) election have introduced in Article 243D, 73rd Amendment of the Constitution of India which provides seats reserved for SC/ST women not less than one-third of the total number of seats reserved for SC/ST. These seats will be filled by direct elections not less than one-third of the total number of officers of chairpersons in panchayat at each level reserved for women (Government of India, 2010). And accordingly we find in the present Panchayati Raj Systems women are also elected.
References:


7. Transcripts of Interview with Usha Mehta.


10. WWW. Indianfreedommovement.in


12. Kamala Das Gupta, Transcript of Interview (NMML) Ibid.


22. ibid. pp. 72&73.


28. ibid. p. 97.


30. The Pionner, 29 April, 1996.


32. The interpretation that the election results are a rejection of the economic reforms and World Bank loans is put forward by the Left and not by the Congress.

33. While the Congress- Telangana Rastra Samithi- Left alliance gained 48.37 percent vote, the TDP&BJP alliance still retained 39.66 percent vote. Despite its poor performance, the TDP continues to be a formidable political force with a strong electoral support and organizational structure.

34. Just to cite one example of the wider impact and larger political and policy implications of the Congress victory in AP, the promise of free power to
agriculture sector, which is considered to be the major factor for the defeat of the TDP, prompted the AIADMK government in Tamil Nadu to implement free power for agriculture sector. Similar demands are voiced in other States as well.

35. For an assessment of this scheme during NTR's first tenure, see, Olsen (1989).

36. For an analysis of the CPI (ML) and dalit movements in AP, see, Srinivasulu (2002).

37. The Maha Jana Front (MJF) is a conglomerate of the backward caste and Dalit organizations with grassroots support base.


46. This shift has serious political implications and import in view of the fact that the TDP has seen a highly populist policy regime under NTR and the projection of a pro-development image assumes significance as it seeks to highlights the decisiveness on the part of the regime to make a departure from the NTR's legacy.

47. For a statement of Naidu's views, see, Naidu with Ninan (2000).

48. The TRS won 1,043 MPTCs and 84 ZPTCs. For an analysis of the panchayat elections, see, Suri (2001).


50. The Congress Party in its Shimla resolution, reconciling to the emerging scenario in which the BJP benefited with its electoral alliances with the anti-Congress parties, decided to forge electoral alliances to form a broad front against the BJP-led NDA. Thus the Shimla session tried to undo the harm caused by Panchmari resolution, which prevented the Congress from forging any alliances.


52. The role of *Vaartha*, the Telugu daily is noteworthy in this regard.

53. In fact a BJP union minister from AP even went to the extent of attributing the suicides to 'indigestion'.

55. It is interesting to note that the generation of politicians not only in the Congress but also across the parties wearing dhotis is fast disappearing. YSR is perhaps the only very well known dhoti clad politician in his age group in the State.

56. A dalit activist insightfully characterized it thus emphasizing the informality and personalized nature of the dialogue.

57. YSR's padayatra and Jaithrayatra was reminiscent of what NTR did after he established the TDP in 1982. This is a channel Naidu could not afford to use because of high security threat perception. While in the case of Naidu the distinction between the leader and the people was quite conspicuous, YSR could effectively blur such demarcations for the time being and create a space for the people to interact with him freely.

58. It is instructive to note that NTR continues to be remembered as a pro-poor CM for his Rs. 2 kilo rice and housing for the poor schemes. The interviews by the TV 9, a Telugu news channel, with the rural poor during the elections brought this out. Curiously enough there were instances when people compared YSR with NTR.

59. DWCRA is a central government programme meant for the development of rural women and children started in 1980. The Naidu regime hit upon and activated these groups since 1997 following its disappointing performance in the 1996 elections. The DWCRA almost assumed the dimension of a movement with the network claiming 3.7 lakh groups in the State. The social significance of this programme, apart from economic empowerment that is the stated objective, lies in building up their self-confidence and making them visible in the public sphere.

60. There is wide spread disgruntlement among the unemployed youth on account of the ban on recruitment in the government sector. The only departments which continued to recruit were the police department and to some extent the school education as vidya volunteers thanks to the DFID funding under the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP).
61. The general perception among the employees was that if the TDP comes back to power it would in its pursue of reforms would wind up pension scheme and lower the retirement age apart from a vigorous implementation of the voluntary retirement policy.

62. The Telangana Aikya Vedika, a non-election front, has emerged as a major voice since the late 1990s striving to educate popular classes through a variety of activities. Telangana Jana Sabha of the CPI (ML) (People's War) and Telangana Jana Sanghathan of the CPI (ML) (Janashakti) and Telangana Maha Sabha are the CPI (ML) wings that actively advocate the Telangana issue. TRS is an electoral beneficiary of the groundwork done by these organizations.

63. There has been a proliferation of propaganda literature on Telangana in the form of booklets and pamphlets. Most of them have *dagapadda, vanchita* (meaning 'deceived', 'duped' emphasising the conspiracy factor in the Telangana backwardness). For instance, *Vanchita Telangana* by D Sangameswar Rao, Nymisha Publications, Hyderabad, 2004.

64. The TRS leadership has repeatedly clarified this aspect. The argument thus runs that the TRS is only for the State of Telangana and is not against the migrants who have come here for livelihood. It is this non-hostile approach that is the reason for the absence of pro-Andhra backlash, despite the attempts at this by certain interests during the elections.

65. The parliamentary Left’s position on Telangana in terms of rigidity equals that of the TDP. It is an evidence of the sharpness of the differences that they not only surfaced into the open but also led to the fielding of TRS candidates in the constituencies allotted to the Left as part of the pre-electoral understanding.

66. The process by which, the food grain allocated for the ‘Food for Work’ programme instead of reaching the poor, gets back into the open market is called recycling. There was reported to be a widespread practice of such recycling and in most cases it is the local TDP men benefited from this.

67. These programmes tried to project an 'Andhra shining' image in correspondence with perhaps not to lag behind Vajpayee's 'India shining'

69. “Power bills have equalled the house rents” has become a common middle class refrain.

70. Free power was also promised to single bulb households.

71. Interestingly it echoes the slogan of NTR in the 1994 assembly elections that he would kill Sarasura (the demon of arrack) by putting his first signature on the prohibition order immediately after taking oath of office. YSR made similar promise with regard to the free power order and kept it by signing in the order immediately after assuming the office of CM in the huge public presence in the Lal Bahadur Stadium in the capital city.

72. It is interesting to note that the Janmabhoomi, considered being highly prestigious by the Naidu regime, has been seen as a major source of inconvenience and harassment by the subaltern ranks or the 'street level bureaucracy.' [For the concept of street-level bureaucracy, see, Lipsky (1980)] The bureaucracy is kept on their toes through regular and close monitoring. For these reasons, there is a sense of suffocation in the bureaucracy. The teachers have been subjected to humiliation by being made to undertake 'all kinds of surveys'. Field notes.

73. The list of promises includes the revival of Public Sector Enterprises, etc.

74. KCR sharing platform with Sonia Gandhi during the election campaign in Telangana districts is shown as suggestive of the Congress High Command's sympathy to the TRS' demand.