

CULTURE AND POLITICS: A STUDY ON EMERGENT REGIONALISM IN TELUGU STATES

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Submitted by
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A. Published in the following Publication:

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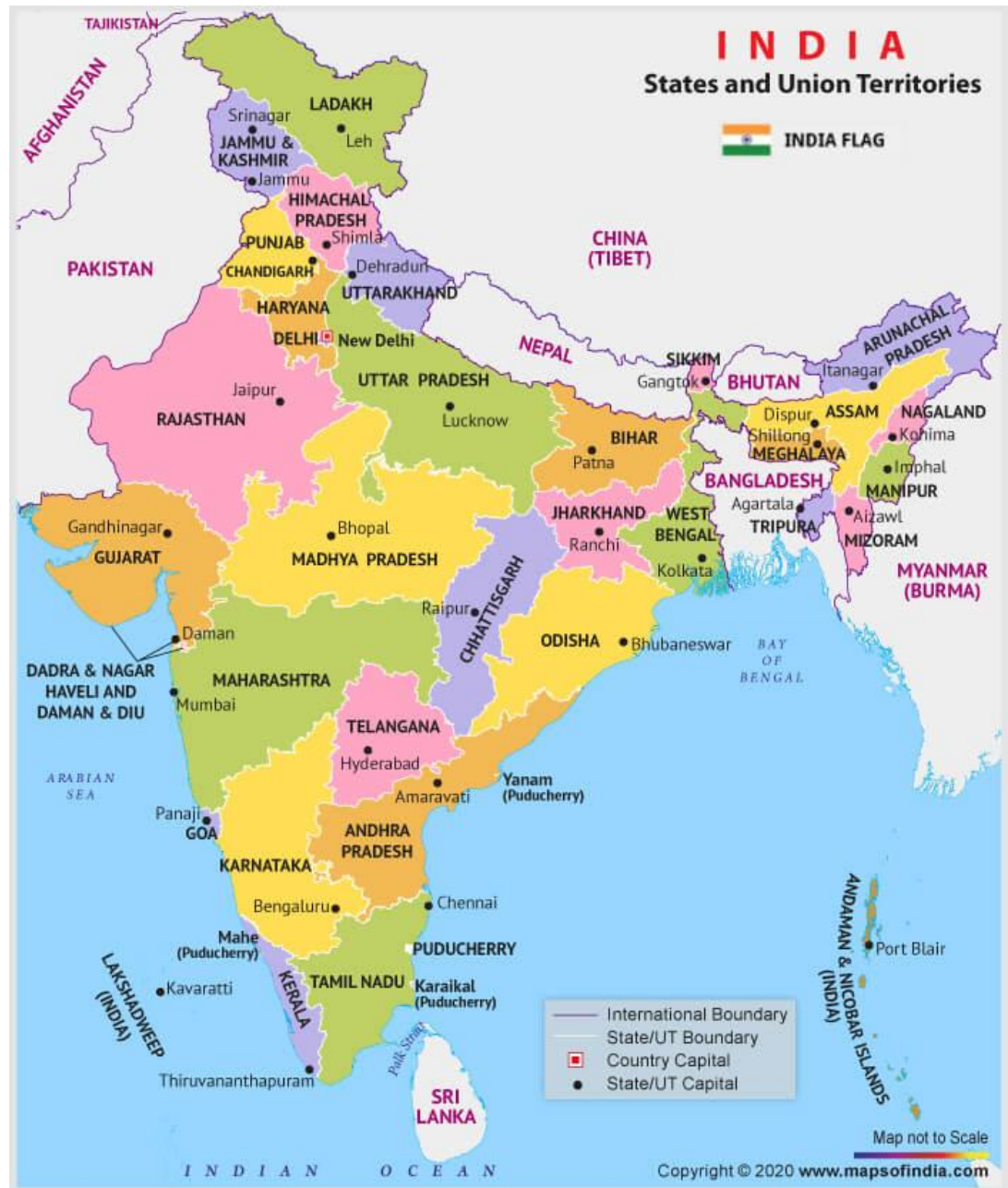
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1. Map of India



Source: <https://www.mapsofindia.com/>

2. Erstwhile United Andhra Pradesh



Source: <https://www.quora.com/>

3. Bifurcation of Telugu States



Source: <https://www.deccanherald.com/content/410591/ap-bifurcation>

4. Newly formed Telangana State with Ten Districts



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Source: <https://www.telangana.gov.in/about/districts>

CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Culture is a way of life which regulates social and individual conducts. It consists of traditional values and codes that are communicated and shared in a society. It comprises mentifacts and artifacts in terms of thought process, patterns of ideas, speech acts and cultural objects produced and consumed from one generation to other generation. The earliest definition on culture is from E.B. Tylor who opined that culture is the embodied knowledge which is expressed in terms of things and the ideas behind those things. Everything that is inherited as a member of society by a human is considered as culture which includes science, religion, philosophy, art and architecture, music and dance etc. It also includes all traditions, customs and behavioral codes connected with everyday societal and individual activity. Human as a social being communicate through symbols several of his activities and therefore Alan Dundes termed humans as ‘symbol producing animals’. Cultural symbols also form part of transmission system in the process of knowledge production. Beliefs, attitudes and worldviews are expressed symbolically in everyday life. Culture can also be seen in anti-normative behaviors through expressive tradition such as jokes, folktales and other forms of verbal genres. Broadly, genres of culture can be divided into three types; 1. Verbal (Ex. myths, epics, legends, folk songs, folktales, riddles, jokes etc.). 2. Non-verbal (Ex. art, architecture, material objects, culinary objects, clothing, agriculture tools etc.) and 3. Intermediary genres that traverse between the two (ex. folk games, ethno medicine, rites, rituals etc.).

Culture is region specific due to ecological, historical, political and socio-economic factors. The concept of country or nation though claim to have one cultural system, it is not so because the nation or the country are formed with the help of the idea of communal shelters or imagined communities. Based on this

fact India is claimed to be a nation of unity in diversity owing to its regional distinctive cultural traditions.

Culture as Concept

The concept of culture in academia became operative with the phase of 'European Enlightenment'. The age of Enlightenment in Europe started with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in A.D.1453. When the land routes were ceased by the Turks to Asia, the European countries sought for finding sea routes thus resulted in the discoveries of new found lands. Concomitantly the intellectual awakening caused by the discovery of Gracio-Roman civilizations led to the invention and innovation in Science and Technology with the paradigm of 'man found himself'. Hitherto man was in the service of God thereby the church. With this, the entire thinking process changed giving raise to the middle class technically termed as bourgeoisie destabilizing the feudal aristocracy of the Middle Ages. The 'Enclosure Movement' in Great Britain gave impetus the wool industry thereby facilitated the growth of industrial urban centres. This helped the raise of middle class in Europe in general and led to the formation of companies such as East Indian Company etc., across the Europe. This further helped in promoting Capitalism and Colonialism during the 17th Century.

Concomitant to this development, the Ecclesiastics structural edifices in the name of Roman Catholic Church run by the Papal State started collapsing with the movement of 'European Awakening'. The clergy positioned in a hierarchical manner from Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots to Parish Priests regulated the believers' lifestyles by issuing indulgence for a cost in terms of Peter Pence etc., and amassed huge assets and wealth at the cost of common man. Huge corrupt practices in the clergy created a sense of aversion among the populace which eventually led to the Protestant Movement under the leadership of Martin Luther and others. To overcome this the Catholic Church brought forth Reformation Movement to the forefront. With these new developments 'Protestant Ethics' was promoted in then social order which basically argued for individual's hard work to promote wealth and to distribute the surplus to the poor and needy. This new paradigm changed the outlook and the worldview of the common man and

promoted in general work culture which transferred the wealth from the Church to the State in European countries. Philosophers have rationalized the new worldview to the commoners and presented mankind with the perspective of progress by controlling nature for production process. In study of culture this religious perspective, with notion of “civilization”, advocated for distinct stage of progression in history.

The word ‘culture’ comes from the Latin which is connected with idea of ‘agriculture’, ‘tilling’, ‘cultivation’ and ‘cultivate’. The word ‘*cultura*’ was used by the Romans in the sense of tilling the soil. The Roman philosopher, Cicero of 1st Century (B.C.) used the concept of culture to denote educating human beings to achieve social and political consciousness; in his words “*cultura animi philosophia*” i.e., “philosophy is culture of mind” which denotes the socialization process of humans to higher level of civilization. The same idea of socialization associated with the term culture is also in use during 15th and 16th centuries of Europe. Gradually it formed to denote the development of human civilization. Raymond Williams wrote a book on “*A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (1983)” covering the ideas of several 17th century philosophers. He explained that word ‘culture’ in German language is used as “cultivate” or “civilize”; it is conceived as universal process of “human development” or “civilization”¹. Enlightenment philosopher Thomas Hobbes introduced idea of civilization to include human environment. To distinguish culture from nature, the idea of civilization was introduced by which idea it is perceived that the humans adopt nature to their own development. In 16th century the word ‘*civilite*’ was used in France which is basically derived from Latin word “*civic*” i.e., “citizen”. A citizen is conceived as one who is having learnt civil behavior. “The verb, ‘civiliser’ was used to indicate the process of reaching status of *civilite*²; a process which is analogous to cultivation of mind”.

¹ A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (U.S.A: The Museum, 1952), p. 89.

² For more detail account of the word culture, See, Jim. McGuigan, “Raymond Williams on Culture and Society: Essential Writings,” (London: Sage Publication, 2014), pp. 257-

French and German concepts connected with culture is slightly different from each other. The French conceived it as advancement in terms of civilization whereas the German viewed it as cultural history (*Kulturgeschichte*); for the German word for culture is (*Kultur*). The French tradition opined culture as a complex whole encompassing varied fields such as political, social, economic, religious and technical aspects of human development *i.e.*, civilization. The German philosophers located culture in temporal matrix *i.e.*, time and space. For them culture is more connected with intellectual, artistic and religious spheres of life. According to Elias, “the concept of a universal civilization appealed to the dominant classes in imperial states like France and England, while the concept of culture reflected the problems of German intellectuals defining themselves in a nation constantly changing its political and spiritual boundaries”³. Thus, the concept of culture in Europe itself is not conceived as a universal phenomenon but each country owing to its historical development conceived divergently.

Definitions on ‘Culture’⁴

The concept ‘culture’ is very difficult to define in a singular and universal sense. Many scholars from Literature, Sociology, Anthropology and Political Science defined the word culture in diverse ways. Firstly, Matthew Arnold stated that “culture referred to special intellectual or artistic endeavors or products, what today we might call ‘high culture’ as opposed to ‘popular culture’ (or ‘folkway’ in

278; See, Ton Lemaire’s, Lemaire’s *Over de waarde van kulturen: Een inleiding in de kultuurfilosofie* (On the Value of Cultures: An Introduction into the Philosophy of Culture) (Baarn: 1976), pp. 55-56. [The correct reference would appear to be Lemaire’s *Over de waarde van kulturen: Een inleiding in de kultuurfilosofie*, (Baarn: Uitgeverij Ambo, 1976); See, A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn *Culture a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (U.S.A: The Museum, 1952), pp. 15-16; See, Robert H. Winthrop, *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), p. 33.

³ For further more detailed explanation of culture and civilization See, Norbert. Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigation* (U.K: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 15-20.

⁴ Matthew. Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism* (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1869).

an earlier usage)". Secondly, according to Edward Tylor⁵, culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". Thirdly, Franz Boas (and his students) emphasized on individual uniqueness in every varied culture of different peoples of diverse regions. Franz Boas is of the opinion that "one should never differentiate high from low culture, and one ought to not differentially valorize cultures as savage or civilized".

Concept of Politics

Greeks are foremost in defining 'politics'. The Greek root word politics comes from '*polis*'⁶ which literally denotes 'City State'. All activities connected with the governance of City State is defined as politics by the Greek philosophers. City State is an all-inclusive sphere in the ancient Greece which not only includes Governance but also other activities connected with all walks of life. No distinction was made between private and public life of the citizens of City States.

Many prominent historians wrote about Roman State and the nature of Roman Empire. Statesman like Julius Caesar and Cicero contributed to form the Rome Empire through wars. During this age, study of politics was to understand history, develop models and define governments' activities. In Middle Ages, politics were mostly confining to ecclesiastics and royal courts. Thomas Aquinas was influential political thinker during those times. According to the Italian resurgence, Machiavelli is considered as the father of Modern Political Science today and brought to lime light importance of political organisations, institutions, and individuals in making modern polity. His famous book, "The Prince" is connected with nuances of contemporary pragmatic politics. Other prominent personalities who developed the social contract theory are Thomas Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau who also contributed for scholarship in Modern Political Science.

⁵ Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (London: Bradbury Evans & Co, 1817/1924).

⁶ Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson. W Polsby, *Handbook of Political Science* (Boston: Addison-Wesley, 1975).

At the same time in American politics Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson played an important role.

Chanakya was one of the most popular political thinkers in Ancient India. He wrote *Arthashastra*, a discourse on political, economic thought and social order that should be examining the forerunner to Machiavelli's "The Prince". It contains subjects such as fiscal and welfare policies, international relations, war tactics and others. The *Manusmriti* is also a prominent book of early India after Chanakya.

Politics: Phases of Development

The concept of 'politics' having various components are being briefly discussed in terms of philosophical, traditional, institutional, behavioural, pluralistic, structural, and Developmental. Also, it studies the nature of State; political thinkers like Raymond Garfield Gettell stated that "political science is a study of the State, political institutions and political theories in the past, present and future". James Wilfred Garner opined that "political science begins and ends with the State". Some Political Thinkers view that, "government is the subject matter of political science". Political thinkers like Paul Janet viewed that "political science is concerned with foundations of the State and principles of government". Political scientist, Catlin explains that, "politics means either the activities of political life or the study of these activities and these activities are generally treated as activities of various organs of government".

Modern political thinkers took a contemporary approach. Thinkers like, Harold Lasswell believed that "politics is the study of shaping and sharing political powers"; Robert Dahl considered that, "a political system is any persistent pattern of human relationship that involves to a significant extent power, rule or authority". With regard to above discussion in Political Theory, power placed a prominent role in studying politics.

Relation between Culture and Politics

Culture is not free from power. Always the dominant, be it community or society, dictate the norms of culture. Culture in that sense basically becomes a tool to dominant over the weak in the hands of elite or few individuals. At the

community level elders become the decision makers and at the societal level the elite turn as wielders of power. This power relations regulate in many ways the cultural system. For instance, the old political regimes in India headed by monarchs belonging into different dynasties influenced cultural systems through construction and patronage of sacred complexes such as temples, mosques, monasteries etc. it is the personage connected with sacred sphere regulated cultural behavior of their devotees and general populace. Several texts in terms of Dharma Sastras, Canonical works produced by different religious teachers resulted in dictating code of conduct and in the event of violation awarding punishments were also prescribed. This in fact led to change in different structures such as jurisprudence, policing etc., in the governing system. Hence, culture in a way is regulated by power relations and therefore politics.

In the modern times the regulating authority for culture emerged even through mass media. Public institutions to promote culture also emerged through the Acts and Regulations of Parliament. Political Parties which are in the helm of affairs propagated their own agenda through public institutions and mass media. Cultural politics became a matter of concern for the Parties' survival. Therefore, culture and politics have become inseparable.

Cultural Politics

The concept of cultural politics got momentum with the post-colonial writings of Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak etc. The writers from the colonies under the dominance Imperial European countries viewed the literary and historical writings and other cultural objects such as sculpture, art and architecture from the critical view point and pointed out the colonial dominance over them. Post-Colonial theory probes into and develops stand points about impact of the European Imperial rule over cultural systems over the colonised societies. It also enquires into responses of the colonised societies. The term 'post' refers to the time frame of the beginnings of the colonialism rather than end of colonialism. This is so because the responses of the colonised societies are concomitant to the colonial rule itself and continued its investigation even beyond

the closure of colonialism. It covers a wide range of issues connected with cultural engagements of the rulers over the ruled. The Imperial language imposed over the colonies affected the imagery and thinking process of the colonised societies to a large extent. The imposition of Western education and its knowledge production in a way is connected with the expression of colonial power. According to Edward Said, cultural politics are “concerned with responses of the colonised: the struggle to control self-representation, through appropriation of dominant languages, discourses and forms of narrative; the struggle over representations of place, history, race and ethnicity; and the struggle to present a local reality to a global audience”. Since language of the colonial powers such as English, French etc., imposed over the colonies, the responses to such literature and other cultural expressive forms were also written in the same language, especially English language in India, prompted a discourse within the post-colonial scenario.

According to Michel Foucault the concept of discourse is firmly based on social knowledge. It is a structure of accounts or declarations by which speech is known through words. The words are not simply a syntagma of letters but loaded with meanings and the meanings are always bounded by the context and the language with which they are conveyed. The ontology of words lies ‘in their being rather than being out there’. The subjectivity of language acquires prime significance from the view point of speaker and hearer and therefore the discourse emerges within this context. To Foucault, language “is that complex of signs and practices that organises social existence and social reproduction, which determines how experiences and identities are categorised”.

The discourse of post-colonial ontology is founded on the writings of Antonio Gramsci on the notion of ‘Cultural Hegemony’; initially the term hegemony was used to denote the dominance of one state over the other. Gramsci introduced a new meaning to hegemony by implying the meaning ‘dominance by consent’. The idea behind this is to critically view how and why the dominant class was fruitful in promoting their benefits over the colonies? As an answer to this, Gramsci used culture of the ruled as a medium to negotiate by the rulers in

order to smoothly obtain dominance over the colonies. Dominance therefore is not exercised by force or by vigorous inducement but by an indirect means using education and mass media and gradually convincing the ruled with their colonial policies. For Gramsci, “hegemony is important in imperialism because the capacity to influence the thought of the colonised is by far the most sustained and potent operation of imperial power in colonised regions. Indeed, an ‘empire’ is distinct from a collection of subject states forcibly controlled by a central power by virtue of the effectiveness of its cultural hegemony”.

From this backdrop, concept of “cultural politics” needs to be viewed even from Indian context. In India is a country where different cultures and diversified people mixed up in different political cultural fields. Any form of cultural representation inherently is ‘political’ because, it is tied up with power groups which allow accessibility to various types of knowledge to some while negating it to others. It influences the political systems and it is comprehensive to approach. India being multi-layered and multi-cultured country owing to its long temporality both in terms of space and time. Several dynasties ruled the Subcontinent over a period of time people that belongs to the different ethnic groups be it race or caste, sub-cultures and religious sects influencing its social structure and economic organisation resulting in complexity. Hence, cultural politics is imperative to study from this view point. The manifestation of cultural policies of any rule either by the monarchies or by the democratically elected parties in India are reflected through the establishment and functioning of cultural institutions.

Culture and Institutions: An Overview

Cultural institutions in the form of education, art and culture, dance and drama etc., are promoted throughout historical times in the Indian context. Historically speaking institutions such as Nalanda and Taxila promoted cultural ethos through education and all-round development of its pupil as early as Sixth Century B.C. The Buddhist and Jain traditions established monasteries for cultural upliftment right from their origin in 6th Century B.C. Later the Monarchies formed in the Northern soils of India starting from Nandas, Mouriya, Kushanas, Guptas etc., supported institutions to promote culture and tradition. Several

individuals who are affluent also donated for the cause. Parallel to this, the sacred complexes such as temples also took interest in promoting culture through their institutions like *Matha* and *Pitha*. On one hand the royal patronage, and on the other, the sacred complexes helped in promoting art, architecture, dance, music, literature etc. During the medieval times expansion of empires by different dynasties resulted in deforestation and land reclamation. This made inroads into the tribal lands which either to remote and situated in forest and hilly regions. In order to appease the newly acquired tribal villages, their deities are Sanskritized. This also promoted mainstream culture to spread across the Sub-continent. The net result of the process culminated into regional cultural diversities. Different styles in art, architecture, music, dance, literature emerged and came to be identified with regional specificities. Despite the Muslim rule both in the North and South, there is no cultural conflict as such in history of India. Both Muslim and Hindu rulers tried for syncretism which eventually led to hybridization in cultural spheres. Sufism is one such example for this. Muslim rulers even created a style of dance combining native and Islamic cultural traits. Several musicians belonging to Hinduism were upheld by the Muslim rulers in their courts and likewise many musicians belonging to Islamic faith were patronized by the Hindu rulers. There was a cultural integrity in all political regimes.

During the Colonial regime the British and the other European countries Portugal, Netherlands, France had influenced the cultural traditions of India in different regions. Cultural institutions started as public institutions through the Acts of Parliament. Any civil servants and other travelers showed interest in the culture of India and added liberal art tradition of Europe to the existing ones. Several Surveyors in the capacity of administrators and also Governor Generals, Governors, Collectors, Engineers, Judges of the British took immense interest in cultural traits of India and collected huge records. These records had become a treasure on culture which is otherwise transmitted orally through the centuries. Several of them are taken to the India House in London. Museums were started to showcase some of the cultural traditions historically prevailed in different regions. Several public institutions like Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Archaeological

Survey of India, Centres of Oriental learning such as Queen's College (which is renamed as Sanskrit Varanasi Visvavidyalaya), Imperial Library (now called National Library), Calcutta School of Art, National Archives etc., were started to promote culture. New educational institutions were started by Lord Macaulay's initiative which democratized knowledge system pertaining to indigenous culture and aesthetics. In the field of Fine Arts, paintings from 'vanishing perspective' started replacing native 'multiple perspective' along with portrait painting. Art galleries sprang up in urban centers. In all these public institutions the colonial imprint is visible.

By the time the political independence attained by the Indians, the newly formed government found a dichotomy between the cultural institutions started by the colonial rulers and the native systems of culture. A sort of cultural hegemony demonstrated by public institutions has become order of the day under the nationalist government. However, four distinct cultural groups which influenced the divergence are noted by the report of UNESCO; they are;

“(a) the masses, mostly tribal and rural masses, continuing to make and live their culture through a body of tradition which had been handed down from generation to generation, accepting a hierarchy of values irrespective of class, caste and religion, mostly economically underprivileged and illiterate;

(b) an educated mass, large in numbers, small as a percentage, and which had ceased to have the capacity for a dialogue with its own national past or traditions and therefore with the masses around;

(c) a minority group of the elite, educated in the best traditions of the West, but who had travelled back to a deep awareness of the validity of the national culture, without rejecting the possibility of continual enrichment from the advances of the developed world; and

(d) a group comprising traditional scholars, writers, artists, musicians and painters, who continued to theorize, annotate and practice the traditional disciplines and the arts with authenticity and sincerity, remaining apart, sometimes intellectually aware of but not involved with the political, economic and social changes through which the country was passing”.

These four distinct groups started shaping cultural policy of India after Independence. The idea of unity in diversity was promoted to accommodate the interest of these four groups through various means. Several public institutions also started after the independence to cater cultural needs of these four groups through different five-year plan periods. The idea of nationalism strongly prevailed and executed through these five-year plans by central and state governments.

Central government under different ministries finance some institutions connected with culture. During 1861 the British government started Archeological Survey of India (ASI) and appointed Alexander Cunningham as its Director General. Later the Indian government brought the ASI under Ministry of Culture. It is meant for conservation and preservation of cultural monuments. It is also entrusted with the duty of identifying and excavating archeological sites.

Some of the public institutions connected with culture are financed and administered by Central government. To name a few, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives and National Library are established to have all India network with State governments in their respective fields. Botanical Survey of India, Geological Survey of India, Zoological Survey of India and Anthropological Survey of India are under the control of Central government. Apart from these, Oriental Institutions as well as Institutions of Visual Arts, Theatre and Drama were also established in the field of culture. State government also established in their domains similar Institutions. The Indian princely States maintained performing and liberal arts institutions. All India Radio is set up to promote official news and other cultural items such as Music, Drama, Literary genres through Mass Media. Initiatives from private organisations such as Rama Krishna Mission, University of Santiniketan of Ravindranath Tagore promoted education and training in culture. Individuals with Philanthropic outlook also took interest in promoting culture.

Public Institutions also play an important role in dominant political structures in contemporary world. Institution namely, Sangeet Natakak Akademi which was established in 1953 is exclusively dedicated to promote Music, Dance

and Drama. It performs many activities which include even academic. It holds seminars and conducts festivals to promote performing arts. It also provides financial assistance to research scholars, *gurus* and enthusiasts in the field of performing arts. It organizes inter-state exchange of artists connected with music, dance and drama. Sangeet Natak Akademi created a division for documenting various theatrical, musical and dance practices of the country. It has large collection of Indian classical, folk and tribal music. Sangeet Natak Akademi has three institutions at zonal level for training in dance i.e., Kathak Kendra and Rabindra Rangashala located in New Delhi and Jawaharlal Nehru Manipur Dance Academy situated in Imphal. It publishes books related to music, dance and drama in various Indian Languages and English and gives awards and fellowships to distinguished artists and scholars. The fellowships carry an award of rupees forty thousand or rupees twenty-five thousand with a copper plate (*Tamrapatra*) citation. This is all based on cultural policy of Central government.

Cultural Policy: UNESCO Initiatives:

The idea of cultural policy was developed at UNESCO in 1960⁷. ‘Cultural Policy’ is related to procedures with regard to regulation and management of culture. It also spells out the aspects of administration of those institutions that are connected with cultural products. The organizations such as Arts Council, UK; Federal Communications Commission, United States of America, Museums and Governments’ Department of Education, Arts, Sports etc., of the Member Countries are some of the examples which come under UNESCO’s Cultural Policy. Some schools, institutions of higher education, theater groups, television and Audio-visual divisions and advertising agencies are also funded by UNESCO. However, owing to recent awakening on cultural politics, these institutions and their policies are being critically examined. Hence, cultural policy is not related to technical issue alone, but also connected with societal authority.

⁷ For further more detail about the thought of UNESCO Cultural Policy, See, the 2005 Convention Global Report (Sweden, 2015), pp. 45-47.
https://Unesdoc.unesco.org,unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000063456_spa.

Emergent Regionalism in Telugu States

Cultural policies and cultural institutions are being politicised by the parties that are in power. In the process culture *per se* is predominantly used for creation of identity politics. To a great extent, the emergence of regionalism is a sign of a Socio-cultural and economic force. It's a psychological phenomenon where specific spaces meet psyche relevant divestment. It further includes a search towards identity put forward one's culture, language and religion. When we look into the economic aspect, we search for an intermediary controller mode within the centre and peripheral achieves in the national field. The concept of regionalism phenomenon is the pre-independence problem it evident to various reflections after independence. Regionalism is a heterogeneous combination more declared towards the cultural geography, history, economic and psychological aspects. Those aspects are usually associated with overlay, respectively. This kind of regional sentiment and development of regionalism started in India was at British rule. Various laws of the British administration created establishments and favoured the regional opinion. Because British Empire's power and administration could be turned up to the centralising resultant to regional middle classes. The development of regionalism is being felt all over India irrespective of caste and creed. The Indian National Congress, which emerged as a political party, though participated in the Indian freedom struggle, is also accountable for the growth of regionalism in India.

Jaipur conference was a milestone and more accessible on the way to regionalism. The advice of Congress party to the British government was to categorise the nation on a Linguist basis prevailed from 1905 to 1948. Dividing country on the grounds of linguistic States are most vital for the Indian National Congress and hence, it created the linguistic State of Andhra Pradesh in 1953. Later an indeterminate hunger strike of Potti Sriramulu also his consequent loss to form independent Andhra provided a fresh incentive over some regional drifts within India. The Congress recommended in its 58th Conference held at Hyderabad in the month of January, 1953, said separation of India on linguist

base is correct. For that reason, the government had constituted the States Reorganization Commission, and the report was submitted in 1955.

Again, the States Reorganization Commission faced difficulties of regionalism in the Southern part of the country. The Dravidian movement put forth the differences of real and imaginary, among North and South cultures. The Dravidian movement has analysed the programmes in the course of agitation politics. It slowly sends cares about the separatist nature of the action. There is nothing like the Dravidian movement the Andhra regionalism asserted for independent nation or identity politics in the national scenario of the country. Andhra's regionalism is born out of love for their language and also against domination of Tamil speaking people. It made an effort to obtain its unique place in India as the second major 'language group next to Hindi speaking group'.

Telangana agitation was entirely a problem of sub-regionalism and intra-regionalism based on feeling of dominance of Andhra leaders. The overall impact of sub-regional affirmation in regional politics affixed some dimensions to Indian politics. It refused both region and language as the source for political re-organisation of states. It proposed 'cultural diversity', including formal identification as the sole basis for political integration.

Significance of the Study

- This research is attempted to study on cultural politics from folklore perspective. Political parties are taking much interest in promoting national/regional culture in the present-day politics to gain power and influence.
- In the process of cultural politics, politicians are using local traditional culture for their vote bank politics.
- Moreover, cultural politics are contributing and effecting Indian traditions and folklore in social, political and economic spheres.
- This study mainly focuses on culture and politics in India and especially its role in the formation of Telangana State.

Nature and Scope

The nature and scope of the study primarily aims at probing into cultural politics so as to understand how culture can be a force to restructure the very nature of federal structure in terms of reorganizations of States.

- Cultural politics and their importance in India are taken for the study for Indian being a multi-cultural nation.
- Hence, reasons behind cultural politics become part of enquiry in this study.
- This further leads to examine local people and political parties' performance towards social practices, cultural identity, and political participation.
- As a result, political parties and Indian government made cultural policy as part of popular culture in society.
- However, overarching cultural policy leading to popular culture undermine subregional cultural factors resulting in unrest and protest to form States at subregional level negating larger States based on linguistic paradigm. Telangana State emerged due to sub-regionalism based on cultural politics.

Survey of Literature

In the article, Spencer Oatey⁸ explores definitions of culture from 1952 to 1990s. He has given a historical account of the term culture and how it is being used by different scholars. Various definitions, given by scholars namely, Matthew Arnolds, Edward Tylor and Franz Boas, are also dealt in the article. Each definition has its own meaning and in this regard three of them are contrary to each other. Finally, all are convinced with Tylor's definition i.e., "culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom,

⁸ Helen. Spencer-Oatey, *Culturally Speaking, Communication and Politeness Theory* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000).

and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”⁹. Some significant characteristics of culture are explained in this work.

A.L. Kroeber, Clyde Kluckhohn¹⁰ explained about culture and its definition in their work cited below. According to them, authors have used diverse definitions from different disciplines from social sciences i.e., Anthropology and Sociology. It is even viewed by the discipline of psychology as well (social psychology 1940: P.6). Franz Boas and his students trying to give different explanation, but it is not possible to encounter with Tylor’s definition.

Raymond Williams¹¹ stated that, “every human society has its own shape, purpose and meaning. It expresses these in institutions of art and learning”. Common meanings and directions based on culture shall construct society. Society’s growth is also depended on different experiences, contacts and discoveries. Society is also made and re-made in every one’s mind, that mind can start to learn from how its structure and its purposes and meanings. So that leads to the observations and communication. Also explain the importance of experience, new observations, comparisons and meanings.

Raymond Williams¹² explains the definition of culture and it is divided three categories that is ideal (state or process of human perfection), documentary and social definition of culture (way of life). Three areas have given diverse path to understand the culture in abstract process. It gives the detailed way of structure in given society.

⁹ For further definition of culture, See, Edward. B Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, Vol. 1 (London: Bradbury Evans & Co, 1817), p. 1.

¹⁰ A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (U.S.A: The Museum, 1952).

¹¹ Considered as holding upturned popular social and traditional thought concerning culture and society, See, Raymond. Williams, *Culture and Society* (London: Chatto and Windus 1958).

¹² To know more about the concept of culture and its categorical divisions, See, Raymond Williams famous paper, Raymond. Williams, “The Analysis of Culture,” in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, ed. J. Storey. University of Georgia Press, pp. 48-56. U.S.A, 1998.

Alan Dundes¹³ describes the folk or folklore in the context of science and began of folklorist's discipline, word of folk origin and their definition. Also discuss the perspectives of modern folklorists, Marxist folklorists, different genres and jokes of a given folk group.

According to Dan Ben-Amos,¹⁴ “domain of folklore revolves round three aspects: a body of knowledge, a mode of thought or a kind of art although they are not exclusive of each other”. Three types *i.e.*, “possession, representation and creation (or re-creation)” exist between social context and folklore. Ben-Amos is of the opinion that “folk narratives, especially folktales constitute all these three forms of relationships depicting cultural identity of the tellers who are part and parcel of such narrative tradition”. Hence, “folklore is artistic communication in small groups”.

Elliott Oring¹⁵ book explores the core concepts of folklore, familiarize students with paradigm changes in folklore's intellectual history and bring up the connection between folklore and politics. Scholars are then confronting with the as-yet-unresolved issues in folkloristic through the inclusion of traditional aspects.

William R. Bascom's¹⁶ article describes four primary functions of folklore; (1) folklore “let people to escape from repressions imposed upon them by society”, (2) folklore “validates culture, justifying its rituals and institutions to those who perform and observe them”, (3) folklore acts as “pedagogic device which reinforces morals and values and builds wit” and (4) folklore functions as a “means of applying social pressure and exercises social control”.

¹³ Alan. Dundes, “Interpreting Folklore,” Chap. I (Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 1980), pp. 1-19.

¹⁴ Dan. Ben-Amos, “Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context,” *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 84, No. 331, (1971), 3-15.

¹⁵ Elliott. Oring, “Folk Groups and Folklore Genre: An Introduction” Chap. I (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1986), pp. 1-16.

¹⁶ William R. Bascom, “Four Function of Folklore,” *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 67, No. 266, (1954), 333-349.

Barre Toelken's¹⁷ book entitled "*The Dynamics of Folklore*", chapter 'Introduction: Into Folkloristics', explores that how one can understand the history and meaning of folklore. He explains with some definitions and examples.

Richard M. Dorson¹⁸ recommends that folklorist must acquire complete knowledge of skills that are essential to study and interpret folklore to make folklore as a distinct discipline of study. He also discussed some theories which folklore studies are currently using.

M. Simon's book¹⁹ explores the issues of postmodernism that began in the 1980s. The author focuses Lyotard²⁰ attention on "postmodern art and literature to challenge the established beliefs about representation and reality". It examines more closely Lyotard's thought on issues of justice and politics. Lyotard argument is that post-modernity questions the concept of universal progression of historical narratives. He claims that there are certain events which impacted on ideas made the grand narratives to emerge as modernity's enterprise. According to Lyotard, the works of art and literature do not offer direct answers to political issues and philosophical problems. In fact, their value lies in the ability to generate questions that can challenge ways of thinking encircling explanations about the systems. Lyotard's work cut across a range of areas from art and literature to history and politics and seeks out to disrupt the genres of discourse.

Richard J. Lane's book²¹ explores some of the philosophical influences of Baudrillard's²² thinking. His work, "explains the ways in which technological objects are designed according to human fantasy and desire". He discusses Structuralism in Marxism (1968–1972) and then critically examined the works of

¹⁷ Barre. Toelken, "The Dynamics of Folklore," Chap. I in *Introduction: Into Folkloristics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), pp. 1-9.

¹⁸ Richard M. Dorson, *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction* (U.S.A: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

¹⁹ Malpas. Simon, *Rutledge Critical Thinkers Essential Guides for Literary Studies*, (London; New York: Rutledge, 2005).

²⁰ Malpas. Simon, *Jean-Francois Lyotard* (London; New York: Rutledge, 2005).

²¹ Robert. Eaglestone, *Rutledge Critical Thinkers Essential Guides for Literary Studies* (London; New York: Rutledge, 2001).

²² Richard. J Lane, *Jean Baudrillard* (London; New York: Rutledge, 2001).

Marx. Influence of Marx on Baudrillard overlooked by scholars belonging to Britain and America. Two central ideas of Baudrillard i.e., “simulation and hyper real”, which are related to Postmodernism is discussed in this book. Finally, Baudrillard’s recurring themes and concepts are well examined in this book. It shows “the way in which Baudrillard’s postmodern writings are seen as performance pieces with no real content based on philosophical and theoretical backgrounds”.

Adam Roberts’s book explores the concepts and ideas derived from Marx that are essential basics to understand the writings of Jameson²³. It includes materialism approach and ideology; the process of the dialectics and the complex relations that exist between economic base and ideological superstructure. Jameson’s Marxist criticism aims at interpreting books, plays, films and art that culture produces and explains the ways in which interpretation can be drawn. To properly understand the world around us, Jameson thinks, we need a sense of the whole picture of the way commodification dominate today’s culture. The book also discusses various aspects of Freud’s theory developed by Freudian thinkers like Lacan. It also discusses about political unconscious and demonstrates that textual meaning is not simply discovered but produced in a mediated way. Jameson argues that modernism sees the world as a literary and cultural response to the reunion of contemporary life. Importance of Utopia and Utopian thinking in Jameson’s thought is also explained in this work. It talks about boundaries and logic of postmodern culture, partly with a view to positioning it in the discourses surrounding postmodernism out of which it grew and partly to try and explain just why it has been so influential. Jameson had an interest in cinema. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s he was writing a great deal on film criticism.

Jean-Francois Lyotard²⁴ criticized the concept, ‘meta narratives’. This concept is connected with reductionism and teleological notions of human history which has its roots in philosophies of Enlightenment and Marxism. According to

²³ Adam. Roberts, *Fredric Jameson* (London; New York: Rutledge, 2000).

²⁴ Jean-Francois. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 1984).

him, meta-narratives lost their significance because of technological advancement in communication system, mass-media production and computer sciences. Artificial intelligence and machine translation denotes linguistic and symbolic development in Post-Industrial economy and they are related to Post-Modern culture of the 1950s of Western Europe. This resulted in developing a plurality of language games (Ludwig Wittgenstein). Object of truth in science is replaced by performativity and efficiency and as result science produces paradoxical phenomena which undermine Grand-Narrative. Lyotard is in favour of this plurality of small narratives that compete and replace the totalitarianism of grand narratives.

Lacuna

From the above literature survey, it is found that there are very few researches directly focused on culture and politics. All these studies examine in the context of political power wherein politics. After reviewing the related literature, it is found that folklore studies directly concentration on the role of folklore and folk culture. Most of the literature cited above are bound by their disciplinary knowledge and confined to either political science, cultural studies, economics, sociology, management studies or folklore and folklife studies. Having the disciplinary boundaries as limitation, overall understanding of cultural politics is missing in these studies.

This research is an attempt to study culture and politics as a holistic phenomenon and to examine how cultural politics are contributing and affecting Indian traditions and folklore in social, political and economic spheres. The study mainly focused on culture and politics towards public institutions. The main questions addressed are, one; how cultural politics have started, second; what the reasons behind this cultural politics are; third, why government is supporting this activity; fourth, how the local people and political parties performed their social practices, cultural identity, and political participation and; fifth, how political

parties and Indian government play significant role to make cultural policy of the popular culture in the society.

Hypothesis

So far, culture and politics are seen as separate entities not affecting each other is the view generally promoted by disciplines in academia. 'Culture' in the colonial perspective is organic and self-sustained and hence, untouched by the political power. This notion for very long is perpetuated by the Oriental school of thought. However, the post-colonial discourse changed this perspective and critically examined the nexus between cultural and politics. In this study it is hypothesised that because of the nexus between culture and politics regionalism emerged as a strong force and paved way for emergence of new States in opposition to linguistic States in the Post-Independent India. The formation of Telangana State is one such example to cite. Cultural identity of sub-regionalism mitigated aspirations of the locals to achieve smaller States such as Telangana.

Objectives

The following are the objectives of the study;

- To study historical background of Culture and Politics.
- To understand cultural politics from a folklore perspective during the period of Pre-Independence and Post-Independence.
- To analyses contributions of cultural politics affecting Indian traditions.
- To study cultural politics in social, political and economic dimension in folklore aspect.
- To examine contemporary changes in cultural politics towards sub-regional identities.
- To cognate the role of cultural politics in formation of newer and smaller States in India.
- To analyze impact of cultural politics in defying linguistic States' formation and substituting it with subregional States such as Telangana State formation.

Methodology

Methodology is based on systematic and theoretical analysis of the process useful to get to the bottom of the research problem. It includes different logical steps employed by the researcher to defining the research problem in the research. The study primarily focuses on survey method and interview method to collect data and for analysis triangular methodology is followed.

Sources

- The study is based on primary and secondary data; primary data contains information from the fieldwork conducted with regard to Telangana Movement.
- Secondary data comprises of articles, books, documents i.e. government/non-government.
- A critical examination of theoretical and analytical enterprise is carried out for understanding cultural politics.

Chapterisation

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter One deals with general introduction to the research area. It also deals with various concepts and ideas related to the broader area of culture and politics on emergent regionalism in Telugu States. Apart from the conceptual idea of culture and politics, this chapter also discusses significance of study, nature and scope of study, area of study, review of literature, lacuna in literature, hypothesis, aims and objectives of study, methods and sources of study. It also gives brief note on each chapter.

Chapter Two: Culture and Politics: A Perspectival Discourse

This chapter is divided into Two Sections: Section-A deals with general understanding on culture and politics from different disciplinary approaches. This chapter shows the significance the chronological background of cultural politics and their definitions which includes power, history of cultural policy, UNESCO

definition of cultural policy and the cultural policy problems in India. Academic definitions of culture having two broad schools of thought i.e., Culture as Conflict Resolution and Culture as a “Learning Process” are also discussed in this chapter. Social scientists broadly developed five types of conceptual frames of culture basing on their disciplinary approaches. In fact, these broad conceptual frames represent elements of culture which are innately connected with the characteristic features of culture.

Section- B deals with Politics and its definitions and definitions on Politics of Culture. “Politics” cannot be separated from “Culture”. Culture and politics refer to the ways that people’s attitudes, opinions, beliefs and perspectives as represented by media and art shape society to form political opinion. Group identity is crucial for making distinctiveness in cultural traits. Each group evolves their own cultural practices over a period of time and passes them on to ensuing generations. This eventually led to distinct identity of a group. The distinct identity of a group is considered as the parameter for forming ethnicity and politics.

Chapter Three: Parties and Politics: Towards Construction of ‘Culture’ as a tool

This chapter deals with the idea of Romantic Nationalism as a prelude to culture politics for identity formations. It also discusses about the concept of nation State, nationalism, origin, and study of party politics in the era of pre and post-independence period. It includes historical background and development of national and regional parties in India. Furthermore, it discusses parties through politics in using culture as tool for their political development. To find these aspects, the ‘Five Year Plans’ pertaining to culture, sports, youth affairs are taken in the in the present study to see the real nature of the Indian politics. Political Party System in India can broadly be divided into Clientelism and Programmatic Types. Culture politics operate at these two levels. India’s regionalist parties openly identify with a specific region and typically confine their political activity to either a single State or a small set of contiguous States. Regionalist party in India projected nativist or sons-of-the-soil claim for defending the interests of so-

called indigenous groups against migrants from other parts of the country. In recent years, concept of Nation-State is emerging as hegemonic power in Indian political culture. In recent times the idea of Nation State is founded on cultural politics in Indian political scene. Several regional parties contributed to this phenomenon. For first time, Nation-State emerged as powerful entity and barely has any opposition from others in public realm. Now all matters of art, culture, literature and sports are practically under jurisdiction of Indian State. Thus, an imagined society is created as Nation by elite and middle class of India. Indian Nation-State was created based on the slogan, “Unity in Diversity” as Indian Sub-Continent is made up of several linguistic States and tribal belts.

Chapter Four: Culture and Regionalism: A Case Study on Telangana State formation

This chapter deals with the understanding the historical background of regionalism in global and Indian context. It includes regionalism in the pre- and post-independence and the nature of India in the era of British. It discusses about the relationship between the regional and sub-regional differences and party’s role in the Telugu speaking States of South India. After establishing the government, the regional parties have shifted their focus on tradition and history, community and structures, economy, religious values, ethnicity, national rivalries, etc. Linguistic regionalism is a communal aspect at the same time is such a vast and sensitive subject. It is a sentiment of one’s dialectal, culture, and discourse. Linguistic or language regionalism was noticed in the twenties and mid-thirties to include more extra and more individuals in the nationwide drive; it abruptly developed an obstacle to state harmony in the mid-fifties and the mid-sixties. Sub-Regionalism commonly arises when persons of linguistic State feel that there are the differences in the allocation of finances for socio, economic, linguistic, cultural and political development because of ruling government’s partiality. Party politics, especially the regional parties emerged claiming distinct cultural identity emerged in post independent India owing to demand for equal sharing of resources of men and material. In due course, sub-regionalism gained momentum and resulted in the bifurcation of State into smaller States not based

on *lingua franca* basis but founded on cultural paradigms. The Telangana movement is a classic example for showcasing cultural events for political gains in the demand for separate State.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This chapter gives summary of all the chapters along with findings and suggestions for further research on culture and politics. All along culture is viewed as passive element transmitted through generations in the form of customs and traditions. Hence, the people of the region passively follow them as part of their culture. Very few studies viewed culture as a component and a contributing factor in power relations. The classic example of Telangana State is that culture is used as a force to create a separate State though being a part in the linguistic State of Telugus. Different aspects of culture are mentioned in the study which contributed to make power politics for creation of separate Telangana State.

CHAPTER – II

Culture and Politics: A Perspectival Discourse

Introduction

The concept ‘culture’ denotes the transmission of social values, codes of conduct, traditional belief system, rules of social organization, patterns of economic behavior and arrangement of political power from one generation to the other in a given society. It also includes modes of thought, production processes and speech behavior that is inherited by a cultural group through the years. Human being as a social animal learns and transmits knowledge to succeeding generations. As a member of a society, the human being acquires an identity through cultural practices. The dos and don’ts that a person to follow is regulated by cultural practices. They are expressed through art, religion, language and philosophy. All the social habits and customs are related these expressions.

The concept of culture has two dimensions; one is found in the form of ‘artefact’ i.e., physical construct which is also known as material culture and other is ‘mentifact’ i.e., mental construct associated with verbal culture including ideas and knowledge connected with the world at large. The artefacts include all things which are associated with goods and their production processes, distributary systems and consumption patterns. The mentifacts are associated with all types of knowledge manifested both in terms of verbal and non-verbal expressive traditions. Material culture may change as the culture advances in a more rapid manner than the non-material culture, which may include beliefs and practices associated with man’s relationship with man and nature. Hence, the non-material culture takes a longer time to change.

Section-A

Culture: A Conceptual Frame

The Latin root for culture comes from ‘cult’ or ‘cultus’ which means tilling or cultivating¹. The idea is basically coming from the agrarian practice of converting a non-cultivable land for cropping. However, this idea is transported to the human activity of all kinds in the process of progression to civilization. All Social Sciences promoted this idea and in general accepted to the notion of man’s adaptation to nature in the process of bettering the livelihood. In this due course, man as a social animal acquire all beliefs, practices, manners, customs and the knowledge systems. What is interesting to note is that these acquired traits are passed through the generations through language and other symbolic actions. E.B. Tylor, an English Anthropologist came up with a definition similar to this idea in 1871.

The concept of culture is very difficult to define or to cognate. Many scholars from Literature, Sociology, Anthropology and Political Science define the term culture in different eras. Firstly, Matthew Arnold² said that, “culture referred to special intellectual or artistic endeavors or products” which is equivalent notion to the present-day term “high culture” which is antithetical to “popular culture” (or “folkways”). Secondly, Edward Tylor defined culture as that “complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”. Thirdly, Franz Boas highlighted on the distinctiveness of every culture. Moreover, they lay off the European biased views on culture which are found in both Arnold and Tylor. According to Boas, “one should never differentiate high from low culture, and one ought to not differentially valorize cultures as savage or civilized”.

¹ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/cult>

² Matthew. Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism* (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1869).

Johan Huizinga³, a historian and one of the pioneers in historiography of modern cultural history, viewed that the word ‘culture’ is originated from the German language. From thence onwards it was adopted by the western European⁴ languages. The same connotation is also accepted in the countries of Spain, Italy, and America. In French and English, it is still debated in spite of well-defined and traditional meanings associated with the word culture. However, it is not interchangeable with the concept of civilization in these two language traditions. French and English are not relaying on the German nomenclature or the German phraseology connected with culture because of abundant development in their scientific vocabulary.

Disciplinary approaches to the Culture

Not only the scholars those who are professionals in their field of research defining about culture, but also disciplines like Psychology, Anthropology, Sociology and Business Management has given their own definitions.

Psychology

In psychology, most of the researchers have noticed culture both in universal (etic) and specific (emic) ways by applying psychosomatic codes⁵. Generally, the “Cross-Cultural Psychologists” studied from etic perspective whereas, the “Cultural Psychologists” looked from emic point of view. According to the school of “Cross-Cultural Psychology”, “culture is learned by groups’ behavioural norms, values, beliefs and symbols”⁶. They thought that cultural bonds explain relationships and differences through psychological process⁷.

³ Cf. Johan. Huizinga, *Men and Ideas: History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 51-64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-115.

⁵ M. H Segall et. al, *Human Behavior in Global Perspective: An Introduction to Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1999), pp. 14-26.

⁶ Geert. Hofstede, *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind* (London: McGraw-Hill, 1991), pp. 260-261.

⁷ H C. Triandis, “The Psychological Measurement of Cultural Syndromes,” *American Psychologist*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (1996), 407-415.

Various methods such as qualitative (i.e., interviews), quantitative (i.e., survey) and computational methods are used in their studies.

Most of the “Cultural Psychologists” also adopted the same methods. They used ethnographic and experimental approaches to examine connection between culture and cognition with a focus to observe how socio-cultural practices influence mental processes?”⁸ Culture deals with functional aspect of psychological process of members or individuals, covertly or overtly, to understand function of cultural systems⁹. Surface Theory, also known as ‘situationalism’, argues that “social context creates potent forces for producing or constraining behavior”¹⁰. Culture operates on circumstantial forces and manifests as cultural values/beliefs by which members of a cultural group cognate their own actions. Culture overtakes “life apart from situations that gives rise to them and can endure well beyond demise of those situations¹¹”. Cultural group’s values and beliefs cannot be unswervingly measured and evaluated. In fact, values and beliefs of a group are judged based on their own actions. Researchers of this school of thought resort to actions as a parameter to measure social value. Relative strength of values and beliefs are recognized by following such methods.

Only for particular values and beliefs connected with behaviours can be measured through traditional surveys of measurement. Constructing multiple scenarios, individuals are asked to select one among them and by which values and beliefs are measured. This method was followed in India by a group of scholars headed by Sinha and in Canada by the group led by Kwantes¹². For

⁸ Richard A. Shweder, *Thinking Through Culture: Expeditions in Cultural Psychology* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 97.

⁹ A. L. Kroeber and Clyde. Kluckhohn, *Culture A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (U.S.A: The Museum, 1952).

¹⁰ Lee. Ross and R. E. Nisbett, *The person and the Situation: Perspectives of Social Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991), p. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

¹² For more detail understanding of particular values and beliefs connected with behaviours can be measured through traditional surveys of measurement, See, S. P Sinha et. al, “Social Support and Self-Controls as Variables in Attitude towards Life and Perceived Control among Older People in India,” *The Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 142 No. 4 (2002), 527-540; See, C T. Kwantes et. al, “Fit and Outcomes in Six National

instance, if an individual has two job offers i.e., one with less salary in his/her home town where the family lives and the other which is far away from the home town with a higher salary. This is observed by the option which is given by the individual in relation to values. If the individual chooses home town though with less salary, it is considered that the individual values more for his/her family rather than status and salary.

The method applied in Surface Theory can be useful for inferring the cultural values and behaviours. However, culture is multifaceted and multi-layered and therefore the inferences drawn through this method may not give accurate results. Much of the research in industrial and organization psychology resulted in organizational theory by focusing on specific aspects in culture. Basically, it is a reductionist approach which has both positive and negative implications. Organizing the data related to culture on the lines of categorical labels to evaluate the behaviour of the cultural groups having similar backgrounds may help in understanding some facets of culture. However, this method may not give holistic picture of culture and its impact on human behaviour. The connection between values and behaviour is not directly correlated but depends on circumstantial actions. As a matter of fact, 'values' developed as parameters are not good factors for prediction of behaviors. Nevertheless, the creation of categorical labels may not lead to measure properly cultural factors and their impact on human behavior¹³.

Contexts: An Organizational level Analysis," *Journal of Organizational Culture*, Vol.11, No. 2 (2007), 95-112.

¹³ To know more about values and behaviour and their connection, see M. Fishbein and I. Ajzen, *Belief, Attitude, Intention, and Behaviour: An Introduction to Theory and Research* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1975), pp. 405-406; For Detail understanding of Cultural factors and their impact on human behaviour, See, Geert. Hofstede, "Motivation, Leadership and Organisation: Do American Theories Apply Abroad?" *Organizational Dynamics*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1980), 42-63; See, Trompenaars. F et. al, *Riding the waves of Culture: Understanding Culture in Global Business*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998); See, S. H Schwartz & Wolfgang. Bilsky, "Toward a Universal Psychological Structure of Human Values," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 53, No.3 (1987), p. 550.

Yet another method known as “Social Axioms Survey” is advanced to measure cultural behavior taking individuals who experience is concomitant to larger social behavior in a given specific context¹⁴. This method explains cultures effect on behavior specific to value system. Though ‘Social Axioms’ are created at individual level, they reflect in general cultural behaviour at large.

Anthropology

Contrary to Psychology approach, Anthropology and Sociology also used methods of study on culture by treating it holistically¹⁵. As a result, the study on human cultural behaviour in respect of values enlarged.

The discipline of Anthropology using phenomenological approach probed into cultural experiences of everyday life of a cultural group rather than individuals. The time frame for such cultural studies includes past and present¹⁶. Cultural Anthropology (or Social Anthropology) as a branch of study focused on community studies whereas, Cognitive Anthropology concentrated on knowledge and its transmission using systems theory approach. Within Social Anthropology, some scholars followed functionalist perspective which emphasizes on the roles of individuals (groups) assigned in a society for shaping cultural beliefs, norms and values¹⁷. Some other social anthropologists applied structuralist perspective to study culture as a system which evolves meaning and thought patterns by which social groups’ can be studied¹⁸. On the whole the anthropologists stressed on fieldwork through which data is gathered by using different methods such as ethnography method, focus group method etc. Informants became crucial for

¹⁴ Brian. Leung *et. al*, “An Ounce of Prevention or a Pound of Cure: Bio-economic Risk Analysis of Invasive Species,” *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London B: Biological Sciences*, Vol. 269, No. 1508 (2002), 2407-2413.

¹⁵ John. W Berry *et. al*, “Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology,” Vol. 1, Chap. I (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1997).

¹⁶ Franz. Boas, *Anthropology of Modern Life* (New York: Norton, 1928/1962), p. 13.

¹⁷ B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1922/1961), pp. 1-13.

¹⁸ Clifford. Geertz, *History and Anthropology* (U.S: New Literary History, 1990), pp. 321-335.

collecting data more so from active bearers of tradition¹⁹. The collected data is analyzed by employing discourse method etc., to arrive at conclusions on community behaviour and values.

Cognitive Anthropologists relied much on people experiences in shaping the cultural events²⁰ and their interpretations have large and minute descriptions of cultural events of a given society. These events bind peoples' relationships and expectations in functioning on specific contexts²¹. Both the cognitive and social anthropologists interpreted meanings of social behaviour stressing either social constructions of a group or individual psychological state of mind in performing cultural roles²². Most of the meanings are resultant of life experiences and mental schemes accumulated through family bonds, political systems, educational practices and other social and economic structures in a given human culture. These reinforces as normative practices and reflect as worldview of community²³. By and large all anthropological tradition viewed cultures as "complex whole that includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"²⁴.

Sociology

Discipline Sociology deals with all social activity connected with members of society and views society as a whole with distinctive parts having

¹⁹ Mead. M, *Anthropologists and What They Do* (New York: Watts, 1965); See, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Method in Social Anthropology: A Selected Essays* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958).

²⁰ R. A. Rubinstein, "Cross-Cultural Considerations in Complex Peace Operations," *Negotiation Journal*, Vol.19, (2003), 29-49.

²¹ Roy Goodwin. D'Andrade, "Cultural Meaning System," in *Behavioural and Social Science Research: A National Resource*, ed. R. M. Adams, N. J. Smelser, & D. J. Treiman. National Academy Press, pp. 197-236. Washington, D.C, 1982.

²² Claudia. Strauss & N. Quinn, *A Cognitive theory of Cultural Meaning* (U.K: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

²³ Roy Goodwin. D'Andrade, "Cultural Meaning System," in *Behavioural and Social Science Research: A National Resource*, ed. R. M. Adams, N. J. Smelser, & D. J. Treiman. National Academy Press, pp. 197-236. Washington, D.C, 1982.

²⁴ Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (London: Bradbury Evans & Co, 1817/1924), p. 1.

interconnectedness. All social activity in a way is related to social relationships between individuals, intra and inter-groups which eventually form as institutions of political, economic and social spheres. The power exerted by these institutions over members of society is crucial to understand the nature of society²⁵. Sociologists study social groups organized based on race, religion, ethnicity, occupation, gender and sex. These social organizations shape value systems and normative behaviors of a given culture or sub-culture²⁶. Sociologists never give culture as an objective phenomenon and therefore cannot be quantified. They prefer qualitative studies based on quantitative data of a given cultural or sub-cultural group.

Cultures are generally considered to have developed over a period of time due to geographical and ecological factors. According to Steward, “development of culture is inextricably linked with group of peoples’ adaptation to their environment”²⁷. Culture therefore, is manifested in terms of values and behaviors passed from one generation to the other. Individuals transmit these values as members of group. According to Anderson, “different cultures are products of individuals when they get-together to live their lives differently”²⁸.

Business Management

The Discipline of Business Management views culture from the organizational perspective which is pragmatically associated with occupation and economy. It is developed basically on institutional theory which is otherwise known as institutionalism. According to Meyer and Rowan²⁹ there are two types of organizations *i.e.*, formal and informal. They opined that element of organizations determine the cognitional behavior. It basically functions on the

²⁵ Max. Weber, *Basic Concepts in Sociology* (New York: Citadel Press, 1962).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-75.

²⁷ Julian. H Steward, *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution* (Champagne: University of Illinois, 1972).

²⁸ Jon. Anderson, *Understanding Cultural Geography* (New York: Rutledge, 2010), p. 27.

²⁹ J. W Meyer & B. Rowan, “Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony,” *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 8, (1977), pp. 340-363.

structure of organization which in turn is based on the kind of work that organisation is engaged with such as accounting, marketing, production and supply of goods etc. the informal organisations function on relational networks. The relational networks are of activities connected with coordination of everyday activities and there by become standard operating procedures (S.O.P) of the organization. According to Harris, “meanings that employees give to activities are important to understanding organisational practices and are related to cultures that organisations develop over period time”³⁰.

Disciplines connected with Business Management also look into culture from microeconomics and macroeconomics point of view. A company when motivated by economic gains, it seeks to expand its Business to other countries. The researcher who is interested in studying the culture of the company will look for factors such as Business opportunities, nature of human capital, laws and policies associated with Business development and potential competition from the others. To quote an example, due to Globalisation the startup of Call Centres in the U.S.A and India seem to be a viable venture to maximize profits by making use of technology and as well taking the advantage of availability of employees’ education, qualification on one side and on the other pay fixations of the employees³¹. The Communication Information Technology (I.C.T) helped the firms to zero down the cost of communication thereby the firms benefited much by establishing Call Centres irrespective of the countries where they are situated. The environmental factors also play a vital role in organizational culture such as the laws of country, geographical locale of firm and work culture in general. From a cultural perspective, the work culture developed by founders of firm plays a crucial role because movement of employees from Call Centre to other situated in different countries is a common phenomenon and despite this movement, the Call Centres continue to function with the same established work culture. The balance

³⁰ S. G Harris, “Organizational Culture and Individual Sensemaking: A Scheme-based Perspective,” *Organization Science*, Vol. 5, (1994), 309-321.

³¹ L. M Ellram, Tate. W. L & Billington. C, “Offshore Outsourcing of Professional Services: A Transaction Cost Economic perspective,” *Journal of Operations Management*, Vol. 26, (2008), 148-163.

between micro and macroeconomic cultural management is the catchy word for the Business organization.

Organizational Definitions

The UNESCO made an attempt to define culture taking into account broad categories that form culture. It “interpreted culture as art in connection with moral values and human relations. We denote if by action, behaviour and attitude are considered useful for the interests of society or of a certain social group; we mean standard of living in terms of habitation and clothing and physical culture. We appraise by its culture of language, culture of thought and work culture”³².

UNESCO on Safeguarding Culture

The UNESCO for the last five decades is discussing on the importance of safeguarding Intangible and Tangible Cultural Heritage of people. Some of its discussions and decisions are on the follows:

1. Contemporary cultural traditions of people and their creative abilities promote socio-economic development³³.
2. It is imperative to preserve cultural property as far as possible by denoting their historical and artistic significance so as to empower the sense of dignity in spirit of people and their consciousness³⁴.
3. Preservation of cultural properties which are of historical importance of all people creates an environment wherein they feel a sense of pride of their belongings³⁵.
4. Governments as a duty ensure protection and preservation of cultural heritage of their regions for socio-economic development³⁶.

³² For further details concerning the thought of organizational definitions, See *UNESCO meetings on Culture: Records of the General Conference 15th Session*, (Paris, 1968), 46-47.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-141.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.

5. Cultural identity rests in folklore of all people and therefore it should be considered as universal cultural heritage³⁷.
6. Folklore to be considered as living culture and therefore need to be preserved³⁸.
7. Folklore in general is facing a threat from modernity and globalization and hence, special attention is needed to safeguard it³⁹.
8. Governments must take a pivotal role in safeguarding folklore at the earliest⁴⁰.
9. All Member States should safeguard folklore as decided in its 24th session.

In the UNESCO Conference on “Global Assessment”⁴¹ the following measures are enumerated in the Action Plan of 1999 in Washington DC. All Member States should;

1. Develop legal and administrative procedures for protection of traditional culture and folklore which is mostly created by marginalized communities;
2. Facilitate collaboration within the traditional communities with governments, academic institutions, NGO’s and other private parties to promote traditional cultural practices;
3. Ensure the participation of traditional groups in formulating policies;
4. Develop adequate educational facilities and training for understanding preservation and protection traditional culture and folklore;
5. Promote programmes at transnational level for displaying traditional culture and folklore;

³⁷ Know more about UNESCO recommendations on traditional culture and folk lore, See *UNESCO meetings on Culture: Records of the General Conference, 25th Session,*” (Paris, 1989), 242-243. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000846/084696e.pdf#page=242>.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 244-245.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 246-247.

⁴¹ UNESCO recommendations on Safeguarding of Traditional culture and Folklore for Local Empowerment through International Cooperation See *UNESCO meetings on Culture: Records of the General Conference, 25th Session,*” (Paris, 1989).

6. Give special stress on programmes that recognise women's role in the development of traditional culture;
7. Provide support for programmes related to cultural revitalisation where the cultural artefacts and practices were displaced by war, famine and other natural disasters;
8. Undertake measures to reinvent traditional culture for those cultures which are at the extinction for improving their social status and economic well-being.

On the basis of the aforementioned measures the UNESCO recommended to the Member States the following specific actions. The Member States should;

1. Identify and support programmes for validation of traditional culture and folklore;
2. Strengthen welfare schemes for traditional communities such as housing, health care, employment etc.;
3. Promote programmes on local knowledge for sustainable development;
4. Assist traditional communities to develop their indigenous material culture;
5. Provide awareness training camps to the native communities to understand administrative, educational and other activities of the government;
6. Provide access to educational programmes, documentation activities and training for traditional groups;
7. Support local languages to enhance their usage in public performances;
8. Preserve material culture of the traditional communities as part of promoting folklore;
9. Conduct symposiums at local, national and international level on the issues being faced by traditional communities;
10. Encourage young generations belonging to traditional communities towards learning their traditional knowledge systems.
11. Create a network of experts to assist traditional communities for safeguarding their culture;
12. Encourage to submit proposals to the UNESCO general conference for undertaking projects related to traditional culture; and
13. Encourage States to act in accordance with Article 27 of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to promote traditional knowledge and skills in respect of human rights.

Academic definitions of Culture

The term, ‘culture’ is difficult to define and yet absolutely taken for granted. According to Landis⁴², “there are many definitions of culture. None are adequate; if so, how to define what makes up almost the totality of human experiences”? Any attempt to adopt a functional definition of culture will be a futile exercise and remain incomplete. However, without such an attempt, it is not possible to understand the sphere of culture. Therefore, the concept of culture should be viewed as a process and a product. The following diagram gives a glimpse of few scholars understanding of culture in two broad perspectives.

Table - I: Culture Definitions

S.No.	Conceptual Frame	Name	Year	Country/Continent
I	Culture as Conflict Resolution	Small, A. W.	1912	USA
		W. G. Sumner & A. G. Keller	1927	USA
		C.Dawson.	1928	USA
		A. G. Keller	1931	USA
		K. Young	1939	USA
II	Culture as a Learning Process	Raymond Williams	1989	UK
		Edgar and Peter	2016	Switzerland

Culture as Conflict Resolution

One school of thought viewed culture as a site of “conflict resolution”. According to Small⁴³, “Culture is the total equipment of technique, mechanical, mental, and moral, by use of which people of a given period try to attain their ends; culture consists of the means by which men promote their individual or social ends.” As per this definition, conflict resolution is achieved through

⁴² Paul H. Landis, *Sociology* (Lexington: Ginn & Company, 1972), p. 54.

⁴³ A. W Small, *General Sociology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905), pp. 344-345.

technology and work culture. As per the definition of Sumner & Keller⁴⁴, “the sum of men’s adjustments to their life conditions is their culture or civilization.” These adjustments are attained only through the combined action of variation, selection, and transmission. “According to Dawson⁴⁵, “culture is a common way of life, a particular adjustment of man to his natural surroundings for his needs”. Keller⁴⁶ opined that “no civilization (sum or synthesis of mental adjustments) of any importance can be developed by an individual or by a limited group in isolation.” “Culture is developed when the pressure of numbers on land reaches a degree at which life exerts stress on man”. According to Young⁴⁷, “These folkways, these continuous methods of handling problems and social situations, we call culture”. “Culture consists of the whole mass of learned behaviours or patterns of any group as they are received from a previous group or generation and as they are added to by this group, and then passed on to other groups or to the next generation”.

As per the above definitions, it can be inferred that culture is an integral part of conflict resolution. It is surrounded by all conflicts because conflicts come into existence in human relationships. Cultures affect the traditions and yet try to resolve the conflicts. According to Small⁴⁸, culture is concerned with conflict and resolution, and solutions are sought by using techniques of mechanical application based on previous precedence and also on moral grounds. Dawson opines that “culture” is “a common way of life, a particular adjustment of man to his natural

⁴⁴ Sumner. W G and Keller. A Galloway, *Science of Society*, Vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), pp. 46-47.

⁴⁵ Christopher. Dawson, *The Age of the Gods: A Study in the Origins of Culture in Prehistoric Europe and the Ancient East* (Sheed & Ward: London, 1928), pp. xiii-xiv.

⁴⁶ Keller. A Galloway, *Societal Evolution: A Study of the Evolutionary Basis of the Science of Society* (New York: Creative Media Partners, 1931).

⁴⁷ Kimball. Young, *An Introductory Sociology* (Woodstock, GA: American Book Company, 1934), pp. 18-19.

⁴⁸ A W. Small, “General Sociology,” *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1912), 200-214.

surroundings and his needs”⁴⁹. According to Young⁵⁰, culture “consists of a whole mass of learned behaviour”.

Culture as “Learning Process”

Another school of thought viewed “culture as a learning process”. Raymond Williams⁵¹ aptly summed up the definition of culture, stating that “every human society has its own shape, its own purposes, and its own meanings.” Every human society expresses these in institutions, in the arts and in learning.” Edgar and Peter⁵² also expressed a similar view, stating that culture is “a deeper level of basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of any organisation that operates unconsciously.”

To sum up, “culture is a process of human learning and development” and as a result a vast literature is produced to understand human relationships which eventually have conflicts and resolutions. Human society has its own purpose and generates meanings to exist and also to shape its future.

Culture – Conceptual Frames

Social scientists broadly developed five types of conceptual frames basing on their disciplinary approaches. In fact, these broad conceptual frames represent elements of culture which are innately connected with characteristic features of culture. The following Table gives the cultural frames expressed by different scholars in a chronological time frame.

⁴⁹ Christopher. Dawson, *The Age of the Gods: A Study in the Origins of Culture in Prehistoric Europe and the Ancient East* (London: Murray, 1928), p. 446.

⁵⁰ Kimball. Young, *An Introductory Sociology* (Woodstock, GA: American Book Company, 1934), pp. 18-19.

⁵¹ Raymond. Williams, *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism* (Verso: London, 1989).

⁵² Edgar H. Schein & Peter S, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, 5th ed. (John Wiley & Sons: United States, 2016).

Table - II: Culture Definitions

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S.No	Conceptual frame	Name	Year	Definition	Country/Continent
I	Culture as Inheritance	E. B. Tylor	1871	“Culture or civilization is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs, and any other abilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” ⁵³ .	England
		Burkitt. M. C	1929	“The sum of the activities of people, as shown by their industries and other discoverable characteristics” ⁵⁴ .	UK
		Lowie. R. H	1934	“Capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” ⁵⁵ .	Austria
		Firth. R	1939	“They [anthropologists] consider the acts of individuals not in isolation but as members of society and call the sum total of these modes of behavior as culture” ⁵⁶ .	New Zealand
		Murray. R. W.	1943	“The various industries of a people, as well as art, burial customs, etc., which throw light upon their life and thought” ⁵⁷ .	England

⁵³ Edward. B Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, Vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1871), p. 1.

⁵⁴ Miles. C Burkitt, “Archaeology,” in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed. (New York: University of Michigan, 1929), p. 237.

⁵⁵ Robert H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934), p. 3.

⁵⁶ Raymond. Firth, *Primitive Polynesian economy* (London: Rutledge & Sons, 1939), p. 18

⁵⁷ Raymond. William Murray, *Man’s Unknown Ancestors* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing House, 1943), p. 346.

		Thurnwald. R	1950	“Culture is the totality of usages and adjustments which relate to family, political formation, economy, labor, morality, customs, law, and ways of thinking. These are bound to the life of the social entities in which they are practiced and perish with these, whereas civilizational horizons are not lost” ⁵⁸ .	Austria
		Hofstede. G	1994	“Culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another” ⁵⁹ .	Netherlands
		Thomas. A.	2003	“Culture is a universal and quite typical orientation system for a society, organization or a group” ⁶⁰ .	Germany
		Spencer. O. H.	2008	“Culture is a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people and that influence each member’s behavior” ⁶¹ .	England
II	Culture as Social Organism	Myres. J. L	1927	“Culture is not a state or condition only, but a process. Culture, then, is what remains of men’s past, working on their present, to shape their future” ⁶² .	Preston, England
		Malinowski, B.	1931	“This social heritage is the key concept of cultural anthropology. It is usually called culture...Culture comprises inherited artefacts, goods,	Poland

⁵⁸ Richard. Thurnwald, *Der Mensch geringer Naturbeherrschung: sein Aufstieg zwischen Vemunft und Wahn*: Berlin, 1950), p. 104.

⁵⁹ Geert. Hofstede. G, *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind* (London: Harper Collins Business, 1994), p. 4-6.

⁶⁰ Stefanie. Rathje, “Intercultural Competence: The Status and Future of a Controversial Concept,” *Language and Intercultural Communication*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (2007), 254-266,

⁶¹Helen. Spencer-Oatey, *Culturally Speaking: Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory*, 2nd ed. (London: Continuum, 2008).

⁶² Myres J. L, *The Political Ideas of the Greeks* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927), p. 16.

				technical processes, ideas, habits, and values” ⁶³ .	
		Angyal. A	1941	“Culture can be defined as an organized body of behavior patterns which is transmitted by social inheritance, that is by tradition, and which is characteristic of a given area or group of people” ⁶⁴ .	Hungary
		Radcliffe-Brown. A. R	1949	“Culture is the process by which, in a given social group or social class, language, beliefs, ideas, aesthetic tastes, knowledge, skills and usages of many kinds are handed on (“tradition” means “handing on”) from person and from one generation to another” ⁶⁵ .	Birmingham, UK
III	Culture as an Artefact	Willy. M. M	1927	“That part of the environment which man has himself created and to which he must adjust himself” ⁶⁶ .	USA
		Groves. E. R	1928	“Culture is a product of human association” ⁶⁷ .	USA
		Folsom, S	1931	“Culture is not any part of man or his inborn equipment. It is the sum total of all that man has produced: tools, symbols, most organisations, common activities, attitudes, and beliefs. It includes both physical products and immaterial products. It is everything of a relatively permanent character that we call artificial, everything which is passed down from one generation to the next rather than acquired by each generation for itself: it is, in short, civilization” ⁶⁸ .	Boston

⁶³ Bronislaw. Malinowski, “Culture,” in *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. 4. Seligman A R. Edwin. Macmillan Company, pp. 645-648. New York, 1931.

⁶⁴ A. Angyal, *Foundations for a Science of Personality* (Commonwealth fund: New York, 1941), p. 187.

⁶⁵ A. R Radcliffe-Brown, “Whites View of a Science of Culture,” *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (1949), 510-511.

⁶⁶ Malcolm M. Willey, “The Validity of the Culture Concept,” *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 35, (1927), 2014-2019.

⁶⁷ Ernest Rutherford. Groves, *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York: Longmans Green and Co, 1928), p. 23.

⁶⁸ Folsom J. K, *Social Psychology* (New York: Harper, 1931), p. 476-477.

		Dodd. S. C	1941	“Culture consists of all products (results) of inter-human learning” ⁶⁹ .	USA
		Hart, H.	1941	“Culture consists of all phenomena that have been directly or indirectly caused (produced) by both nongenetic and nonmechanical communication of phenomena from one individual to another” ⁷⁰ .	New York
		Bernard. L. L	1942	“The term culture signifies anything that is man-made, whether material objects, overt behaviour, symbolic behaviour, or social organization” ⁷¹ .	USA
IV	Culture as a Structural Phenomena	Ogburn and Nimkoff	1940	“Culture consists of inventions, or cultural traits, integrated into a system, with varying degrees of correlation between the parts. Both material and non-material traits, organized around the satisfaction of the basic human needs, give us our social institutions, which are the heart of culture. The institutions of a culture are interlinked and are unique to each society” ⁷² .	USA
		Red Field	1940	“An organisation of conventional understandings manifest in act and artefact, which, persisting through tradition, characterizes a human group” ⁷³ .	USA
		Turney-High	1949	“Culture is the working and integrated summation of the non-instinctive activities of human beings. It is the functioning, patterned totality of group accepted and transmitted	USA

⁶⁹Dodd S. C, “Views on Definitions of Culture. Committee on Conceptual Integration. Mimeographed,” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1941), 8.

⁷⁰ H. Hart, “Views on Definitions of Culture. Committee on Conceptual Integration. Mimeographed,” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1941), 6.

⁷¹ Luther. L Bernard, *An Introduction to Sociology: A Naturalistic Account of Man’s Adjustment to his World* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942), p. 699.

⁷² Ogburn. W. F & Nimkoff M. F, *Sociology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1940), p. 63.

⁷³ R. Redfield, “Unpublished Lectures,” *Social Science Series*, (1940), 23.

				inventions, material and non-material” ⁷⁴ .	
		Coutu	1949	“Culture is one of the most inclusive of all the configurations we call interactive fields, the way of life of the whole people, like that of China, western Europe, and the United States. Culture is to a population aggregate what personality is to the individual; and the ethos is to the culture what self is to a personality, the core of most probable behaviors. Culture is one of the most inclusive of all the configurations we call interactive fields, the way of life of the whole people, like that of China, western Europe, and the United States. Culture is to a population aggregate what personality is to the individual; and the ethos is to the culture what self is to a personality, the core of most probable behaviors” ⁷⁵ .	USA
V	Culture as Normative Behaviour	Wissler. C.	1929	“The mode of life followed by the community or the tribe is regarded as a culture... [It] includes all standardized social procedures...a tribal culture is...the aggregate of standardized beliefs and procedures followed by the tribe” ⁷⁶ .	Indiana/ USA
		Carver. T. N	1935	“Culture is the dissipation of surplus human energy in the exuberant exercise of the higher human faculties” ⁷⁷ .	USA
		Thomas. W. I	1937	“[Culture is] the material and social values of a group of people, whether savage or civilized (their	Virginia/ USA

⁷⁴ H H. Turney-High, *General Anthropology* (New York: University of South Carolina Press, 1949), p. 5.

⁷⁵ W. Coutu, *Emergent Human Nature: A Symbolic Field Interpretation* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1949), p. 358.

⁷⁶ C. Wissler, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), p. 341.

⁷⁷ T N. Carver, *The Essential Factors of Social Evolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), p. 283.

				institutions, attitudes, behaviour and relations)” ⁷⁸ .	
		Gillin. J. Gillin. J. P.	1942	“Customs, traditions, attitudes, ideas, and symbols which govern social behavior show a wide variety. Each group, each society has a set of behavior patterns (overt and covert) which are more or less common to the members, which are passed down from generation to generation, and taught to the children, and which are constantly liable to change. These common patterns we call culture” ⁷⁹ .	USA
		Kluckhohn. C & Kelly. W. H	1945	“By culture we mean all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men” ⁸⁰ .	Lowa/US A
		Bidney. D	1946	“An integral or holistic concept of culture comprises the acquired or cultivated behavior, feeling, and thought of individuals within a society, as well as the patterns or forms of intellectual, social, and artistic ideals which human societies have professed historically” ⁸¹ .	Ukraine/ Europe
		Sorokin. P. A	1947	“[The social aspect of the superorganic universe is made up of interacting individuals, of the forms of interaction, of unorganized and organized groups, and of interindividual and intergroup relationships]. The cultural aspect of the superorganic	USA

⁷⁸ W I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior: An Introduction to the Social Sciences* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937), p. 8.

⁷⁹ J L. Gillin & J. P Gillin, *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York: Macmillan, 1942), p. 20.

⁸⁰ Kluckhohn. C & Kelly W. H, (1945). “The Concept of Culture,” in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. R Linton. Columbia University Press, pp. 78-105. New York, 1945.

⁸¹ D. Bidney, (1946). “The Concept of Cultural Crisis,” *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (1946), 534-552.

				universe consists of meanings, values, norms, their interaction and relationships, their integrated and unintegrated groups (systems and congeries) as they are objectified through overt actions and other vehicles in the empirical sociocultural universe” ⁸² .	
		Frank, L. K.	1948	“A term or concept for the totality of these patterned ways of thinking and acting, which are specific modes and acts of conduct of discrete individuals who, under the guidance of parents and teachers and the associations of their fellows, have developed a way of life expressing those beliefs and those actions” ⁸³ .	USA
VI	Culture as Psychological Paradigm	Murdock, G. P.	1941	“Culture, the traditional patterns of action which constitute a major portion of the established habits with which an individual enters any social situation” ⁸⁴ .	Meriden/ USA
		Floyd Allport	1924	“Sets of ideals, thoughts and habits are repeated in each individual's mind and exist only in those minds” ⁸⁵ .	California/ USA
		Clifford Geertz	1973	“Historically, transmitted patterns of meanings are embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” ⁸⁶ .	California/ USA

I. Culture as Inheritance

⁸² P. A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality their Structure and Dynamics* (New York: Cooper Square, 1947), p. 313.

⁸³ L. K. Frank, *Society as the Patient: Essays on Culture and Personality* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University press, 1948), p. 171.

⁸⁴ G. P. Murdock, “Anthropology and Human Relations,” *American Sociological Association*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1941), 140-149.

⁸⁵ F. H. Allport, “Social Psychology,” Chap. I, on *Social Psychology as a Science of Individual Behavior* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924), pp. 1-16.

⁸⁶ Clifford. Geertz. C, *Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 89.

Transmission of cultural traits by way of imitation, learning and communication from one generation to the other is considered as cultural inheritance. According to Morgan, “it is transmitted by the brain rather than by genes” and cultural inheritance is regarded as the newest stage in the process of evolution⁸⁷. Cultural inheritance is viewed in two perspectives; one, culture is seen as a comprehensive total entity; second, culture inheritance is a package of different elements which constitute the content of culture. When culture is transmitted as part of inheritance, a few aspects of culture which are glaringly drawn from the previous generation are studied and considered as cultural inheritance by some scholars. Very few scholars, such as Edward Tylor, viewed culture as a comprehensive whole from a theoretical perspective. Cultural traits such as manners, customs and beliefs are cited as elements of cultural inheritance and studied in depth by anthropologists and folklorists.

II. Culture as Social Organism

Social organisms and cultures are both on the same pole and depend on each other. Culture as a concept covers the societal behaviour, rules and way of life which create meaning to things that they do. Social organism is a sociological theory or model that views social structure as a living organism. Many units such as family, kinship, marriage etc., which comprise a society, are regulated by rules and regulations. Every unit of society or social organism has a function in helping to maintain stability and coherence of the organism. The above definitions are from Myres’s article⁸⁸ on the political ideas of Greeks; according to Greeks, “culture is not a state or condition only, but a process”. Malinowski⁸⁹ also referred to the basic idea of social heritage and culture. According to Malinowski, “culture comprises inherited artefacts, goods, technical processes, ideas, habits, and

⁸⁷ T H. Morgan, *The Scientific Basis of Evolution* (London: Faber & Faber, 1932).

⁸⁸ J. L Myres, *The Political Ideas of the Greeks* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927), p. 16.

⁸⁹ Bronislaw. Malinowski, “Culture,” in *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, ed. A R. Seligman Edwin. Macmillan Company, pp. 645-648. New York, 1931.

values". Angyal⁹⁰, his book on the foundation of the science of personality, specified more on "organised body of behaviour patterns". The Radcliffe-Brown article⁹¹ identified culture as the "process of tradition". He has applied the methods from a sociological viewpoint.

III. Culture as an Artefact

Culture can be seen in symbols, language, beliefs, values and artefacts that a cultural group creates in a given society. This classification puts forth two basic modules in culture i.e., on one hand, "ideas and symbols" and, on the other, "artefacts". The first module is 'non-material culture', which includes symbols, language, beliefs and values etc. The second module, 'material culture', comprises all physical objects such as tools, technology, clothing, utensils etc. In the less civilized communities, artefacts are mostly limited to a few tools, such as huts where individuals live and the clothing they wear. One of the most significant inventions in the process of evolution of society was the tool called the 'wheel'. Similarly, the definitions which are mentioned above play an essential role in defining culture in a given society. According to Willey⁹², culture is "that part of the environment which man himself has created". Groves⁹³ described culture as "a product of human association". Folsom⁹⁴ argued that culture is "the sum total of all that man has produced". Dodo⁹⁵ discussed that, "culture consists of all products (results) of inter-human learning". Hart⁹⁶ viewed that, "culture

⁹⁰ A. Angyal, *Foundations for a Science of Personality* (Commonwealth fund: New York, 1941), p. 187.

⁹¹ A. R. Radcliffe-Brown "Whites View of a Science of Culture," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (1949), 510-511.

⁹² Willey M. M., "The Validity of the Culture Concept," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 35, (1927), 2014-2019.

⁹³ Groves E. R., *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York: Longmans Green and Co, 1928), p. 23.

⁹⁴ Folsom. S, *Social Psychology* (New York: Harper, 1931), p. 476-477.

⁹⁵ Dodd S. C., "Views on Definitions of Culture. Committee on Conceptual Integration. Mimeographed," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1941), 8.

⁹⁶ Hart. H., "Views on Definitions of Culture. Committee on Conceptual Integration. Mimeographed," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1941), 6.

consists of all phenomena”. Finally, according to Bernard⁹⁷, “culture signifies anything that is man-made”.

IV. Culture as Structural Phenomena

Culture is a structural phenomenon. These structures, evolved out of culture, influence numerous systems such as social welfare, law, gender inequalities, the timeliness of meetings, and business performance. It is closely related to the alignment of communities. It tends to be logical with the values sustained by society’s culture (e.g., statutes of equality vs rules of equity). Ogburn and Nimkoff⁹⁸ observe that culture as structural phenomena “consists of inventions, or cultural traits, integrated into a system”. Red Field⁹⁹ describes the idea that, “conventional understandings manifest in act and artifact which persisting through tradition characterizes a human group”. Turney-High¹⁰⁰ states that, “integrated summation of the non-instinctive activities of human beings forms a structural phenomenon of culture”. Coutu¹⁰¹ elaborates that, “culture is one of the most inclusive of all the configurations”.

V. Culture as Normative Behaviour

Social scientists studied peoples’ behaviours in their respective groups and also, as a group, how they develop attitudes and perceptions¹⁰². In a way, culture is a normative behaviour and a core element of culture is “the mode of life followed by community or tribe”¹⁰³. In the argument of culture as normative

⁹⁷ Bernard L. L, *An Introduction to Sociology: A Naturalistic Account of Man’s Adjustment to his World* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942), p. 699.

⁹⁸ Ogburn. W. F & Nimkoff M. F, *Sociology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1940), p. 63.

⁹⁹ Redfield. R, “Unpublished Lectures,” *Social Science Series*, (1940), 23.

¹⁰⁰ Turney-High H. H, *General Anthropology* (New York: University of South Carolina Press, 1949), p. 5

¹⁰¹ Coutu. W, *Emergent Human Nature: A Symbolic Field Interpretation* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1949), p. 358.

¹⁰² Gastil. J, “The Group in Society,” (*SAGE Publication, Inc*, 2010), pp. 25-52.

¹⁰³ Wissler. C, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), p. 341.

behaviour, it is considered as “dissipation of surplus human energy”¹⁰⁴. Hence, “culture consists of material and social values within a society”¹⁰⁵ and “each group, each society has a set of behavior patterns (overt and covert)”¹⁰⁶ thereby “all those historically created designs for living”¹⁰⁷ form “an integral or holistic life”¹⁰⁸. Culture is described, therefore, as the “social aspect of the super-organic universe”¹⁰⁹, and presents “the totality of patterned ways of thinking and action of individuals”¹¹⁰.

VI. Culture as Psychological Paradigm

The discipline of Psychology in general deals with human behaviour and, in the process, has developed several theories and schools of thought to explain human response to nature and culture. It includes mostly the ‘mentifacts’ i.e., peoples’ mental construction of objects and phenomena which forms the basis for worldview. It includes practices, beliefs, notions which formulate personality. Cultural factors such as art, language, social systems and societal norms can be studied from a psychological perspective to understand the development of the cognitive process. Floyd Allport's¹¹¹ book discusses the ideas of culture and psychology. The author focused more on the individuals and their thoughts and he

¹⁰⁴ Carver T. N, *The Essential Factors of Social Evolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), p. 283.

¹⁰⁵ Thomas W. I, *Primitive Behavior: An Introduction to the Social Sciences*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937), p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ Gillin J. L & Gillin J. P, *An Introduction to Sociology*. (New York: Macmillan, 1942), p. 20.

¹⁰⁷ Bidney. D, (1946). “The Concept of Cultural Crisis,” *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (1946), 534-552.

¹⁰⁸ Kluckhohn. C & Kelly W. H, (1945). “The Concept of Culture,” in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. R Linton. Columbia University Press, pp. 78-105. New York, 1945.

¹⁰⁹ P A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality their Structure and Dynamics* New (York: Cooper Square, 1947), p. 313.

¹¹⁰ L. K Frank, *Society as the Patient: Essays on Culture and Personality* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University press, 1948), p. 171.

¹¹¹ F. H Allport, “Social Psychology,” Chap. I, on *Social Psychology as a Science of Individual Behavior* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924), pp. 1-16.

perceives that majorly “thoughts and habits are repeated in each mind”. Geertz¹¹² argued that, “historically transmitted patterns of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms”. Murdock¹¹³ opined that culture is “traditional patterns of action which constitute a major portion of the established habits with which an individual enters any social situation”.

Section-B

Introduction to Politics and its Definitions

Political Scientists gave numerous definitions on politics. The following are some broadest and most far-reaching definitions on politics. The below are four definitions given by eminent political scientists:

Table – III: Politics Definitions

“

S.No.	Name	Year	Definition	Country/ Continent
1	David Easton	1953	“Politics is “the authoritative allocation of values for society” ¹¹⁴ .	Canada
2	Key, V. O	1942	“The essence of politics lies in power relationships between governors and the governed. The definition is about power; but not all politics is about power. This definition emphasizes control over people but seems to exclude more collaborative efforts that exist between people” ¹¹⁵ .	USA
3	Samuel Kernell	2014	“Politics is the process through which individuals and groups reach agreement on a course of common or collective	USA

¹¹² Clifford. Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 89.

¹¹³ G P. Murdock, “Anthropology and Human Relations,” *American Sociological Association*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1941), 140-149.

¹¹⁴ David. Easton, *The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science*, 2nd ed. (Alfred A. Knopf, 1953/1971), p.128.

¹¹⁵ V. O Key Jr, *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*, 5th ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942/1964), p. 2-3.

			action even as they disagree on the intended goals of that action”. This definition is antithetical to Key’s definition. In the present definition, collaborative efforts are included but power relationships of dominance and submission are excluded” ¹¹⁶ .	
4	Lasswell, Harold	1936	“The study of politics is the study of influence and influential politics [i.e.] who gets what, when and how” ¹¹⁷ .	USA

”

David Easton’s definition is very vague; it is inclusive of several elements of culture. It does not subscribe to the idea that politics is power that is vested in someone over others. It does not even romanticize the concept of corporate living. It accounts for formal authority, which rests not with few but also those who are functioning outside the formal structures. For him, “politics are about authoritative distribution of values. Authority indicates a legitimate decision-maker and distinguishes it from power. Sometimes, power and authority exist together; but in some instances, people have power without authority. So we would argue that politics is about power more than authority. It incorporates a power relationship that exists between dominant and submissive as well as government and governed. It also encompasses the relationships within corporate bodies based on collaborative efforts ¹¹⁸. The definition Lasswell makes a distinction between politics and government in terms of law and legislation. Politics is beyond government and much larger than the activities of the government. “All government involves politics, but not all politics involve government”¹¹⁹ is the idiom of Lasswell¹²⁰.

Definitions on Politics of Culture

¹¹⁶ S. Kernell et. al, *The Logic of American Politics*, 6th ed. (Sage Publications, 2014), p. 3

¹¹⁷ Harold. Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, and How?* (New York: Mcgraw-Hill, 1936/1951), p. 13.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 3-10.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 10-17.

¹²⁰ Paul. Wapner, *Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), pp. 5-14.

Before going into the concept of “Politics of Culture or Cultural Politics”, primarily, one needs to note that cultural politics do not signify two distinct and isolated categories. “Politics” cannot be separated from “Culture”. Culture and politics refer to the way that “people’s attitudes, opinions, beliefs and perspectives that shape society and form political opinion”¹²¹. Over the past decades, the ‘Cultural Politics’ slogan has come to be used in academic circles, and this has come into global scholarly debate. Mainly, it has been an English-based discourse, and it is regulated differently in different disciplines and varies in languages¹²².

Table - IV: Politics of Culture Definitions

“

S.No	Conceptual Frame	Name	Year	Definition	Country/Continent
I	Culture as an Ideological Tool	Edward Said	1983	“Culture is ‘a system of values saturating downwards almost everything within its purview; yet paradoxically, culture dominates from above without at the same time being available to everyone and everything it dominates’” ¹²³ .	Palestine
		Gayatri Spivak	1990	“Culture is being used as a description of collective agency, and these descriptions are almost always generated in order to manage various kinds of crises” ¹²⁴ .	India
		Homi K Bhabha	1994	“Cultures can be understood to interact, transgress, and transform each other in a much more complex manner than the	India

¹²¹ Sherry. B Ortner, *High Religion: A Cultural and Political History of Sherpa Buddhism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press) -1989, pp. 428-539.

¹²² Schiller Nina. Glick, “The Situation of Transnational Studies,” Vol. 4, No. 2 (1997), 155-166.

¹²³ Edward. Said, *The World, the Text and the Critic* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press: 1983), p. 9.

¹²⁴ Gayatri Chakravorty. Spivak et. al, “Rhetoric and Cultural Explanation: A Discussion with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak,” *Journal of Advanced Composition*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1990), 293-304.

				traditional binary oppositions can allow” ¹²⁵ .	
		Stuart Hall	1997	“Culture is about shared meaning. Culture involves the practice of giving meaning to people, objects and events. They carry meanings and values that need to be interpreted by others. Culture produces meaning or a sense of identity of different groups in a society, and these groups exchange meaning through social interactions” ¹²⁶ .	Jamaica/Africa
		Foucault Michel	2001	“Culture as ‘a hierarchical organization of values, accessible to everybody, but at the same time the occasion of a mechanism of selection and exclusion” ¹²⁷ .	France
II	Culture as a Symbolic System	Davis and Dollard	1940	“Differences between groups are in their cultures and their social heritage. Men behave differently as adults because their cultures are different; they are born into different habitual ways of life, and these they must follow because they have no choice” ¹²⁸ .	USA
		Sutherland & Woodward	1940	“Culture includes everything that can be communicated from one generation to another. The culture of a people is their social heritage, a ‘complex whole’ which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, techniques of tool fabrication and use and method of communication” ¹²⁹ .	USA
		Bain. R	1942	“Culture is all behavior mediated by symbols” ¹³⁰ .	USA

¹²⁵ Homi. K Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

¹²⁶ Hall. S, *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, ed. (London: Sage Publication Ltd, 1997), p. 185.

¹²⁷ I. A Davidson, *Hermeneutics of the subject: Lecture at the College de France 1981-1982*. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2005), pp. 169-186.

¹²⁸ A. Davis & J. Dollard, *Children of bondage: the personality development of Negro youth in the urban South* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1940), p. 4.

¹²⁹ R. L Sutherland & J. L Woodward, *An Introduction to Sociology*, 2nd ed. (J.B Chicago: Lippincott, 1940), p. 19.

¹³⁰ R. Bain, “A definition of Culture,” *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 17, (1942), 87-94.

		Leslie Alvin White	1943	“Culture is the name of a distinct order or class of phenomena, namely, those things and events that are dependent upon the exercise of a mental ability, peculiar to the human species, that we have termed ‘symboling’. To be more specific, culture consists of material objects, tools, utensils, ornaments, amulets, etc., acts, beliefs and attitudes that function in contexts characterized by symboling. It is an elaborate mechanism, an organization of exo-somatic ways and means employed by a particular animal species, i.e., humans, in the struggle for existence or survival” ¹³¹ .	USA
		Howard Becker	1950	“A culture is the relatively constant nonmaterial content transmitted in a society by means of processes of sociation” ¹³² .	USA

”

Culture as an Ideological Tool

Culture is a set of norms and values governing human behaviour. Ideology is the intellectual dimension that is revealed through cultural practices. Ideology rationalizes sets the activities and thereby sets new values and beliefs. The post-colonial writers like, Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak and Homi K. Bhabha developed discourses on culture in respect of ideology and power. For them, culture is a sphere of discourse and the dominant impose certain values and beliefs over the subordinated through cultural constructs¹³³. Therefore, culture

¹³¹ L. A White, “Energy and the Evolution of Culture,” *American Anthropologist*, Vol.45, No. 3 (1943), p. 363.

¹³² H. Becker, *Trough Values to Social Interpretation* (Durham: Duke University, 1950), p. 251.

¹³³ Edward. Said, *The World, the Text and the Critic* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press: 1983), p. 9.

becomes a description of collective agency¹³⁴ and thereby, “cultures can be understood to interact, transgress, and transform each other in a much more complex manner than the traditional binary oppositions”¹³⁵. For Michel Foucault¹³⁶, culture is “a hierarchical organisation of values, accessible to everybody”. In the process, “culture is about shared meaning, culture involves the practices of giving meaning to people, objects and events”¹³⁷.

Culture as a Symbolic System

Culture is embedded in symbols and various behaviours and actions are regulated by them. A symbol is a thing that stands for a thing. In fact, culture is mediated through symbols. Signs are expressed in three forms: i.e., i) iconic, ii) indexical and iii) symbolic. Iconic signs are mostly found in cultural practices connected with religion and politics. Gods, goddesses and famous political personalities are iconically produced and given reverence. Indexical signs are more regulatory in nature and used in almost all public places. Symbolic signs are in use in all cultures and, in fact, culture is identified with such symbolic signs. According to White¹³⁸ symbol is “the name of a distinct order, or class, of phenomena, namely, those things and events that are dependent upon the exercise of a mental ability, peculiar to the human species, that we have termed symboling”. All symbols are bound by perceptions and therefore represent a system of culture.

Conclusion

¹³⁴ Gayatri Chakravorty. Spivak et. al, “Rhetoric and Cultural Explanation: A Discussion with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak,” *Journal of Advanced Composition*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1990), 293-304.

¹³⁵ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

¹³⁶ I A. Davidson, *Hermeneutics of the subject: Lecture at the College de France 1981-1982*. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2005), pp. 169-186.

¹³⁷ S. Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, ed. (London: Sage Publication Ltd, 1997), p. 185.

¹³⁸ L. A White, “Energy and the Evolution of Culture,” *American Anthropologist*, Vol.45, No. 3 (1943), p. 363.

To sum up, as discussed above different perspectival discourses on culture and politics, it can be inferred that though the word culture is used in noun form, the definitions of culture are mostly adjectival (cultural) in their explanation. If culture is viewed as noun it has to be related to an object(s), thing(s) or substance(s) connected with physical or metaphysical realms. If so, objects, things and substances shared among the people of a group becomes the definition of culture. This argument jeopardizes the notion of egalitarianism associated with culture. In fact, it hierarchies the people into smaller group within a culture as dominated or marginalized which eventually becomes a point of discourse. This discourse put forth the idea that culture is a structural phenomenon which broadly comes from the Saussurean idea of linguistics. Alfred Kroeber, the American anthropologist used very much this idea to promote the concept of “superorganic” based on “substantialism”. By this argument the term culture is gradually shifted the usage from noun to adjectival form. As adjectival form culture becomes context sensitive and therefore, viewed as mentalist enterprise of presenting it as formal and binary structural feature with the help of textual constructions.

The most important quality of the concept of culture is that it is not universal but relative having certain unique qualities. In other words, ‘difference’ is the paradigm in culture. Only by identifying differences and similarities in cultural categories such as gender, class, caste etc., that a cultural group’s uniqueness can be ascertained. Ecology and environment influence cultural factors and contribute for distinctiveness. Added to this, ideological influences born out of experiences also contribute for such distinctiveness in culture. This dimension is very crucial for understanding culture. Therefore, substance as found in objects alone cannot make culture but also ideological factors contribute to culture.

Group identity is crucial for making distinctiveness in cultural traits. Each group evolves their own cultural practices over a period of time and passes them on to ensuing generations. This eventually led to distinct identity of a group. The distinct identity of a group is considered as the parameter for forming ethnicity. The concept of ethnic is associated initially with race but later with native

communities. Therefore, culture is not a universal phenomenon based on certain cultural “artefacts” but also include “mentifacts” that a cultural group developed through the passage of time. Hence, culture becomes part of self-conception and self-perception of “nationality, ethnicity, and locality” connected with communal and religious groups. When politics are made out of culture, then it becomes a tool in the hands of political parties for electoral and other gains. It is much easier to unite people in a given region based on cultural identities in relation to the other region having different culture. Regional parties in such circumstances do politics projecting cultural variations to subvert linguistic regions. The forthcoming chapter discusses issues connected with parties and politics in relation to culture.

CHAPTER - III

Parties and Politics: Towards Construction of 'Culture' as a Tool

Introduction

Culture is very much associated with life. From most utmost devotion to most material, culture comprises faiths, customs, and byways of living; also, it earned a directing our times¹. Individual beings generate a practice concurrently; culture does individuals individual². The vital part of the culture is the religious beliefs and figurative appearance. Indian culture is the most prominent ancient culture in the world. Primary, old-fashioned cultures similar to Egypt, Greece, and Rome etc., did destroy. However, Indian Culture yet exists even now due to fundamental moral values that the country followed till date³. Moreover, the saintly pedagogy from Buddha and Mahavir to till date inspired the value of divinity, faith in *karma*, reincarnation, truth, nonviolence, purity, no stealing, and no acquisitiveness etc. This is the only reason Indian Culture is present until today⁴.

Concept of National State

The concept of State is fundamentally based on the notion of nation with federal governance having some self-governing institutions along with a constitutional Government. A government can solely act on behalf of its subjects' welfare. A national-state means a nation whose fundamental duty implies a social self-identity that we call a country or nationality. Because a state is the feeling of a nation, there is barely one state to every nation and only one nation. Since a standard

¹ Romila Thapar, *Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 1-5.

² D. Prasad Mukerji, *Modern Indian Culture: A Sociological Study* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 1948); 2nd ed., pp. 31-32.

³ S. C Malik, *Understanding Indian Civilisation: A Framework of Enquiry* (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1975).

⁴ G. C Pande, *Foundations of Indian Culture: Dimensions of Ancient Indian Social History*, Vol. II (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1984), pp. 8-15.

language is necessary during active communication, countries do usually identify by one lingo. However, diverse nations that express the related language, such as Britain and Ireland or Spain and Mexico, still are pretty separate. Wherever different languages are talked in a nation-state, identity is usually adequate. In extension to language, a nation is built by yielded memory of past issues and social factors of all kinds, previously mentioned as social organizations, literature, media, sports contests, political parties, and educational and political systems. Overall, the inhabitants of every nation produce a universal thought of whatever it is to apply to it and anything it requires of them. Whatsoever goes up the world's countries, there is none doubt of their existence.

In annexed to a feeling of nationality, including the social and cultural foundation that sustains it, a nation is described by a unique federal system or State and an organizational composition that administers that Government's directions. The legislative method contains an executive, Government, and judiciary, which may function poorly or adequately, may or may not correspond to receive statutory rules, possibly solely centralized or somewhat devolved to territories. Their officials may or may not be allowed during the nation's region. Nevertheless, they remain in all countries besides those significantly less in a state of civil war, turmoil, or political dependence. In prevailing, they have two significant features: sovereign and legitimate. The ideas of sovereignty and legitimacy need a nation-state because, with its creation, the leading loyalty of a population is to its nation. Considering there is only one State for every country, one domain cannot be politically dominated by another. We, hence, become the legitimate theory of supremacy, whereby a nation-state is not below the statutory jurisdiction of any other organisation. Because faith is to the nation as a cultural notion, the Council must be acquired by the people as the reliable source of the nation's power. Therefore, we own the political thought of legitimacy, which such a well-constituted Authority owns. Legitimacy is accomplished by legal means through creation of Constitution. The merest elements designate wherewith a State is drafted and discarded and what stamina it keeps. Usually, the Government covers various forms such as an executive, legislature, judiciary, and central and provincial Authorities; the Constitution delimits their

competencies. In accession to identifying the regulatory groups, each of their strengths and competencies must more hold legitimate.

Romantic Nationalism

The idea of 'Nationalism' was further strengthened when a move to improve Indian folklore. During the late nineteenth century, India started documenting folk tales composed with bards; also, people travelled to communities to collect folk songs and legends. People who understood those tales provided a precise understanding of popular culture altered and broken by external units. It was crucial to protect the folk tradition, recognize individual national integrity, and rebuild a spirit of pride in one's history. Before talking about Nationalism, Indian political parties, and customs, we have to study Romantic Nationalism, including its creation. British folklore started with studies on "old-fashioned customs, manners and oral traditions with the name, 'popular antiquities' and later it was replaced with the term, 'folklore' by William Thoms in 1846". With the onset of the discipline of Anthropology in late nineteenth century, folklore gained attention based on the studies of Edward Burnett Tylor, Andrew Lang and Laurence Gomme. They considered folklore as relics of past originating from peasant societies. Those who practice folklore are considered as 'Survivals' living among peasantry. Both English and American Folklorists analyzed 'Survivals' and the past forms of peasant lore. Toward the mainland, the importance of folklore arts started shortly following a distinct route. People started to develop passionate nationalistic changes during the course of history and scholars and patriots examined the folklore documents of the history not merely to observe the notion of Nation but also the idea that is percolated and disseminated through verbal and non-verbal expressive traditions. Such historians gathered and analyzed the artefacts initially to explore ancient modes of life and later to understand the present.

Ideas of Nationalism were too advanced by a drift to strengthen folklore. The word 'Nationalism' was not clearly outlined by scholars. Hans Kohn described it as a "state of mind which supreme loyalty of individual is felt to be due to the nation-

state”⁵. According to Carlton Hayes, nationalism is “a fusion of patriotism with consciousness of nationality wherein a group of people who speak either the same language or closely related dialects, cherish common historical tradition, and constitute or think that they form a distinct cultural society”⁶. Patriots are obliged their loyalty to Nation-State owing to their ethnic values. Both notions on Nationalism substantiate to the idea of community bondage based on shared folklore. Even in countries of Western Europe and United States of America, nationalism upsurge was noticed during the last decade of eighteenth century. This was concomitant with Age of Enlightenment related to Liberal and Humanist Philosophies. Rousseau’s “doctrine of popular sovereignty and his regard for ordinary people as the faithful depository of revitalization found a place in the manifestos of the French and the American Revolutions”. Different nations are marching forward to achieve such rights won by American and French people in recent times. Kohn stated that, “nationalism of the French Revolution was a triumphant expression of rational faith in common humanity and liberal progress. The famous slogan of liberty, equality, fraternity and declaration of rights of citizens considered lawful not only to French people but also to all others”⁷.

Within Central Europe and East Europe, a strange drift in the Romantic Nationalism was found. In those regions of the West where people were culturally and politically weak, national borders rarely coincided with existing States. Nationalism grew an action not so prominent to guard the self upon the inequalities from an autocratic state as an effort to redraw administrative borders to provide a place for ethnic groups. To do particular, the followers of nationalism carried up Rousseau’s idea of popular sovereignty. However, nations equate that, “every country is a different organic entity diverse from all other nations. An individual can fulfill himself only to the degree that he is faithful to that nation of which he is merely a part. Thus, the individual is placed subordinate to the will of the nation and the idea

⁵ Hans. Kohn and Craig. Calhoun, Chap. 2, “Israel and Hellas,” *The Idea Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background*, 1st ed. (New York: Rutledge, 2005), pp. 25-60.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

of service to nation-State has gained prominence. The Romantic Nationalism emphasized passion, instinct and shared aspirations, whereas Liberal Nationalism stressed reason and national differences”. Construction of Nations based on traditions and myths i.e., folklore, became tool for Romantic Nationalism. The political realities of the present are not much taken note of in construction of Nationalism.

German philosopher, Gottfried von Herder propounded Romantic Nationalism idea⁸. During its commencement stages, the Romantic Nationalism was a tiny idea added to philosophers’ and poets’ continuous scholarship and promotion to alight the sparkle of national awareness in their inert nationals. Similarly, Kohn explains that, “they became the voice and the conscience of their people, interpreting their history or mission and shaping their character and personality”⁹. They develop the idea of ‘nation’. Herder, rendering the idea of Montesquieu stated that, “nation has sketched with the mountain ranges she formed and with the rivers she made flow from them the rough but definite outline of the entire history of man. One height created a nation of hunters, thus supporting and obliging a savage state; another, more spread out and mild, provided a field for shepherd peoples and supplied them with tame animals; another made agriculture easy and essential; still, another began with navigation and fishing and led finally to trade. In many regions, the customs and ways of life have continued for millennia; in others, they have changed but are always in accord with the terrain from which the change came. Oceans, mountain chains, and rivers are the most natural boundaries of lands and peoples, customs, languages, and empires. Even in the most remarkable revolutions of human affairs, they have been the guiding lines and the limits of world history”¹⁰.

Another dimension pointed out by Herder is that, “ancient characters of nations arose from family traits, the climate, the way of life and education (tradition) from the early transactions and deeds peculiar to them. The customs of the fathers took deep root and became the internal prototypes of the race. Since no two nations

⁸ Jeffrey. Grossman, “Herder and the Language of Diaspora Jewry,” *Monatshefte*, Spring, Vol. 86, No.1 (1994), 59-79.

⁹ Hans. Kohn and Craig. Calhoun, Chap. 2, “Israel and Hellas,” *The Idea Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background*, 1st ed. (New York: Rutledge, 2005), pp. 35-50.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-70.

had shared familiar environments and histories, no two countries could share common characters”¹¹. Herder viewed that development, education and thinking are part of the human genetic order. Therefore, every human being in his spirit has a ‘nationality’. Individuals achieve their redemption only by forming as Nation. For Aristotle, “man was made for life in the City-State”¹²; to Giambattista Vico “man was made for civilisation”; to Herder “man is made for humanity”. According to Herder, “humanity is a character of our race, which we do not bring with us ready made into this world, but in this world, it must be the goal of our values”¹³.

According to Enlightenment historians, since each Nationality is influenced by history, man’s part is to fight for construction of Nation with the principles set down by nature and history. In upholding a status, a Nation’s laws are essential to create Nation’s cultural spirit based on geographical conditions. Considering those circumstances depart from country to country, there are no divine laws but have simply nationwide rules. In the spirit of laws and government, every State must develop into a nationality in accordance with its own natural intelligence in tune with its social designs. At the same time, as Alexander Gillies pointed out having universal moral, individuals must achieve what it is possible to attain in given circumstances¹⁴. To construct a ‘Nation’, an attempt has to be made to develop cultural foundation which is based on continuity of past without breaking Nation’s organic unity. Otherwise, obstructing native cultural practices will ultimately lead to the death of the ‘nation’. Herder stated that, “stability of the nation creates and continues to grow in itself, it provides a distinct way to all the efforts of its affiliates. The masses, as they have not found themselves, must seek their salvation in foreign nations by serving them”¹⁵.

¹¹ F. M Barnard, *Cultural Nationalism and Political Romanticism*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), pp. 38-65.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 67-70.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-84.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-16.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-30.

According to the Romantic Nationalists¹⁶, “nations could arrive in society only if they remained true to their national characters or souls. Each country, then, by developing its language, art, literature, religion, customs, and laws, all of which were expressions of the rational soul, would be working not only for its strength and unity but also for the well-being of whole society. A nation has nothing more valuable than the language of its fathers. It lives its entire spiritual treasury of tradition, history, religion, and principles of life, all its heart and soul. To deprive such a nation of its language, or to demean it, is to deprive it of its sole immortal possession transmitted from parents to children”.

Romantic Nationalism is based on folklore inclination as explained by Herder. According to Herder, “each nation, is by nature and by history, a distinct organic unit with its own unique culture; that a nation, to survive as a nation, as well as to contribute to the development of humanity as a whole, must cultivate this national culture, developing it along lines laid down by experience; that the total cultural and historical pattern of a people the national soul is expressed best in folk poetry; and that should the continuity of a nation's development be interrupted the only road to salvation lies in collecting the folk poetry surviving from the time of the disruption, using it to restore to the nation its national soul, and thus making possible its future development on its foundation”¹⁷.

Romantic nationalists, like the British and American folklorists, considered folklore objects as “survivals of the past”. Although the goal is for historical restorations based on survivals, it tried to build history and renew it for the growth of their nations. Still, their past attainments have motivated other dependent countries to explore ancient reasons for their separatist principles. Consequently, the same inspiring slogans concerning magnificent national histories, including noble plans that once led the Europeans nations to act, are resonating today with the African and the Asian nations. Therefore, folklore as an analytical tool would not merely be a form of custom to analyze, but more as a dynamic unit to construct nationalistic tendencies of Nineteenth Century.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-50.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-65.

In the backdrop of romantic nationalism in Europe and elsewhere, nations were born in Asia and Africa in opposition to colonial rule of the West. The spirit of nationalism in India resulted in long freedom struggle against the rule of the British. The national leaders projected India as one nation and one culture having ethos drawn from Vedic customs and epic traditions. Indian rulers did rule the Sub-Continent with much efficiency and even produced golden ages during their dynastic rule. As a result of continuous struggle, the British left the Sub-Continent, leaving political power to the hands of Indian leaders. However, the British stereotyped several of their political and legal institutions while ruling India. One such strong political system is related to party system for electoral gains. Parliament and legislative houses are the invention of the British. So too the Constitution for legalizing the governance.

Election Commission and Political Party System

The regulatory framework established by the Election commission of India makes it mandatory for all registered political parties to have basic organizational structures in place. As a prerequisite for registration, parties have to file their written constitution with the commission; they have to submit documents pertaining to their internal organizational elections; and they have to provide detailed accounting of their revenues and expenditures. India's election authority, the ECI, classifies all political parties as "National," "State," or "registered unrecognised" parties. If a party meets one of two criteria in a State, the ECI "recognises" the party in that State. The first criterion is that a party must have been active for at least five years and won at least 1/25 (one twenty-fifth) Lok Sabha seats of the State or 1/13 (one thirtieth) Vidhan Sabha (Legislative Assembly) seats of the State. The criterion for recognition of a party is that it must have won at least 6% of State-level vote in either National or State elections. Parties that fail to meet either criterion in any State are designated "registered unrecognized". Parties that meet one of these criteria in four or more States are classified as "national parties". Parties that meet the criteria in one, two, or three States are "State" parties. In practice, using the ECI's classifications and treating State parties, unrecognized parties, and independents as regional parties

produces a fairly similar picture of both longitudinal and subnational variation in India.

Political Party System: Clientelism and Programmatic Types

In India regional parties can be classified into two types i.e., 1) regional parties based on programmatic agenda and 2) regional parties formed on the basis of clientelistic means. Regional parties which came to power based on programmatic agenda in their manifesto become successful for adopting populist programmes. In regional parties which follow clientelistic means their elite members basically designing manifestos of the party and it is they who make calculations of winning vote bank. Mostly regional parties such as AAP (Aam Admi Party) and YSRCP (Yuvajana Shramika Rythu Congress Party) which came to power recently in Delhi and Andhra Pradesh respectively followed programmatic agenda with packages of popular welfare schemes. Regional parties which depended on clientelism are mostly recruited members from their 'mother' party by separating itself from main stream National or State party. Several regional parties such as TMC (Trinamool Congress) party, JD Secular (Janatha Dal) Party, AIDMK (All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) Party vow their existence to the mother party and due to rebellion, the founders formed new regional parties. However, those party cadres which joined the newly regional parties became virtually clientel of regional parties.

In both clientelism and programmatic party system, Elites determine which kind of parties are electorally successful. They do so not by determining how voters vote but rather by determining whether the parties that voters vote for are regional or national. In some countries the primary means through which parties secure votes is clientelism, which is a strategy for winning electoral support through the discretionary allocation of funds from State treasury. This definition of clientelism is border than many, encompassing a wide variety of non-programmatic strategies that may include buying votes in exchange for money, soliciting support in return for highly targeted club goods that can be withdrawn from non-supporters, offering patronage jobs to cement the loyalty of supporters, or instilling in voters a sense of hope that one's party is a voter's best bet for securing particularized access to the

State. Clientelistic politics differs from programmatic politics in which parties garner support largely based on their platforms, messages, or expected policy-making behaviors in office. Under programmatic politics, parties strive to offer voters a unique bundle of policies or promises, on the basis of which they solicit votes. When politics is programmatic, a party's type matters greatly in determining whether voters will vote for it or not. A left-wing party will not win many votes in a place where most voters favor free markets. Voters will not vote for a nativist party in a context where immigration is virtually nonexistent or not a politically salient issue.

Clientelism is occurring when political parties and politicians win electoral support through discretionary allocation of funds from State exchequer¹⁸. This understanding of clientelism is very broad and should not be narrowly constructed as synonymous with vote buying. Individualized distribution involves parties and politicians targeting specific individuals for benefit, not broad classes of people, such as women, youth, poor farmers and minorities¹⁹. Parties can also target very small groups of voters, such as families or residents of a particular street, building, or small neighborhood, without necessarily sacrificing the spirit of individualization that underlies clientelism. When distribution is discretionary, it occurs on a case-by-case basis as a result of ad hoc decision made by parties and politicians. 'Clientelism' contrasts with 'Programmatic' politics wins electoral support through rule-bound allocation of funds from State exchequer to all groups in society. In other words, programmatic politics occur when political parties and politicians win elections through promise of welfare schemes in their election manifestos. These policies are usually framed as rules that affect all citizens or certain classes of citizens equally.

A region refers to a country's political regions, usually understood as the subnational political units such as States, Provinces or Union Territories below the

¹⁸ For detailed understanding of redistributive politics and the terms like "non-programmatic politics" and "clientelism", See, Susan C. Stokes, *et. al*, *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 6-18.

¹⁹ Kanchan. Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Headcounts in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

level of Nation State²⁰. So long as its votes are geographically concentrated, a regional party can contest and win votes in multiple regions. Moreover, these regions do not need to be geographically contiguous. For instance, Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPM) have strongholds in three non-contiguous States in India (Kerala, Tripura, and West Bengal). In 2014 Lok Sabha elections, CPM won nearly 88% of its votes in these three States. Outside of these States, CPM's presence is limited.

India's regional parties openly identify with a specific region and typically confine their political activity to either a single State or a small set of contiguous States. However, India's regional parties vary considerably in the extent to which they actively demand greater regional autonomy for their region and make regionalist appeals central to their messages. At one extreme, radical factions of Punjab's Akali Dal have espoused secessionist demands aimed at the creation of a Sikh State, Khalistan²¹. In the 1970s, National Conference politicized Kashmir identity and advocated genuinely autonomist position that bordered on secessionist²². In the years since the insurgency in Kashmir has subsided, National Conference and its new rival, Jammu and Kashmir People's Democratic Party (JKPDP), have both sought to win support from voters with separatist leaning but without openly advocating separatism²³.

²⁰ Fearon D. James and Pieter Van. Houten, "The Politicization of Cultural and Economic Difference," *Paper Presented at the fifth meeting of the Laboratory in Comparative Ethic Processes (LiCEP)*, (Stanford, 2002), May, 10-11; Dawn Brancati, "The Origins and Strength of Regional Parties," *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2008), 135-159; See, Dawn. Brancati, "Winning Alone: The electoral Fate of Independent Candidates Worldwide," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 70, No. 3 (2008), 648-662; Dawn Brancati, *Peace by Design: Managing Intrastate Conflict through Decentralization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

²¹ Virginia Van Dyke, "The Khalistan Movement in Punjab, India, and the Post-Militancy Era: Structural Change and New Political Compulsions," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 46, No. 6 (2009), 975-997.

²² Reeta Tremblay Chowdhari, "Elections in Kashmir: A Question of Pragmatism," in *Indian Politics and the 1998 Election: Regionalism, Hindutva and State Politics*, ed. Ramashray Roy and Paul Wallace. Sage Publication, pp. 309-339. New Delhi, 1999.

²³ Rekha. Chowdhary, "Electoral Politics in the Context of Separatism and Political Divergence: An Analysis of 2009 Parliamentary Elections in Jammu & Kashmir," *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, Vol. 3 (2009), 1-27.

In Tamil Nadu, DMK notionally advocating secession during the 1950's and early 1960's though doubt remains about the sincerity of its demands²⁴. Since then, the DMK and its offshoot, Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK), have continued to make Tamil nationalism a central feature of their party identities²⁵. In 2004 at the behest of DMK, central government declared Tamil a "classical language," a largely symbolic move with few practical implications²⁶. MDMK has also lent a long-standing support to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) insurgency in Sri Lanka²⁷. Nevertheless, neither party has done much to press central government to increase autonomy for India's States even though DMK was part of central government for most of the period from 1996 to 2014.

At the opposite end of the regional spectrum State parties confined their contestation to a single region and pay lip service to regional identity but actually did very little to make regionalism a central component of their appeals and mobilization tactics. Such parties include TDP in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana and AIADMK in Tamil Nadu²⁸. Telangana was part of Andhra Pradesh, when TDP was formed. In 1982 the founder of TDP, Telugu film star N.T. Rama Rao emphasized the need to protect Telugu pride against the central government's meddling in State affairs²⁹. Even then, however, TDP's regional nationalist message was fairly muted, drowned out by the party's populist appeals and its attempt to maintain friendly relations with central government³⁰. AIADMK was founded in 1972 by Tamil film star MG Ramachandran (known as MGR), whom the DMK had expelled from its ranks.

²⁴ Marguerite Ross. Barnett, *The Politics of Cultural Nationalism in South India* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976).

²⁵ Narendra Subramanian, *Ethnicity and Populist Mobilization: Political Parties, Citizens, and Democracy in South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999); Andrew. Wyatt, *Party System Change in South India: Political Entrepreneurs, Patterns, and Processes* (Abingdon UK: Routledge, 2010).

²⁶ *The Hindu*, "Tamil to Be a Classical Language," (September-18, 2004).

²⁷ M. R Venkatesh, "Pro-L.T.T.E Overtones at M.D.M.K Meet," *The Hindu*, (July-2, 2000); *The Hindu*, "Lift Ban on L.T.T.E, Say M.D.M.K Lawyers," (June-26, 2011).

²⁸ The Telangana was part of Andhra Pradesh, when T.D.P was formed.

²⁹ Atul Kohli, "The NTR Phenomenon in Andhra Pradesh: Political Change in a South Indian State," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 28, No. 10 (1988), 991-1017.

³⁰ K C. Suri, "Andhra Pradesh: Fall of the CEO in Arena of Democracy," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 51 (2004), 5493-5497.

Although the party ostensibly presents itself as an heir to the social movement namely, Dravidian Movement, a combining Tamil linguistic nationalism and anti-Brahmin rhetoric, AIADMK has “fashioned a looser version of cultural nationalism”³¹, focusing on a populist agenda³² and, in its early years, MGR’s pro-poor image³³.

India’s regional parties have not fundamentally altered Indian federalism. Their primary achievements have been securing additional fiscal transfers to the States in which they are based when they are members of the national-level coalition government³⁴. However, the Supreme Court judgement in *S.R. Bommai v. the Union of India* curbed central intervention in state politics³⁵.

India’s regional parties have been far more successful in pushing central government to redraw its internal boundaries to create additional States. In 1960s, Akali Dal successfully advocated for creation of a majority Punjabi-speaking State from the existing State of Punjab. The linguistic justification for the demand was widely seen as cover for Akali Dal’s true desire for a Sikh-majority State³⁶. In 2000, central government acceded to the demands of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) and Uttarakhand Kranti Dal (UKKD) for the creation of the Jharkhand (from the State of

³¹ Andrew. Wyatt, *Party System Change in South India: Political Entrepreneurs, Patterns, and Processes* (Abingdon UK: Routledge, 2010), p. 37.

³² Narendra. Subramanian, *Ethnicity and Populist Mobilization: Political Parties, Citizens, and Democracy in South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999).

³³ M. S. S Pandian, *The Image Trap: M.G. Ramachandran in Film and Politics* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1992).

³⁴ Sridharan. Eswaran, “Coalitions and Party Strategies in India’s Parliamentary Federation,” *Publius*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (2003), 147-148; See, Jonathan. Rodden and Steven. Wilkinson, *The Shifting Political Economy of Distribution in the Indian Federation* (Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Duke University, 2004).

³⁵ Virginia. Van Dyke, “The Khalistan Movement in Punjab, India, and the Post-Militancy Era: Structural Change and New Political Compulsions,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 46, No. 6 (2009), 975-997.

³⁶ Paul R. Brass, *Factional Politics in an Indian State: The Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); See, Jugdep S. Chima “The Punjab Crisis: Governmental Centralization and Akali Center Relations,” *Asian Survey* Vol. 34, No. 10 (1994), 847-862.

Bihar) and Uttarakhand (from the State of Uttar Pradesh), respectively³⁷. JMM has remained an important part of Jharkhand's politics, though UKKD has faded in importance. Most recently, the central government created the state of Telangana in 2014 from the state of Andhra Pradesh.

Regional parties in India projected nativist or sons-of-the-soil claim for defending the interests of so-called indigenous groups against migrants from other parts of the country. The first major example of such a party in India was Shiv Sena which sought to improve economic condition of Maharashtrians in the city of Mumbai and diminish economic dominance of South Indian migrants³⁸. The party later expanded across the State of Maharashtra. Raj Thackeray, nephew of Shiv Sena's founder, established Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS) in 2006 which also adopted a nativist rhetoric demonizing North Indian migrants³⁹. Following dismal performances in 2014 Lok Sabha elections and subsequent Maharashtra State's elections, the MNS's long-term future is unclear. Finally, the AGP was founded in 1985 by student leaders who had spearheaded major protests against the migration of Muslim Bangladeshis into Assam⁴⁰. For many years afterward, the AGP enjoyed considerable support among Assamese-speakers (both Hindu and Muslim) as well as indigenous tribal groups. However, the AGP's recent loss of support among all of these groups has cast doubt on its position as one of Assam's major parties⁴¹.

A regional party can span the entirety of a region (or multiple regions), a part of a region, a locality, or even a single ward or polling booth. Thus, regional parties can vary considerably in their breadth. For example, the "All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul

³⁷ Louise. Tillin, *Remapping India: New States and Their Political Origins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

³⁸ Ram. Joshi, "The Shiv sena: A movement in Search of Legitimacy," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 10, No. 11 (1970), 967-978; See, Mary Fainsod. Katzenstein, *Ethnicity and Equality: The Shiv Sena Party and Preferential Policies in Bombay* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1979).

³⁹ Vaibhav. Purandare, "Shiv vs. Sena," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 25 (2009), 18-20; See, Hindustan Times, "Chronology: MNS's Trade against North Indians," (February-2, 2010).

⁴⁰ S. Baruah, "The State and Separatist Militancy in Assam: Winning a Battle and Losing the War?," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 34, No. 10 (1994), 863-877.

⁴¹ N G. Mahanta, "Lok Sabha Elections in Assam: Shifting of Traditional Votes Bases to BJP," *Economic and Political weekly*, Vol. 49, No. 35 (2014), 19-22.

Muslimeen (AIMIM)” is a tiny political party in the Southern State of Telangana. Historically, AIMIM has mostly confined its electoral activities to the city of Hyderabad, winning most of its support from the city’s sizeable Muslim population⁴². Although AIMIM is not present throughout the State of Telangana, it is a regional party, just like Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS), which is active in the State. A regional party is a political party that overtly represents itself as the champion of one particular region (or some regions) based on regional or religious sentiments⁴³. Virtually every regional party is also provincial party since regionalist parties confine their electoral contestation to the region. However, many regional parties are not regionalist parties. Parties can have geographically concentrated support bases without presenting themselves as the champions of a particular region. Both CPM and AIMIM are examples of non-regionalist regional parties since neither makes region central to their electoral appeals. CPM is an avowedly communist party, while AIMIM is primarily a religious party⁴⁴. Thus, the category of regional parties includes both regionalist parties and non-regionalist regional parties.

Party System: Institutionalization of Party organization

In spite of the apparent convergence towards institutionalization of party organizations, Indian political parties have had different experiences with and followed different models of, party organization over time. The three old national parties that have had the longest institutional continuity are Congress, BJP and CPI. Congress party was built as a mass party, BJP and CPI were formed as cadre-based

⁴² The detailed understanding of A.I.M.I.M party work and A.I.M.I.M has fielded candidates in national and state elections outside of Telangana. Recently, the party has begun contesting municipal elections outside Hyderabad as well, See, Mohammed. Wajihuddin, “New Kid on the Block: M.I.M Steps Out of Nizamland, Enters Maharashtra,” *Times of India*, October 11. <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/specials/assemblyelections2014/maharashtra-news.New-kid-on-the-block-MIM-steps-out-ofNizamland-entersMaharashtra/articleshow/44779915.cms> (accessed October 12, 2014).

⁴³ Definition of an ethnic party, See, Kanchan. Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Headcounts in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁴⁴ Rasheeduddin. Khan., “Muslim Leadership and electoral Politics in Hyderabad: A Patterns of Minorities Articulation-I,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 40, No. 6 (1971), 691-712.

organizations⁴⁵. Congress and BJP have maintained their respective organizational principles, whereas CPI modified its cadre structure at its 1958 Congress in Amritsar at which the party resolved to become a mass party capable of winning national elections⁴⁶.

The organizational framework of Congress was designed to prepare the party for the task of governing after the end of British rule. Therefore, the party's organizational units reflected the administrative structure of the Indian State rather than the allocation of electoral boundaries⁴⁷. Every State in India got divided into administrative districts (*Zilas*), which were different from and much larger than the individual electoral districts. Along the *zila and Pradesh* lines Congress Party organized its administrative units. State (*Pradesh*) Congress committee, as opposed to the constituency associations, was in charge of implementing the strategic directives of the party high command at the local level as well as making recommendations for the nominations of candidates in the electoral districts. According to Singh, "in the India National Congress party... while the national and state party organizations seem to reflect a fair degree of branch type structural formalization and articulation, the districts and sub-districts local party organizations fall closer to the 'machine-type' party organizations"⁴⁸. It is further indicative of the high level of institutional development that characterized the organization of Congress Party in the first post-independence decades wherein no Prime Minister from Congress party occupied the post of party president simultaneously during 1954 to 1978⁴⁹. As a result,

⁴⁵ Yogendra K Malik, & V. B Singh, *Hindu Nationalist in India: The Rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1994), p. 140.

⁴⁶ Valerian Rodriguez, "The Communist Party of India," in *India's Political Parties*, ed. Peter Ronald de Souza & E. Sridharan. (Sage Publications, pp. 199-252. New Delhi, 2006), p. 228.

⁴⁷ Myron Weiner, *Party Building in a new Nations: The Indian National Congress* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 40-41; See, Stanley. A Kochanek, *The Congress Party of India: The Dynamics of One-Party Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. xxi-xxii.

⁴⁸ Mahendra Prasad Singh, *Split in a Predominant Party: The Indian National Congress in 1969* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publication, 1981), pp. 28-29.

⁴⁹ For detailed understanding of the division and separation of internal functions as part of institutionalization, See, Angelo. Panebianco, *Political Parties: Organization and Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

institutionalization prevailed over the personalization of political leadership and power within the party.

This high level of institutionalization, however, was methodically undermined by the new political process created by Indira Gandhi, who adopted a more personal and plebiscitary style of leadership⁵⁰. Under Indira Gandhi's leadership (1966-1984), Congress Party suffered severe internal deinstitutionalization: organizational elections were abandoned and decision making in both party and government was centralized in the office of prime minister⁵¹. Breaking with the past norms, Indira Gandhi assumed the posts of both of prime minister and Congress president between 1978 and 1984. In fact, this practice was continued by successive Congress Prime Ministers namely, Rajiv Gandhi (1985-1991) and Narasimha Rao (1992-1996). This trend came to an end only in 2004 when Congress President Sonia Gandhi ceded the prime minister-ship to Manmohan Singh following intense pressure and criticism from the opposition over her Italian nationality.

In 1984, after assassination of Indira Gandhi, her son Rajiv Gandhi tried to reform Congress Party on assuming leadership of both party and government. He sought to reintroduce organizational elections, pass internal reforms that would keep Congress government subordinate to Congress Party, and strengthen ideological foundation of the party by systematically training and educating party workers⁵². In an effort to weaken the opposition of the established congress elite that was strongly opposed to these plans, Rajiv Gandhi ensured that a large number of incumbent Congress legislators in both National and State legislatures would not be re-

⁵⁰ Stanley J Heginbotham, "The 1971 Revolution in Indian Voting Behavior," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 11, No. 12 (1971), 1133-1152; See, Stanley A Kochanek, "Mrs. Gandhi's Pyramid: New Congress," in *Indira Gandhi's India*, ed. Henry C. Hart. Westview Press, pp. 93-124. Boulder, 1976; See, James Manor, "Parties and the Party System," in *India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations*, ed. Atul Kohli, Princeton, pp. 62-98. Princeton University Press, 1988.

⁵¹ James Manor, "Parties and the Party System," in *India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations*, ed. Atul Kohli. Princeton University Press, p. 70. Princeton, 1988; See, Atul Kohli, *Democracy and Discontent: India's Growing Crisis of Governability* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp. 339-346.

⁵² Atul Kohli, *Democracy and Discontent: India's Growing Crisis of Governability* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) p. 345

nominated in 1984 Lok Sabha and 1985 State Assembly elections⁵³. If carried out, the planned reforms might have contributed significantly to the re-institutionalization of Congress Party in the long run. However, severe electoral reveals in State elections and staunch internal oppositions eventually led to the abandonment of these reforms. Therefore, Congress Party remained in a condition of organizational decay and deinstitutionalization.

In contrast to Congress party, BJP and CPI have not suffered from institutional decline and have been able to maintain quite strong party organizations. At the time of its (re)formation, BJP made change to both its formal structure and its key policy documents to distance itself from its predecessor, BJS (Bharatiya Jana Sangh)⁵⁴. However, the fundamental character of the party's cadre-based organization and the party's advocacy of Hindu nationalism have remained unaltered. The key leaders of the new party, such as Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Lal Kishan Advani, Vijaya Raje Scindia, and Murli Manohar Joshi were high-ranking officers of the BJS and they all had close associations with the two most important organizational supporters of the BJS i.e., Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS, National Volunteer Organization), an avowedly cultural organization with a trained cadre of followers dedicated to the observance and propagation of Hindu values and Vishwa Hindu Parishad (World Hindu Council). The RSS played an important role in the development of both the BJS and the BJP. Instead of becoming a political party itself, RSS has consistently lent the support of its organizational machinery and an ideological motivated and educated cadre to help the electoral prospects of the Hindu nationalist parties⁵⁵.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 341

⁵⁴ Bruce D. Graham, "The Challenge of Hindu Nationalism: The Bharatiya Janata Party in Contemporary Indian Politics," in *India's Political Parties*, Peter Ronald de Souza & E. Sridharan, ed. Sage Publications, p. 159. New Delhi, 2006.

⁵⁵ Yogendra K Malik and V. B Singh, *Hindu Nationalist in India: The Rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1994), pp. 158-168; See, Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); See, James Manor, "In Part, a Myth: The BJP's Organizational Strength," in *Coalition Politics and Hindu Nationalism*, ed. Katherine Adeney & Lawrence Saez. Routledge, p. 59. New York, 2005.

In contrast to Congress, BJP never allowed dual leadership of both party and government. Although the relations between the party's organization and legislative wings have been often conflictual, separation of leadership roles has allowed party organization to maintain its superiority over the party in Parliament. Further BJP has led regular organizational elections⁵⁶. Although there is no reliable data on changes in party membership over time, in early 1990's the party claimed to have about 10 million members⁵⁷.

Party organization was a central political and ideological concern to CPI. The party followed "democratic centralist" model of party organization that was proposed by the communist International from its inception to 1958⁵⁸. The organizational reforms that were passed by the party's Amritsar Congress that year aimed at relaxing the strict ideological nature of the party institutions. For example, the politburo became the Central Executive Committee and the basic organizational units, the communist cells, were transformed into branches. Interestingly, after the split of 1964, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) readopted some of these ideologically motivated organizational features while CPI continued to evolve along the mass party model⁵⁹. At the time of their split, CPI had a membership of 1.7 million versus CPM's 83,000. Twenty years later, CPI claimed only 480,000 members against CPM's 370,000⁶⁰. At the end of 1997, CPI claimed 560,723 members against CPM's 717,525⁶¹.

Of the three old national parties, Congress has suffered the most organizational stress in terms of factionalism, splits, and fission. The first major

⁵⁶ Yogendra K Malik and V. B Singh, *Hindu Nationalist in India: The Rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1994), p. 155.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁵⁸ Valerian Rodriguez, "The Communist Party of India," in *India's Political Parties*, ed. Peter Ronald de Souza & E. Sridharan, Sage Publications, p. 228. New Delhi, 2006.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 229-232.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 233-240

⁶¹ Robert L Hardgrave & Stanley. A Kochanek, *India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation* (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 2000), pp. 314-315.

schism took place in 1969 soon after Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister⁶², followed by three further splits during her leadership in 1978, 1979, and 1981. These splits resulted in formation of Indian National Congress (Indira), which remained the official Congress standard bearer; Indian National Congress (Urs); and Indian Congress Socialist respectively⁶³. In 1990's, yet another wave of split shook the party, leading to the creation of seven more Congress parties. In 1996, four new parties were formed (Karnataka Congress Party, Madhya Pradesh Vikas Congress, Congress (Tiwari) and Tamil Manila Congress), followed by Trinamool Congress in 1998, and Nationalist Congress in 1999. It is indicative of the organizational flux characterizing Indian political parties that five of these seven splinter parties have since rejoined the parent party with only Trinamool and the Nationalist Congress parties continuing their separate existence.

Among the three old national parties, BJP is the one that has not suffered any major splits and schism, which can be attributed to the dense and tightly knit network of its cadre⁶⁴. The third old national party, CPI, suffered two major schisms since its foundation in 1928. In 1964 the first break led to formation of CPM by ideologically more conservative leftist elements of the parent party. CPM quickly became the larger and politically more successful of the two parties. It established its strongholds in States of West Bengal and Kerala; in former, CPM has actually formed every State government since 1977; in the latter, it has alternated in power with Congress Party⁶⁵. Five years after its creation, CPM itself suffered a spilt when its own extremist members advocating direct revolutionary agitation and action over the moderate

⁶² Robert L Hardgrave, "The Congress in India: Crisis and Split," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1970), 256-262; See, Mahendra. Prasad Singh, *Split in a Predominant Party: The Indian National Congress in 1969* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publication, 1981), pp. 28-29.

⁶³ Oliver Mendelsohn, "The Collapse of the Indian National Congress," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 51 (1978), pp. 41-65.

⁶⁴ James Manor, "In Part, a Myth: The BJP's Organisational Strength," in *Coalition Politics and Hindu Nationalism*, ed. Katherine Adeney & Lawrence Saez, Princeton, p. 58. Princeton University Press, 2005.

⁶⁵ T J. Nossiter, *Marxist State Governments in India: Politics, Economics and Society* (London & New York: Printer Publications, 1988).

reformist approach taken by CPM. This led to formation of Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)⁶⁶.

Number of important points emerge out from this discussion on institutionalization of India's party system. On positive side, the party system continues to be dominated by longstanding and well-established parties, which keeps electoral instability at bay. On negative side, the internal organizational strength of India's established parties varies considerably, with BJP displaying a high level of organizational articulation in contrast to the disarray that characterizes Janata Dal. Furthermore, survey result reveal that Indian parties' legitimacy appears to be on the decline. Therefore, the evidence about the level of party system institutionalization is mixed.

The second main point pertains to the effects of India's anti-defection law. The law has led to a simultaneous reduction in electoral volatility and heightened fragmentation in party system by encouraging formation of smaller political parties. The effects of the anti-defection law in India are both intriguing and puzzling. The subsequent tightening of its provision in 2003 suggest continued positive impact on electoral stability in the future.

Finally, a third important point to emerge from the Indian case study is that personalized authoritarian rule may very well undermine rather than promote development of an institutionalized party system. Although India suffered only a short breakdown in its democratic rule (1975-1977), the brief authoritarian interlude under Indira Gandhi only further weakened the political institutions of the country, including political parties, which laid the foundation for future electoral instability in the world's largest democracy.

Indian Political Parties in the Era of Pre-Independence

India is a great country that has vast cultures, norms and traditions. Its past is ancient also has much diversity. Many rulers had been ruled the land. Many great rulers ruled it and made it great in ancient and medieval times including the British in

⁶⁶ Valerian Rodriguez, "The Communist Party of India," in *India's Political Parties*, ed. Peter Ronald de Souza & E. Sridharan, Sage Publications, pp. 217-220. New Delhi, 2006.

modern times. During Modern times, political parties specifically before Indian independence hardly survived except the Indian National Congress. It was founded in 1885. There were different parties also in our country as they were small parties but had a significant effect on the land. Parties like the CPI (Communist Party of India) appeared in the country in 1925. The Rashtriya Swam Sevak Sungh too evolved in presence. Siromani Akali Dal arrived in permanence in 1920. Jammu and Kashmir National Conference Party originated in 1939. Revolutionary Socialist Party also grew in 1940. All India Forward Block is too there. Before independence, there were parties in India that had a disproportionate effect on the country. Still, the Indian National Congress party was the most important, and it is now a reality.

Indian National Congress

Raja Ram Mohan Roy planted nationalist sentiments in the beginning of Nineteenth Century. Second half of Nineteenth Century witnessed formation of various political associations which were born out of nationalism and political consciousness. Such organizations emerged in many parts of the country, but they had a general objective: to unite the people for a Common cause and make them conscious of the ills prevalent in British rule. These organizations were local in nature. However, they played an essential part in founding Indian National Congress Party. Swami Dayanand Saraswati founded Arya Samaj. He propagated the greatness of Indian culture and history and instilled a sense of self-confidence in the people of India and encouraged them to participate in the liberation movement from the clutches of the British. He promoted the slogan of “Back to the Vedas” and opined that good government is no substitute for self-government and Indians should rule India. It is well known that many leaders of the Arya Samaj like Lala Lajpat Rai, took active part in the nationalist movement of the country. Olcott holds that Swami Dayanand had a significant impact in the movement of Nationalism. Annie Besant viewed that “it was Dayanand Saraswati who proclaimed India for the Indians”⁶⁷. Likewise, in India, political parties like the Indian National Congress are one of the

⁶⁷ J. P Suda, “The Origins and Significance of the National Movement in India,” *The Indian Journal of political Science*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1958), 134-141.

country's most fabulous political parties. It acts on the ideas of Gandhian socialism plus social democracy. The logo is the “right hand” with its palm-side facing head, customarily viewed in the middle of the Indian flag, the backdrop. Allan Octavian Hume, a British Civil Servant, established the Indian National Congress in 1885. In its preceding times, the Party did not demand freedom from the British rule. Instead, it united a group of educated individuals to influence policymaking. The Lord Dufferin was the Viceroy of the British India when the Party was established. A conference of diplomats was announced by the Union of Pune (Maharashtra). The Conference is held in December 1885 in Bombay at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College. Womesh Chunder Banerjee became first Chairman of Indian National Congress. About 72 representatives from every segment of the country took a part. After the Independence, Indian National Congress became a national political party and later got split into Indira Congress. Presently the Congress party is headed by Sonia Gandhi, the longest-serving chairman of the Party.

The Communist Party of India

During the 1902's, a strong existing of the left development emerged in the national movement, with its affirmed objective of radicalizing the national movement. The left intensely wanted to impart a clearer and sharper content to the goal of political independence. Obtained inspiration from Karl Marx and his ideas, they tried to give high priority to the workers, peasants and the lower classes of the society. Growth of socialist forces took many forms like Communist Socialist Party, Communist Party of India, Peasant Movement and Labour Movement etc. The genesis of the communist movement in India is rooted in the extremist leaders of India. They left the country and lived abroad due to the harsh and stiff attitude of the British Government in India during the freedom struggle. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was the first revolutionary leader who entered into correspondence with Lenin, the father of the Russian Revolution in 1917, while other young leaders secretly reached Russia through the sea route to learn the heart of manufacturing bombs and other explosives and revolutionary methods. While living abroad, some extremist leaders established direct contact with the leaders of the Third International. The latter taught them to

emphasize mass action through committees and organizations, such as workers 'and peasants parties, trade unions, and communist cells.

The Russian Revolution inspired Communist Party of India. It has its origins in the former Soviet Union. The party was yielded in Tashkent in 1920 since the thought of M.N. Roy. Since India gained political freedom during the late 1940s, The Communist Movement has moved more, following demand from the internal exegesis inside India. Its essential obstruction has occurred to command state or regional affairs and escape direction from communist fountain heads outside India.

In simple words, Indian Communism has lived under stress. Later the separation under the CPI in 1964, the objection of India, its social and political culture and systems has been and proceeds to be, the principal absorption regarding the two Communist Parties that is CPI and CPI (ML). According to its constitution, the CPI "is the political party of the Indian working class, its vanguard, and its highest form of class organization. It is a voluntary organization of workers, peasants and toiling people in general, devoted to the cause of socialism and communism". Some British Communists and M.N. Roy motivated a gathering of young Indians, who were big supporters of Marxism and the Russian revolution, to fix up India's association and expand Marxist ideology. This organization began formally in being on 26th December 1925 and it was named Communist Party of India (CPI). Shortly after CPI was formed, it was recognized as a branch of the Communist International.

The Communist International not simply limited the performance of the C.P.I. Still, it further led various Indian Communists in the drawing of promoting envy and revolt amongst the personalities, making them too well-armed rebellion, regulating worker's revolutions and the liberation fight, and infiltrating within government and institutions to break off within. Some Communists namely, S.A. Dange, M.N. Roy, Nalini Gupta, C.P Dutt, G.M Adhikari, Dr Hafiz, Ayodhya Prasad and Shaukat Usmani got training in Moscow. Communist Party of India is a prominent political body in India. There are several beliefs concerning the precise day of origin of Communist Party of India. However, the commonly accepted year for CPI is 26th December 1925. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) was divided from the CPI and demanded that the party be established on the model of the USSR in 1920.

When the days about and immediately succeeding Independence in 1947, the inside condition in the party was disorganized, the party stirred immediately in the left-wing and right-wing states. In 1948, at the Fourth Party Congress conference in Palghat, B.T Ranadive was elected General Secretary. A critical dilemma surfaced in 1962. One cause was the Sino-Indian war, where the Soviet bloc of the Indian Communists supported the view of the Indian government. At the same time, other segments of the party pretended that it was a dispute within a socialist and a capitalist state, which welcomed a pro-Chinese stand. There were three divisions in the party i.e., centralists, nationalists and internationalists in India. Ajoy Ghosh was a famous personality in the Centralis bloc. Centralists were totally devoted to the core of ideology as propounded Marx and Engels. The Nationalist Block is represented by Dange, Gopalan and Namboodripad. They argued in favour of an ideology which should suit to the Indian context. The Internationalist Block led by Ranadive, Sundarayya, Joshi, Harkishan Suijeet and Jyoti Basu followed the Maoist ideology of China. The Centralist and the Nationalist in the Communist Party favoured working class movement to achieve socialism. However, the internationalist backed peasant movement for dethroning feudalism.

Ideological disputes began to divide in 1964 while two various party conventions were held: one of the CPI and one of the CPI (M). There is a widespread misunderstanding that the aids when Sino-Indian War commenced to the 1962 division. The separation was Leftists Vs. Rightists, willingly than internationalist's Vs. nationalists; the appearance of nationalists, A.K Gopalan, including Namboodripad internationalists Sundharayya, Jyoti Basu and Harkishan Suijeet in the CPI (M) confirm the truth. Both parties maintained their legacy to this date.

Regional Political Parties in the Era of Pre-independence

Shiromani Akali Dal Party

Shiromani Akali Dal is a well-established Political Party in India. It was established on 14th December 1920 as a religious and political gathering of Sikhs. It started as a political expansion of Akal (integral to Sikh tradition and philosophy) development for Sikhs amidst the mid-1920s, which also settled Shiromani Gurdwara

Parbandhak Committee (SGPC is the highest Committee for administration of Gurdwaras, the Sikh places of worship)⁶⁸ issue. It has taken an interest in the Indian battle for to change from British pioneer manage. Later, it turned into the representative of a particular Punjabi dialect and culture in post-freedom India. Some distressing issues after Sikhs in India they had a redesign of Punjab in 1966, calling for more prominent self-sufficiency under the Anandpur Sahib Resolution to support division from India to form a different Sikh country of Khalistan. For some time, non-Sikhs, particularly non-Jat Sikh portions of the Punjabi society, have been persuaded to challenge the Siromani Akali Dal at the polls. In its initial years, Shiromani Akali Dal was active in arranging *morchas* or dissent developments to control and change the Gurdwara administration. The Sikh Gurdwaras Act 1925 legitimized Shiromani Akali Dal and Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. Miserable from that point turned into a free political gathering, which, rather than working under the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, tried to control it through the discretionary procedure. Tragic taken an interest in the Indian flexibility battle nearby the Congress with the expectation that a typical and popularity-based India will protect the privileges of the Sikh minority. Be that as it may, in the period taking after freedom, rifts were built amongst Congress and Shiromani Akali Dal concerning the dialect issue.

Jammu & Kashmir National Conference

The Jammu & Kashmir State resides in three central cultural and geographic partitions: Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. The Jammu & Kashmir State evolved in the British's takeover of Punjab in the year 1845. The land of Jammu and Kashmir which constituted a portion of the Sikh State is segregated from it. Territories of Kashmir and Gilgat were transferred to Sikh Emperor, Gulab Singh on payment of Seventy-Five lakh Rupees by the British government. The British recognised Gulab Singh as Maharaja of the Jammu and Kashmir State. The State of Jammu and Kashmir from

⁶⁸ Ajit Singh Sarhadi, *Punjabi Suba: The Story of the Struggle* (Delhi: U. C. Kapoor and Sons, 1970), pp. 1-28.

then onwards hereditarily held for hundred years by the family of Gulab Singh. However, the Dogras ruled the State from 1846 to 1947. The federal operation of the State was based on the individual law of the royalty, which managed to be the heart of every control, Legislative, Executive & Judicial. However, due to the executive confusion that these fellows of Kashmir started upon the rule of autocracy and domination in July-1931, the Maharaja was constrained to award them the power to stand plus design organisation. Subsequently, in October 1932, the premier political Party, i.e., Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah founded “All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference Party” and this Party commenced fight for independence for seven years. Throughout that time, the party showed a much position in the political history of the personalities of the State. It made somebody mindful of their rights by resorting to political learning by the press, platform, and electioneering assistance. Although Muslim Conference Party gained prominence among Muslims in 1939, its gates were opened to everyone irrespective of their creed, religion and caste. With this, the Party came to be recognized as All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference Party.

Revolutionary Socialist Party in India

This Party started in West Bengal and got established in 1940. It had historically evolved by the ideological and political transformation in the middle and late thirties from the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army and Anushilan Samiti. Being a national revolutionary party, it rose to prominence as an independent Marxist-Leninist People’s Party. Anushilan Samiti is recognised as India’s principal revolutionary organisation, an all-India revolutionary party with its organisational network.

All India Forward Block

A.I.F.B is a regional political party begun by Subhas Chandra Bose, commonly named Netaji. It is a reformist party, including left-wing nationalist political ideas. It holds and strengthens the thought of class conflict. A classless and stateless nation can exist only through a socialist revolution that allows Scientific Socialism to be its fundamental aspiration. Established as a secessionist division of the Indian National Congress (I.N.C.) in 1939, the party received the autonomous

political rank in India; later 1947, meanwhile Netaji left the position of the President of Indian National Congress in April-1939, he declared to establish a different political party, that would boost its hardy struggle toward colonial hegemony and power, at every cost. A gathering did hold in Calcutta; also, youthful ladies and fellows arrived unitedly to engage a word supporting this outstanding initiative of Netaji. The establishing of the party was officially declared on May-3rd 1939. June-22nd of the corresponding year, the A.I.F.B took its inaugural convention in Bombay, where this Constitution and schedule of the party were enlisted. In July, the central council of the party did formally declare a period following. The party members are Subhas Chandra Bose, President, General Secretary, Lal Shankarlal, and S.S. Cavesheer was the Vice-President. The Nagpur meeting of the party continued from 18-22 June 1940, enduring a historic incident in the course of A.I.F.B.

Being the political party chairman, Bose determined to accomplish Purna Swaraj or absolute freedom for India by admitting solid ideas. Moves were chosen to build national uniformity amongst every section of the Indian community. Proximity made Panchayats' formation, as organs of struggle and administration, right from the village level to the centre. The building of Panchayats was given necessary if Purna Swaraj was meant to be won. Yet, following the “Great Escape” of Bose in Jan-1941, the representatives and team workers of the party were rigorously punished and ruthlessly wounded by the police and other state means of the colonial authority. The party was notified unconstitutional and since was prevented by the British. The A.I.F.B. still performed a vital part in the “Quit India Movement in 1942” and all anti-imperialist fights. Now, it holds its mass association, chiefly in West Bengal. It also has few set-up blocks in Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. With this party support in West Bengal, most left-wing parties establish the coalition government. Indeed, if there are ideological contrasts within the parties and any other left-wing political parties, ‘Left Front’ placed a most remarkable performance in West Bengal.

Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh

R.S.S called in English “National Volunteer Organization also named *Rashtriya Seva Sangh*”, the organisation was established in 1925 by a Medical Doctor, Keshav Baliram Hedgewar of Maharashtra State. Being a member of the agitation toward British rule also rejoined to rising among Hindus and Muslims. Hedgewar remained massively inspired by the works of the Hindu nationalist ideologist V.D. Savarkar and achieved full of his criticisms concerning the making of a Hindu Nation. Hedgewar built the foundation as trained personnel consisting mainly of Brahmins committed to freedom and guarding Hindu cultural, religious and political affairs. Simultaneous with Hedgewar’s loss, the group’s leadership was affected by Madhava Sadashiv Golwalkar and Madhhukar Dattatray Deoras. This organisation itself is a constructive, non-political association that promotes a Hindu nationalistic plan supporting the flag of Hinduness.

Cultural Performances: Political awakening through Theater

Theatre is basically an aesthetic creation of humankind. Theatre comprises numerous traditional performing art styles that can be noticed in all cultures. Neither community seemed not to hold a stage of its own in any of the other forms has always endured. It is an exhibition, a gathering, a tool in which views, styles, virtues and pleasures of the individual in a nation are also presented. Altogether struggles, perplexities and conflicts are mediated through theatre. It depicts political revolutions, social movements and even critically evaluate the contemporary issues. After the World War-II, the theatre cling to political ideology and moved from elite to the ordinary populace to uphold the common issues. The dramatic acts of suffering and pain caused by the Post-World War is also depicted by the theatre.

On the other hand, the Marxist theory has vastly impacted theatre personalities- the screenwriters, filmmakers, performers, etc. The groups like the Communist Party, trade organisations, the scholar association, and various sections of society started to express their viewpoints through theatre. Respectively, cultural associations like the “Indian Peoples Theatre Association (I.P.T.A, India)”, “Red Theatre (China)”, “Guerrilla Theatre of Green Peace (Belgium)”, “Berliner Ensemble (Germany)” and several more have arisen between the World Wars. Marxist ideology

greatly influenced the theatre of the marginalized, modern street theatre, guerrilla theatre, black theatre, community theatre, and feminist theatre. All those actions attempted to discuss the working group toward all kinds of deceptions. In this manner, every one of them has opposed proscenium theatre work and watched for an alternative area.

Consequently, a hunt for other platforms such as alternative aesthetics, and alternative production genres began. The working class actively participated in the modern theatrical productions. The Theatre of the Third-World Nations began rejecting the European dramatic forms and replaced them with their artistic theatre expressed through symbols, language and space that is predominant in their everyday life. So several folks making artwork styles continued utilised for the modernised theatre. Drama practitioners began seeing their artistic sources and using them for cultural variance. In the Telugu speaking land, the theatre also got influenced by the I.P.T.A and the Communist ideology. As result, supporting the cause of agrarian proletariat and working class, several plays were written and performed in street theatre form. The language used was simple and colloquial in nature which is within the reach of marginalised.

Praja Natya Mandali

Praja Natya Mandali is part of the Indian Peoples Theater Association (I.P.T.A). It is a part of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh, and it was started in the year 1943. By the year 1948 it had led the way for a new cultural movement in Andhra Pradesh. Well before its beginning, the youth of Guntur and Krishna districts had proficient in arts at workshops. These artists partook at the Indian Peoples Theater Association (I.P.T.A) in Bombay when it was commissioned. It gained an appreciation for creative worth. Following Garikapati Rajarao and Koduri Atchaiah, the Praja Natya Mandali administered district seminars and guided youngsters towards the performative mode of Telugu folk forms, including Burrakatha. It is also designed district groups that received the news of anti-fascism to the populace. Personalities like Shaik Nazar's Burrakathas and Koganti Gopalakrishnan Hitler Bhagavatam and Simla Bhagavatam were inscribed at these words of classical Bhagavatam or

Yakshagana. These forms were rendered with renovated content and so showed immensely widespread. It is aiding to the improvement of Telugu theatre is unimportant. It acted Atreya's Parivartana, i.e., 'Change', in 1945. it was a drama about capitalist oppression and very progress. Its productions of Mundadugu, i.e. 'A Step Forward' in 1946 and Maabhumi, i.e. 'Our Land' in 1947, produced massive success. Sunkara Satyanarayana and Vasireddi Bhaskar Rao were both acknowledged toward their reformist thoughts and reliable yet colloquial Telugu. Mundadugu was on the farmers' fight upon zamindars' wrongs. On the security of honest men and women of Nalgonda district to the Nizam's cruelty, Maa bhumi secured a thousand shows for two million individuals in a year, just for it to be exposed. By 1948, the projects of Praja Natya Mandali were on clutch behind the political intrusion. Efforts to restore it did not get to satisfy.

Nonetheless, one of the divisions continues to be active in street theatre. It is known for its propagation of ideologies through various art forms, developed from the rural doctrines, culture, customs, and traditions. A commoner-based working for a class-oriented organisation directly influenced the people.

Party and Politics: Construction of "Culture" as tool

Any political party acts on behalf of people. Political Parties are like channels of communication between government and citizens. Parties are like engineers of public policy. It is very pertinent to study the political parties in relation to their role in policy making as political parties in almost all the forms of government are involved in policy making function. Both domestic and foreign policies are the results of the expressions made by the political parties. The root word for 'party' is derived from Latin '*partier*' ('to share or divide'). Giovanni Sartori states that, "a party is any political group that presents at elections and is capable of placing candidates for public office through elections"⁶⁹. According to Edmund Burke, "political party is a body of men united in promoting, by their joint endeavor, the national interest, upon

⁶⁹ Giovanni Sartori, *Parties and Party System: A Framework for Analysis* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

some particular principle on which they are all agreed”⁷⁰. All the political parties became crucial for modern democracy and provided motive force to move government. They contend for supremacy and make an earnest effort to seize political power. The existence of a political party or political parties is a phenomenon that is common to all states Liberal, Democratic, Marxist or Totalitarian. Hence, structure of government is influenced by nature of Party system.

Gettle defines, “political party as a group of citizens, more or less organized, who act as a political unit and who, by the use of their voting power, aim to control the government and carry out their general policy”⁷¹. A political Party plays very important role in democracy. It acts as propriety of the interest of the citizens. It mobilizes public opinion and also acts as a redresser of the grievances of people. “In the course of the analysis, two functions, or two major systemic roles of parties, have come to the fore; expression and channelment. A third function communication, needs to be entered for the completeness of the argument”⁷².

India is a country of a multitude of political parties. Their growth rate has been phenomenal since 1952. In the First Lok Sabha Elections in 1952 there were 56 parties, where as in 1989 their number crossed the 100 mark and in 1996 over 200 parties were in the scuffle.in the year of 2000, there were 169 parties showed their interest. As of 9th march 2019⁷³ there are 2,293 political parties currently registered with the Election Commission of India⁷⁴, includes 7 recognised national parties and 59 are recognised state parties.

In 1951-52, as many as 14 national and 50 state level political parties participated in the First General Elections. However, only four political parties, Congress, Praja Socialist Party, Communist Party and Jana Sangha could gain

⁷⁰ Verinder Grover, *Party System and Political Parties in India*, Vol. 10 (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publication, 1990), p. 643.

⁷¹ Mushtaq Ali G. Khan, (1987). *The Party System and the Federal Process in India since 1968*, Ph.D. Thesis, (Unpublished), Dharwad: Kamatak University. P. 195.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁷³ URL: CNB TV 18.com /market/data/lok-sabha-elections-2019.

⁷⁴ M S Rana, “India Votes: Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha Elections 1999, 2000,” (New Delhi: B. R. Publishing, 2000), p. 32.

recognition as national level parties. Since then, the number of political parties, both national and regional has been increasing. The nature of the party system has been changing continuously because of splits in the existing parties and emergence of new parties. The Indian party system has all along been a multi-party system, though it remained virtually dominated between 1947 and 1977 by a single party (Congress). With this brief background, the origin and growth of major national parties – The Indian National Congress (INC), the Bharatiya Janatha Party (BJP), the Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPIM) - are discussed in forthcoming passages.

Further, political parties should enhance the necessity concerning the presence of a modernised democratic nation. Parties play crucial role in formulating political method and monitor operational aspect of the system. Functioning of social organisations in political democracy grows within the dynamics of party system. Besides, they have formed various state or cultural organisations that have been built equally in power.

Congress Government in Power: Five Year Plans – Towards Cultural Policy

When Congress Party came to power, it initiated the process of building Independent India. The British regime left a legacy of administrative and legal set up. Without disturbing much the structure, the government under the leader of Nehru tried to develop different regions in the federal set up through Five-Year Plan programmes. All the budget items concerned with infrastructure, administrative apparatus, educational and cultural institutions etc., were allocated from the Five-Year Plans. The following passage briefly mentions the Five-Year Plan budget allocations related to culture, youth affairs, sports and education in order to give an idea of the Nehruian plan to protect the federal set up through the slogan of ‘unity in diversity’.

First-Five Year Plan (1951-56): Economic and social aspects

After India got independence, many changes took place in the first five-year plan, i.e., rapid advances in science and technology and opened new possibilities for constructing modern India. Still, they, too, bring abilities of outrage and risk. The

socio-economic shifts which brought effective use of things to efficient ways are neither complete nor specific. In this environment, the problem does not confess the generalised solution. Circumstances differ between the countries, and every nation has to develop a clarification in the knowledge of contemporary situations and their cultures and customs. It needs to be planned perfectly for transforming the very structure of Indian economy and society. This may cause numerous difficulties and challenges which may be addressed effectively. It is appropriate to balance various considerations to secure the best design and valuation of growth. The history or current situations in the nations are helpful up to a point; still, they cannot give a complete answer. “Like a person, a country has to work, which can be amplified in their inner abilities, leading to future success or usefulness. Each and everything said is that there is a need on one side. The other is the clarity of fundamental values and willingness to accustom possible clarifications to the current difficulties in the transition process to various economic and social orders”⁷⁵.

Village Industries

Village production like rural artworks and crafts that equally have socio-economic significance ought to be promoted. Village printing, decoration, pottery and the handicrafts of tribal people, for example, have a lengthy culture and have also been crucial parts of the natural identity and customs of villages. In each Plan for rebuilding village enterprises, this proficiency that has undergone dramatically from the economic advancement of the period before the decade will earn proper recognition⁷⁶.

Second-Five Year Plan (1956-1961)

Execute welfare programmes toward tribes based on knowledge regarding their customs and rituals and affection of the cultural, psychical, and financial obstacles people encounter. The welfare and advancing plans in tribal belts

⁷⁵*Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

⁷⁶*Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

admittedly mean trouble regarding folkloric beliefs and customs. Accordingly, during their implementation, the people's reliance plus, broadly, the perception and goodwill of the veterans of tribal societies are of the most significant value. Hence, welfare of artisans of each kind must be seen as feasible measure for skilled youth in tribal inhabitations. In supporting the choice of distinct ways, the tribal authority should possess a vital part. Also, for each step, the area should be nicely fixed in approach. Anthropologists, administrative officials, experts and social workers have to serve mutually as partners, addressing the difficulties of tribes by compassion, belief and understanding of the social psychology, including the needs of tribal societies⁷⁷.

In the First Five-Year Plan, provisions are made to involve voluntary organizations in development activities of tribal areas. Central government gave donations to Ten Indian Associations whereas; State Governments provided support to almost two hundred social institutions during the Plan. Community plans in tribal territories may be broadly classified, i.e., communications, education and culture. Governments have been allocated eight crores to tribal education and culture. The increase of educational facilities in tribal regions needs promotion. Post-Matric scholarship to the tune of Rs.11.38 crores were released by the Ministry of Education to the students of Schedule Tribes and Schedule Castes in backward regions. The Central government started 3187 schools and 398 hostels and granted scholarships and additional privileges for three lakhs tribal students. Two hundred cultural hubs are created in the Plan. For printing text books in tribal languages, curriculum development for tribal institutions and research output in tribal projects are also budgeted in the Plan. The Central Government supported tribal research institutions established in the First Five- Year Plan. Within Bombay State, tribal research projects are given to institutions such as Anthropological Society of Bombay, Gujarat Research Society and University of Bombay. Assam government established

⁷⁷ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

Department of Folklore and Tribal Culture in Guwahati University for studying developmental projects related to tribal communities⁷⁸.

Third Five-Year Plan (1961-66): Educational and National Development

Education is the most crucial for fast economic growth and technological development. A set related activities of education rest at the foundation of the attempt to form the links of shared citizenship, connect the potentials of the personalities and improve the standard and social means of each section of the nation. Past decades of development have produced some economic growth; however, there are significant absences in the sphere of education which must be identified for continuation and stable growth. The most crucial aim of the Plan is to enlarge and make more vigorous educational efforts and bring each residence in its crease so that in all categories of nationwide living, education enriches crucial intent of proposed growth. All the stages of education, skill, knowledge, artistic vision and sense of national uniformity that attains large region, cast, language and harmony of shared concerns and duties should be added⁷⁹.

National Integration

Achievement of economic planning in India mainly focuses on our ability to own togetherness in the hub of the heterogeneity of region, language, caste and religion. The integration in public needs is to be based on the sense of sharing of cultural heritage by the public. India has vibrant and composite culture that all segments of society produced over a period of time. Fundamentals of this culture depend on progressiveness, shared humanity, stability amid the substance and the refined, including the collective form of life in which different people in an assemblage are united collectively by generally granted claims and responsibilities. India's expected aims are exemplified in the Constitution, and her advancement

⁷⁸ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

⁷⁹ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

projects are the primary means for achieving them. The only possible way to bring togetherness and open-mindedness among the people of India is through educational institutions. It has an essential part in guiding national integration and cultural attachment among the younger generations⁸⁰.

The school curriculum must be revised to awaken students on national integration through the subjects of history and culture along with teachings on ethics and morals to imbibe social values. Suitable text books to be prepared for this purpose. Students need to be exposed to community living based on cooperative self-help and to be encourage to gain first-hand knowledge on diversified culture through educational tours. To revive India's complex cultural heritage, students are exposed to dance, drama, music and literature. Several steps are taken to create widespread understanding on National Integration. Higher educational Institutions are encouraged to collect literature and manuscripts of their regions and develop repositories in the archival form. State governments are promoted to support scholarships to students of graduate and post-graduate level. A special Committee is formed to promote policies for National Integration through the field of education. To alleviate poverty, skill development, communication skills, personality development and health care is to be promoted as a policy. All the tribal areas need to be developed on par with the main stream cultural areas⁸¹.

Fourth Five-Year Plan (1969-74): Education and Manpower

Planning Commission made proposal to amend Official Languages Act, 1967 for development of modern Indian languages and text book production. The three-language formula is implemented strictly. The Central government is given grants to set up Central Institute of languages for inter-linguistic research and training. As part of this, grants are provided for translation of books from one language to the other. State governments are also encouraged to set up institutions for language and translation at their level. It is also proposed for commencing four regional institutions

⁸⁰ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

⁸¹ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

to train teachers in modern Indian languages as well as in Hindi. The activities of Scientific and Technical Terminology Commission are continued. Schemes for development of Sanskrit language are also continued. Important programmes are launched for production of School Textbooks and other books. To reduce dependency on imported books, production of books in Modern Indian languages in Universities and in educational institutions run by States are undertaken⁸². Overall supervision of book production is entrusted to Central government and State governments. National Board of School Text Books is established as an autonomous body for book production as per recommendation of National Integration Council. Quality control of book production and distribution of books for schools is entrusted to this National Board. As part of the Plan three printing presses are also commenced to print school text books. Some of the States shown interest in setting up Corporations for printing books. Emphasis is placed on producing children's books to promote National Integration by combining lessons on culture. Simultaneously, youth/children are encouraged to participate in cultural programmes organised by National Akademi. To create awareness of cultural heritage, printing of brochures by Archaeological Survey of India and Museums is promoted. Publication of district gazetteers and manuals will be continued for the benefit of researchers and administrators⁸³.

The youth services are also developed for students and non-students for creating awareness on personal development and setting up of ideals for better future. For channelization of energies (i.e., intellectual, emotional and physical) of youth, several activities are envisaged within the Plan.

Special activities are designed to cater the needs of student community. The following are some of the programmes worth mentioning:

- In the sphere of education, curricula and methods of teaching and evaluation were improved.
- Hostel facilities with better amenities were provided.

⁸² Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

⁸³ Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

- Library facilities were planned with reading halls and textbooks.
- Guidance and counselling were provided for opting better future avenues.
- Health services along with physical education and sports were improved.
- National Service Scheme (NSS) is introduced for community development.
- National Cadet Corps (NCC) is introduced for disciplining students

All the above programmes were introduced at the secondary, high school and college level. Most of these programmes were aimed at improving the quality of life of students and making them as good citizens of India.

For those who are not regular students and, in their youth, certain programmes were planned. The following are some of such programmes:

- Part time and correspondence courses for vocational and professional education are designed.
- For games and sports facilities are planned.
- Activities connected with culture in theatre, dance and music at State and Inter-State level are started.
- Guidance and counselling are also introduced for the youth.

Attention is given specially for training youth in leadership to the rural youth. To achieve this goal 'Planning Forums' in colleges and universities are planned. Budget allocation is made to encourage students from different States to join in schools and colleges across the States to develop a broad National outlook. They are also encouraged to participate in social service and cultural activities. A National Youth Organisation is set up to advice the government and developing youth services. Efforts are also undertaken to support voluntary organisations to participate in developmental programmes⁸⁴.

Fifth Five-Year Plan (1974-79) - Information and Broadcasting

In Fifth Five Year Plan a separate budget was provided to improve the Information and Broadcasting wing in the country as this area was much neglected in

⁸⁴ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

the previous Plans. The Information and Broadcasting is considered crucial for taking governmental programmes to the public. Keeping in view this, a budget allocation of Rs.37.63 Crores was made to enhance the studio facilities and Radio transmitters. The budget also made a provision for recruitment and personnel welfare.

Television

To develop Television services, new schemes are introduced. As part of this, two transmitters of 10 KW capacity in Hyderabad and Jaipur and four low power transmitters of 400 watts capacity in Gulbarga, Sambalpur, Muzaffarpur and Raipur are launched. All these transmitters are placed to cater to forty percent of villages as part of the project known as Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE). About two thousand four hundred Television sets are provided under SITE for community viewing. As a back-up mechanism, software is also developed to run the Television services⁸⁵.

Education

To develop cultural integrity through cultural education, three National Akademies namely, “The Sahitya Akademi, the Sangeet Natak Akademi and the Lalit Kala Akademi” are given additional funds to undertake various programmes of zonal and regional importance. As part of this programme, the Sahitya Akademi has given grants as awards to prominent writers and poets for their literary productions. The books authored by such scholars are printed and distributed by the Akademi on subsidised prices. Similarly, the Sangeet Natak Akademi promoted their documentation programme on famous musicians both vocal and instrumental and telecasted them through Doordarshan. It also announced awards for younger scholars to work on music traditions. The Lalit Kala Akademi conducted dance and theatre programmes of cultural importance and showcased them in various States. The performers are given grants to travel to different places for organising their programmes. All these are intended to promote cultural integration. The Planning

⁸⁵ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

Commission proposed an outlay of Rs. 37.00 crores for activities connected with the Art and Culture⁸⁶.

Sixth Five-Year Plan (1980-85):

Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is allocated with a budget of Rs.240.33 crores for Sixth Five Year Plan to cover four sectors related to culture. The four sectors are (1) Sound Broadcasting, (2) Doordarshan, (3) Films Media and (4) Information and Publicity.

The schemes connected with information and broadcasting and film media sectors are primarily focused on developing infrastructure in remote and rural areas for implementing welfare schemes for poor, weaker, backward and marginalised communities. The All India Radio completed 1000 KW medium wave transmitter in Nagpur, 250 KW shortwave transmitters in Delhi, Aligarh and 500 KW shortwave transmitter in Bangalore. The main aim of this project is to maximise day time transmissions through Radio programmes related to public utility. As high power transmitters located in neighbouring countries are causing disturbances during night time and shrinking efficiency shortwave transmitters, this measure is taken. Further, to avoid the problem of medium wave shrinkage, a large number of FM transmitters are installed⁸⁷.

The Ministry of Culture strengthened Song and Drama Division by setting up a second sound and light field unit for promoting culture and tourism. This project also covered folk and tribal forms for propagating diversity of culture which is the chief feature of the Sub-Continent. Concomitantly, several information centres are established by Press Information Bureau to promote cultural tourism in tribal and hilly regions. The Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity is provided funds for integrated development of rural areas, tribal villages and North-Eastern region. As

⁸⁶ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

⁸⁷ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

part of this, programmes related to small and marginal farmers are given much importance.

The Films Division is also strengthened by providing infrastructure facilities of technical nature to increase number of prints of film which is connected with National Integrity for releasing in several theatres at a time. The Defence Film Production Unit at Delhi is also strengthened to produce films on patriotism in 16mm films for screening in rural areas through mobile units. The National Film Archives of India is given exclusive funds to develop film processing laboratory, library, museum etc., to archive all films produced by Films Division and to make them available in prints for circulation. Regional archival centres are also promoted in different States. To promote cultural awareness among children, Children's Film Society is encouraged to produce children's feature films and also to import good quality children's movies from other countries. The National Film Development Corporation actively participated in developing good cinema and financed construction of theatres⁸⁸.

The Doordarshan has come up with a three-tier system for telecasting programmes. In the three-tier system, the first level is National programmes which is transmitted for the whole country from the headquarters of Delhi; the second level is Regional programmes primarily produced in the regional language of the State to be telecasted only in the States concerned and the third level is Local programmes for catering to the Local communities especially in the rural and tribal regions. For programmes of all the three levels, modernisation of technology is essential and therefore, the equipment is replaced with state of art technology⁸⁹.

Development of Languages

Development of language is primary for the development programmes in education. The following activities and programmes are undertaken for development of languages;

⁸⁸ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

⁸⁹ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

1. Hindi is promoted as a national language in consistency with Article 351 of the Constitution of India;
2. As part of national policy of education, modern Indian languages are promoted;
3. English and other foreign languages were also promoted for getting employment etc., and
4. The classical languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian were also promoted.

The Centre also gave prominence to Urdu and Sindhi to benefit the regions of the North-Western and the Northern regions. All languages are promoted in order to develop competence not only in communication but also in writing. Institutions are encouraged to conduct in service training and promote publication. Software is also developed for transmission the programmes in Radio and Television. Creative writing skills are also promoted in various languages with the help of governmental and voluntary organisations⁹⁰. In Sanskrit, the Vedic literature and other ancient texts are given prominence to promote the language. Rare books and manuscripts are collected and transmitted through educational institutions.

Art and Culture

To promote regional cultures and to create a sense of belonging certain developmental programmes are undertaken during the Seventh Five Year Plan related to Art and Culture. The following are some of the highlights of the Plan⁹¹.

1. The Zonal Cultural Centres are established by grouping the States of the country into cultural zones to bring awareness on culture and promoting participation of people at the grass-root level cutting across linguistic boundaries. For instance, for the entire South Indian States, in Tanjore a South Zone Cultural Centre is established.

⁹⁰ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

⁹¹ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

2. Financial support is extended to various cultural organisations to promote Art and Culture.
3. The Department of Education and Culture is entrusted with the training programmes to teachers in different aspects of culture.
4. Cultural programmes are integrated with Youth Services, Rural Development and Tourism Ministries.
5. The utilization of Mass Media is enhanced for transmitting culture.
6. The States are financially empowered to undertake cultural programmes in their respective regions.
7. The Centre and State governmental Departments are encouraged to implement cultural activities in a coordinated manner.

All the above programmes are designed to protect and promote the composite culture of India which is based on the slogan “unity in diversity”. Activities related to preservation, documentation and conservation of varied traditional practices as cultural heritage received priority in Seventh Plan period. As a result, archeology, museums, archives, manuscripts, libraries and Buddhist-Tibetan studies got impetus⁹².

Cultural Institutions whose primary function is to promote art forms become crucial in fostering National Integration and therefore they are seen as powerful medium to achieve National development. The Akademies of National and State level are brought in to work for programmes related to culture in order to develop National Integration. Through Akademies funding assistance is provided to voluntary organizations working to the cause of promotion of art and culture. Folk and tribal art forms facing extinction are given special attention. For instance, the folk art of Himalayan region is supported by way of providing funds for documentation and dissemination⁹³. The Rastriya Manav Sangrahalaya (R.M.S), a project of the Central Government located in Bhopal to showcase the tribal culture of India is successfully completed. The project aims recreating history and human evolution and presented to

⁹² *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

⁹³ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

the public it as a living museum. The tribal art and architecture and their livelihoods are showcased by creating natural environment in the Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts (IGNCA), New Delhi is established as resource Centre to create database on arts, crafts and performing traditions of India. The National Theatre is also established to train students in drama and theatre and also provided funds to document performing traditions of India⁹⁴.

Youth and Sports

To address issues of development of youth, the two existing programmes i.e., N.S.S and N.Y.K (Nehru Yuvak Kendras) are strengthened. Through N.S.S the youth are encouraged to do community work especially, the adult literacy programmes. The N.Y.K's are established in the districts also for promotion of developmental programmes especially through art and culture. Several cultural programmes are funded through N.Y.K's involving youth both at State and Inter-State level. Lot of flexibility is given to the youth for designing programmes. N.Y.K's are encouraged to link youth with various programmes of Central and State governments in order to involve youth in the developmental programmes. The youth is initiated into the programmes of Scouts and Guides so as to enable them to champion the cause of all round development of personality. The activities mountaineering and adventure tourism for youth is also designed and youth are encouraged to participate actively in such programmes. The youth is also exposed to Commonwealth youth programmes and International Youth Exchange Delegation programmes. As a result several young people could visit countries in Europe and Asia. The National Service Volunteer Scheme (N.S.S) is introduced to promote youth to participate in community work⁹⁵.

In the field of sports, high priority is given to develop infrastructure facilities in games and sports at grass-root level and at State and National level. Youth are given training programmes by arranging special camps to participate in national and international sports meets. The existing schemes such as the Rural Sports

⁹⁴ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

⁹⁵ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

Tournaments and the Women's Sports Festivals are continued wherein young men and women are encouraged to take part as part of National Integration programme. The students are given National Talent Search Scholarships to encourage their skills in education. They are also given fellowships to get training through States Sports Councils. The Central government funded sports institution namely, "the Netaji Subhash National Institute of Sports, Patiala" is endowed with grants to expand their activities such as training and coaching youth in various sports and games drawn from across the Country. The Sports Authority of India is encouraged to promote sports and also plan for broadcasting sports and games events occurring in the Country⁹⁶.

Seventh Five-Year Plan (1985-90): Sound Broadcasting, Television and Information Services

The core area of this Plan is to strengthen Mass Media so as to raise the level of people's consciousness about their public and social life. The intent of the Plan is to make people as better citizens of India. The developmental programmes should reach masses and make them understand and sensitise about events of National and International importance. In addition to entertainment programmes, Mass Media should incorporate sports and cultural events for the benefit of youth and public at large. Target-group oriented programmes for youth, women, children and weaker sections are given prominence in the Plan and a budget is allocated for such telecasts. Further, Media is also encouraged to telecast educational programmes for children, youth and adult. Through Open Universities, formal education avenues are created. The Mass Media is geared up to design motivational programmes for people towards national Integration in order to enable them to participate in National development objectives. A skilful synthesis between traditional folk-art forms and modern audio-visual forms is envisaged in the Plan through satellite communication. To achieve this

⁹⁶ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

goal, radio, television, films and other forms of mass-media are used and therefore, budget allocated to such programmes increased⁹⁷.

Eighth Five-Year Plan (1992-97)

The main focus on Art and Culture in Eighth Five-Year Plan is to promote public institutions and universalise elementary education, eradication of illiteracy and to include lessons on health care systems in school curricula. Three language formula is uniformly adopted in the education system. The bureau of promotion of Urdu is made autonomous on the recommendation of Jafri Committee. Sindhi Vikas Board is established. The Education Department is interlinked with the Department of Electronics (DoE) to develop language software. The classical languages are promoted through various endowments. The Sanskrit is promoted by establishing the Rashtriya Veda Vidya Prathisthan (Vedic Endowment). N.B.T (National Book Trust) and Readers Club Movement is promoted to publish and text books and other literature. The Adan Pradan Scheme is introduced to translate vital books from different languages. The National Society of Authors is created to encourage the authors to produce creative literature. Special scholarships are provided to SC/ST students⁹⁸. Tribal areas are also connected with literacy programmes and several oral literatures is brought to print and disseminated to the other cultural zones⁹⁹. The tribal ethno-medicinal practices and the rural health care systems are promoted through education. Special attention is paid to yoga and meditation. Indian medicinal practices are also encouraged. The councils and organisations such as ICSSR, ICHR, IOPR and IIAS (Shimla) are given encouragement to fund projects to individuals working in various spheres of culture and education¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁷ Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

⁹⁸ Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

⁹⁹ Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

¹⁰⁰ Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

From the above it is evident that the National Congress Party which is at the helm of affairs followed the Nehru's Policy of "unity in diversity" to build the Indian nation throughout the Plan periods starting from First to Eighth Plan periods. The Congress party did not interfere much in the programmes of culture by imposing their ideology over the States especially in relation to sports, art and culture.

Bharatiya Janatha Party

The BJP came to power with a coalition government known as NDA (National Democratic Alliance) in 1999 to 2004. Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) was active during NDA government term. BJP government is formed under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani. They are moderators in BJP and therefore, did not deviate much from Eighth-Five Year Plan which was already in progress.

Ninth Five-Year Plan (1997-2002)

Launching of the Ninth Five-Year Plan is coincided with celebrations of the 50th year of India's Independence¹⁰¹. In addition to continue ongoing programmes of preservation and promotion of cultural heritage sites and cultural forms, inter-organisational networking through hi-tech management approaches in administration of institutions related to culture namely, Museums, Archeological Survey of India, Anthropological Survey of India, Zonal Cultural Centres, Libraries etc., are given prominence. With regard to Museum Administration, for a network of Museums situated in the North, a nodal responsibility is given to the National Museum, Calcutta. Similarly for the South, Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad is given such responsibility. Likewise, institutions such as Indian Museum and Victoria Memorial for Eastern and North-Eastern States, Allahabad Museum for Central India and Prince of Wales Museum and National Gallery of Modern Art (NGMA), Mumbai for the Western States are given responsibility of networking and development of Museums. To supervise the progress, Scientific Advisory Committee is constituted. It also gives

¹⁰¹ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

scientific and technological inputs for necessary development¹⁰². National Museum (Delhi) and Indira Gandhi Rashtriya Manav Sangrahalaya (IGRMS), (Bhopal) are also developed for showcasing Indian cultural heritage as part of the BJP agenda. A project is also envisaged to establish museums in each district of the country to promote regional cultural heritage¹⁰³.

The budget for promotion of art and culture almost remained the same during early phases of Ninth Five-Year Plan. However, during BJP rule the stress is shifted to preservation of monuments as cultural heritage of India. Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) is encouraged to take up three hundred monument complexes for renovation and preservation. Out of which sixteen monuments appeared in the list of World Heritage. A computational system was introduced for tangible cultural heritage preservation. Most of these monuments are endowed with gardens and parks to promote cultural heritage tourism. For maintenance of wall paintings, a scheme is launched in 1996-97 by ASI on the advice of Committee of Planning Commission at All India level. Five branch offices at Dehradun, Indore, Jaipur, Aurangabad and Mysore are exclusively created to preserve mural paintings. ASI has taken up three hundred monument complexes for comprehensive development reviving historic gardens in their original style to promote tourism¹⁰⁴.

Seven Cultural Zones¹⁰⁵ are created for developing cultural awareness at regional and national level; These Centres actively engaged in promoting regional and folk art traditions including performing and fine arts organising festivals and craft fares. Most of these Centres are documenting folk art forms which are at the verge of extinction. Department of Culture actively participated in Republic Day parade

¹⁰² *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

¹⁰³ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

¹⁰⁴ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

¹⁰⁵ They are (1) Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre (EZCC), Kolkata; (2) North Central Zone Cultural Centre (NCZCC), Allahabad, (3) Central Zone Cultural Centre (CZCC), Nagpur, (4) North-West Zone Cultural Centre (NWZCC), Patiala, (5) North-East Zonal Cultural Centre (NEZCC), Dimapur, (6) West Zone Cultural Centre (WZCC), Udaipur and (7) South Zone Cultural Centre (SZCC), Thanjavur.

annually by involving Zonal Cultural Centres. ‘Resurgent India’ is central theme for the Republic Day of 2001 wherein folk dances of all regions are showcased to present cultural diversity of the Nation. Umang, a special programme with disabled children is organised. National Cultural Fund (NCF) is formed to mobilise funds for promoting cultural heritage in 1996. Income Tax exemption is provided for all contributions made by individuals and organisations¹⁰⁶.

All Zonal Cultural Centres are encouraged to incorporate mofussil in their projects. The tribal and folk-art forms are given priority to draw them to main stream culture. Matching grants are provided to the corpus fund of the Cultural Centres to support various activities. The ‘Guru-Shishya Parampara’ scheme is introduced which provide sustenance to artists who are engaged in performing art traditions. This scheme supported almost two thousand artists around the country¹⁰⁷.

Another area of focus during this Plan period is linkage between culture and education. The Centre for Cultural Resources and Training (CCRT) is provided funds to develop cultural inputs in schools’ curriculum and to train teachers in performing art traditions. The administrators are also given training in cultural heritage programmes so as to implement schemes in their respective wings. In 1994, the Ananthamoorthi Committee is set up to look into structural changes of the Academies and the Zonal Cultural Centres. As per the recommendation, the administrative expenditure is reduced by better coordination between the two.

The National School of Drama is encouraged to start Regional Resource Centres in other parts of the country to promote and propagate Indian theatre through workshops, seminars and exchange programmes. A National theatre festival is also planned. In the field of art and craft, several craftsmen and artists are provided with

¹⁰⁶ *Planning and Implementation Issues - NITI Aayog*, https://www.niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/10th/volume3/v3_ch5.pdf.

¹⁰⁷ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

funds to showcase their skills and products. Training programmes for native crafts are also undertaken to show it as cultural heritage of India¹⁰⁸.

Several exhibitions are organised by the National Museum and other Museums in the country. As a part of this, to commemorate the completion of fifty years of establishment of the Supreme Court of India, an exhibition on the Indian Legal System is organised. At International level, Sikh Heritage and Indigenous Arts exhibition is organised in Chile. Medieval Art exhibition is conducted in Germany and Nizam Jewellery and Handicrafts exhibition is showcased in Italy. Religious and Cultural Traditions exhibition is also organised in Bhutan.

Several Inter-State exhibitions at various Museums such as Bengal Art in Salar Jung Museum in Hyderabad, Bengal paintings in Bharat Kala Bhawan in Varanasi, Glimpse of Indus Valley Civilisation in New Delhi were organised. An exhibition titled “Yogi and Buddha” is organised in Germany. Another exhibition on the “Life of Buddha and Treasures of Indian Art” is conducted in New Delhi. During the Ninth Plan, Science Museums are set up in Kurukshetra, Haryana and Goa by National Council of Science Museums¹⁰⁹.

Inter-sector Coordination

Interrelated subjects of ministries and departments related to tourism, education, information and broadcasting etc., are interlinked. Media Policy related to culture is promoted. National Literacy Mission is empowered to establish libraries even at Panchayat level. The North-East region of India is given much importance and their cultural activities are showcased in the metropolitan cities of the main land. Along with this, “Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library”, Patna and “Saraswati Mahal Library”, Thanjavur are encouraged to display their manuscripts for the public use. A networking of libraries through digital media is also promoted. I.G.R.M.S, Bhopal is given additional funds to promote display of tribal cultures of India. Up-gradation of

¹⁰⁸ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

¹⁰⁹ *Secondary Education - NITI Aayog*. https://www.niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/10th/volume2/v2_ch2_3.pdf.

technology is done in the field of art and culture wherever possible. Braille Sections in Public Libraries are developed for the benefit of physically handicapped¹¹⁰.

Central Secretariat Library organised computer training programmes for standardization of cataloguing formats. It also conducted programmes on resource sharing. Central Grants for modernizing and computerizing is also provided funds to Connemara Library (Chennai), Saraswati Mahal Library (Tanjore) and the State Central Library in Mumbai. Raja Ram Mohan Roy Library Foundation is also given funds to assist several Public Libraries across the country to develop storage facilities. It also held many seminars and workshops¹¹¹.

To strengthen the Centres of Buddhist and Tibetan studies additional fund is provided in the Plan. The Centres at “Leh (Tibet) and at Sarnath (Uttar Pradesh), Nav Nalanda Mahavihara at Nalanda (Bihar), Tawang Monastery School at Cona (Arunachal Pradesh)” are given infrastructural development fund and a Review Committee is formed to oversee the activities¹¹².

To develop Art and Culture in the North-East, including Sikkim a special grant is recommended by the Planning Commission. With this fund a multi-purpose cultural complex is established in Shillong. This also includes a separate gallery for children. National Archives of India, Guwahati (Asom) is given funds for developing technical knowhow related to maintenance of heritage sites. The National Archives also is entrusted with collection and preservation of manuscripts¹¹³.

As part of development, an annex building at National Gallery of Modern Arts at Delhi and Bhasha Bhavan of National Library at Calcutta is constructed with modern outlay and display. For activities related to scientific conservation of heritage sites, “National Research Laboratory for Conservation of Cultural Property” is

¹¹⁰ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

¹¹¹ *Secondary Education - | NITI Aayog*, https://www.niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/10th/volume2/v2_ch2_3.pdf.

¹¹² *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

¹¹³ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

created in Calcutta (West Bengal). Kalakhshetra in Chennai (Tamil Nadu) is provided with additional funds for developing programmes on classical dances¹¹⁴.

During the Plan period, the following major projects are undertaken;

1. Renovated Shanivarwada, Pune to showcase the Peshwas fort and culture.
2. To display city's rich heritage, Cultural Centre named 'Jnana Pravaha' is established in Varanasi.
3. Renovated Humayun's Tomb in Delhi to showcase rich cultural heritage of the Mughal India.

Apart from this, under Private Public Partnership (P.P.P) MoUs are made to develop tourism. Some of the below are such P.P.Ps¹¹⁵:

1. Taj Group of Hotels with the Indian Oil Foundation of the Indian Oil Corporation;
2. Taj Mahal in Agra with Apeejay Surendra Group;
3. Jantar Mantar in New Delhi with Apeejay Surendra Group; and
4. Cultural organization schemes with Rama Krishna Mission Institute, Calcutta;

Congress and BJP in power: Tenth Five-Year Plan: 2002-2007

From this Plan period, liberalisation policy is followed much India due to increasing pressure from the international bodies and financial institutions. As a result urbanisation increased in the Indian soils. In the Tenth Five Year Plan, funds are provided to continue excavation activities to Archaeological Survey of India. Due to industrialisation and urban growth, encroachments around monuments increased and caused severe threat to the cultural heritage sites¹¹⁶. Consequently, to protect monuments a grill/crimped-mesh fencing is provided around them. Government of

¹¹⁴ *Planning Commission, Government of India: Five Year Plans*, <https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index1.html>.

¹¹⁵ *Secondary Education - | NITI Aayog*.
https://www.niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/10th/volume2/v2_ch2_3.pdf.

¹¹⁶ *Secondary Education - | NITI Aayog*.
https://www.niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/10th/volume2/v2_ch2_3.pdf.

India signed Memorandum of Understanding with Cambodian government to conserve the Ta Prohm temples in Siem Reap in that country¹¹⁷.

The major excavation projects of the A.S.I during this Plan period are¹¹⁸:

1. Harappan City Dholavira in Kachchh, Gujarat;
2. Proto-Harappan Dhalewa in Punjab;
3. Historical city Sravasti in Uttar Pradesh;
4. Buddhist Stupa Kanaganahalli-Sannati in Karnataka;
5. Indo-Roman maritime trade Centre-Hathab in Gujarat;
6. Indo-Roman site-Arikamedu in Pondicherry; and
7. Buddhist monastery at Udaigiri in Orissa.

When the B.J.P came to power it discontinued some of the schemes of the earlier Congress government allotted in the Plan Budget. In fact, it declared Zero Budget for cultural activities. As a result, Rajiv Gandhi Memorial at Sriperumbudur (Tamil Nadu), celebration of Golden Jubilee Republic Day, Multi-purpose Cultural Centre in Guwahati are abandoned. This clearly shows the party politics in respect of culture sphere in India.

Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2007 to 2012)

Eleventh Plan concentrated much on cultural diversity programmes to promote to satisfy the linguistic States interests. Most of the linguistic States promoted local/regional parties in opposition to National Parties. This made the central government to advocate for diversity and given much importance to regional languages, morality of faiths and conservation and promotional activities of cultural heritage to demonstrate composite culture of the country. As a result, grants are given to classical languages of different regions to promote research and documentation.

¹¹⁷ *Secondary Education - | NITI Aayog.*

https://www.niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/10th/volume2/v2_ch2_3.pdf.

¹¹⁸ *Secondary Education - | NITI Aayog.*

https://www.niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/10th/volume2/v2_ch2_3.pdf.

Similarly folklore and traditional arts are also given priority to disseminate Intangible Cultural heritage. This covers the entire range of monuments and archaeological sites, folk and tribal arts, music, dance, drama, paintings, sculpture, graphics, literature, libraries, archives etc. The UNESCO also encouraged its members to safeguard and Protect “Intangible Heritage and Cultural Diversity”¹¹⁹. Several international grants are given to promote intangible cultural heritage by the UNESCO.

Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012-2017)

During this Plan, government has introduced “Prime Minister’s Fifteen Point Programme” under which several Programmes connected with small and medium industries to produce art and craft materials are undertaken. In programmes related to rural development, “the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) of 2005” is passed¹²⁰. Minorities and their culture is also given importance during this period as a result the Madarsas started getting modernized¹²¹. Urdu language is promoted not only in Madarsas but also in schools and colleges. Residential schools on par with Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya and Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya are promoted¹²².

National Institute for Transforming India (N.I.T.I Aayog)

From 2015 onwards, Five Year Plan Schemes got discontinued and Annual Plan schemes are introduced under the name “National Institute for Transforming India (NITI Aayog)” by B.J.P government. The Planning Commission which is established in 1950 got replaced by the “NITI Aayog”. The government of India

¹¹⁹ *This Five-Year Plan Document Focuses on ... - Niti Aayog.*

https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/11th/11_v2/11th_vol2.pdf.

¹²⁰ *Twelfth Five Year Plan Vol 3 - Niti Aayog.*

https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/12th/pdf/12fyp_vol3.pdf.

¹²¹ *Twelfth Five Year Plan Vol 3 - Niti Aayog.*

https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/12th/pdf/12fyp_vol3.pdf.

¹²² *Twelfth Five Year Plan Vol 3 - Niti Aayog.*

https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/planrel/fiveyr/12th/pdf/12fyp_vol3.pdf.

created NITI Aayog as the nodal ‘Think Tank’ for making policy to provide both directional and policy inputs. Long-term policies and programmes for government of India is designed by NITI Aayog. It acts as a technical advisory to State governments. NITI Aayog works towards promotion of Cooperative Federalism. At Central level, NITI Aayog created two hubs; “(1) The Team India Hub and (2) The Knowledge and Innovation Hub”. First hub i.e., “Team India Hub” acts for cooperation between States and the Central government, while the second hub namely, “Knowledge and Innovation Hub” acts as think-tank and design policies of National importance¹²³.

The Ministry of Human Resources Development (MHRD) is reorganised by creating a separate wing named ‘Team India Hub’ in Education Department in NITI Aayog. It is connected with developmental activities related to education, sports and youth affairs, arts and culture. The MHRD Division covers the following;

1. Pre-primary, elementary, secondary, senior secondary, higher, technical and teacher education is covered under NITI Aayog.
2. NITI Aayog also entrusted with activities related to formal and non-formal education including adult education.
3. It is also assigned with activities connected to education of girls, schedule castes, schedule tribes, minorities and children with special needs¹²⁴.

With establishment of NITI Aayog, need based and proposal-oriented development programmes in the field of culture are undertaken. The National Academies and the School of Drama are advised to seek external funding for their sustenance. Several public institutions connected with culture are not fully supported by the government funds. Instead, they are encouraging to go for developmental programmes under PPP.

At the turn of the millennium, impact of globalisation increased and flow of men and martial across the globe became a common feature. Several private industries in IT sector, power generation sector, automobile sector, health and

¹²³ *Annual Report 2014-15 - Niti.gov.in.*

http://niti.gov.in/sites/default/files/2020-02/Annual_Report_2014-15.pdf.

¹²⁴ *Transforming Nutrition in India: Poshan Abhiyaan.*

<https://www.niti.gov.in/poshan-abhiyaan>

education fields invested their capital and gradually the government relaxed its constitutional commitment of democratic socialist welfare state vision. Privatisation increased and the governments slowly withdrawing its commitments to long term welfare of the state. All these factors slowly culminated to form sub-regionalism which is supported by the emergent regional parties.

Conclusion

To surmise, national parties and coalition governments used culture as tool to build Nation State politics. Indian polity took shape over period of time from Independence to present day. As Indian Nation advanced, national politics also shifted from Delhi to other capital cities of States in India. Media played a dominant role in projecting regional parties which in turn influenced national party politics at Central level. Political debates started gaining space in electronic and print media. Business households which owned media channels entered into political arena and started playing politics by supporting regional and national parties according to their whims and fancies. Modern political system much rested on democracy. Democracy in turn became catchy slogan for elite and educated few in the country. They started playing cultural politics to mitigate emotions of people at large. In recent years, concept of Nation-State is emerging as hegemonic power in Indian political culture. In recent times the idea of Nation State is founded on cultural politics in Indian political scene. Several regional parties contributed to this phenomenon. For first time, Nation-State emerged as powerful entity and barely has any opposition from others in public realm. Now all matters of art, culture, literature and sports are practically under jurisdiction of Indian State. Several generations in India are influenced by Colonial culture of the British. During the transition from Colonial regime to free Independent India, the elite of India who got education in institutions run by the British became politically conscious of their rights and liberties. They craved for political power by uprooting the Colonial rule. In order to do so, they brought forth sentiment of nationalism based on culture construct. As a result, Indian epics such as Ramayana and Mahabharata got projection as national epics by which people of the Sub-Continent were made to unite as one nation. Thus, an imagined society is created as Nation by elite and middle class of India. Indian Nation-State

was created based on the slogan, “Unity in Diversity” as Indian Sub-Continent is made up of several linguistic States and tribal belts.

However, in the paradigm of “Unity in Diversity”, the idea of ‘Unity’ is given much emphasis to construct Indian Union rather than ‘Diversity’. When global forces challenged the Indian economy and polity at the turn of the century, mixed economy dis face problems. Concomitantly, several regional parties emerged in the linguistic states and claimed their stake in political power. As a result, coalition politics played vital role in States and Central level to form governments. Sub-regionalism emerged as a force to drive Indian politics and several small States are carved out from the larger units of Linguistic States. Culture became a mail tool to play politics of Sub-regionalism in order to wield political power. The forth coming Chapter discusses the emergence of Telangana State as a typical example for culture and politics.

CHAPTER – IV

Culture and Regionalism: A Case Study on Telangana State formation

Introduction

From the beginning, human history depended on people's existence and the sturdy attachment to their region and a sensibility of their limitations. Human being behaviour is territorially based. Each group's territory has its prominent nesting place, space and absolute boundary. As Muir said, after a period of enduring occupation and merging of neighbouring groups, the region tries to deliver its inhabitants' stamp¹. In many decades, there has been improved interest in the region all over the globe: regional variations and traditions are cherished, the issue of regional identity is extensively discussed, regional movements are in the glare of publicity, and historians have started to think about the role of the region again. In response, regionalism is people surrounded by certain geographical regions and express a shared sense of their own and united by its unique culture, language, etc. In outright, it endorses people to evolve an understanding of the unity that seeks to keep the interest of a specific region and uphold the welfare and promote the State and its people. In a dissentient sense, it means extreme bondage to their region, which brings the significant hazard towards harmony and honour of the State.

In the existing global scenario, academia and researchers circle regionalism and sub-regionalism concepts with enormous concern. The continuing exploration of these concepts has underneath force towards development, security and peace. In the 21st Century, regional become more popular and essential aspect concerning the socio-economic and political organization and even as an area of study. Regionalism as a concept is having two meanings. One is associated with international scenario and it refers to trans-national cooperation to achieve a universal goal at the international level.

¹ M I Glassner, *et. al*, *Systematic Political Geography*, 4th ed, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1989).

Countries are grouped as South-East Asia, the Balkans, Western Europe, Central Africa, Latin America etc., based on geography, history and economy and considered as groups by the U.N.O or I.M.F etc., to work trans-nationally for all-round development². The second is related to geographical entities or States within a country or nation. For example, in India, linguistic States are considered as distinct regional entities within India. As a result, regionalism based on language and culture started playing a dominant role in politics. In general, political or administrative regions refer to level of government which is below the national level or central government³.

The regional level governments are always in conflict with the central government at the national level⁴. Michael Hechter develops a model known as 'Inner Colonial Model' to address issues of regionalism. According to Hechter regionalism emanates from a real or perceived sense of 'Internal Colonialism'⁵. Inner Colonialism is arising out of conflict between the core and the peripheral regions due to exploitation⁶. Perceived exploitation might be real or imaginary but nonetheless, promotes crave for identity within region. In recent times the sense of regionalism is growing in all parts of India⁷ and resulting in regional movements within the federal democracy⁸. The regional movements are emerging even out of caste and ethnic identity⁹.

² Mark Bevir, *Key Concepts in Governance* (London: Sage Publication Ltd, 2009), pp. 2-5.

³ J Loughlin, "Substate Regionalism," in *Encyclopaedia of Governance*, ed. Mark Bevir, (London: Sage Publication Ltd, 2007), p. 939.

⁴ R S Sharma, *Material Culture and Social Formation in Ancient India* (New Delhi: Macmillan India Ltd., 1983), pp. 21-25.

⁵ Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development 1536-1966* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 8-10; For detail understanding of Internal Colonialism, See Lenin's concept of internal colonialism, it is not new concept Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was first writer to use this notion in an empirical investigation of national development...V. I. Lenin, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, 4th ed. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), p. 172.

⁶ A H Birch, "Minority Nationalist Movements and Theories of Political Integration," *World Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (1978), 326.

⁷ To know more about how the sense of regionalism growing all parts of India in recent times, See, A Majeed, *Regionalism: Developmental Tensions in India* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1984); For detail understanding of identity within region, See, A Prakash, *Jharkhand: Politics of Development and Identity* (New Delhi: Orient

Regionalism: Global context

In all disciplines of Social Sciences, region and regionalism are common topics¹⁰. The term 'regionalism' is the noun form of the word 'region'. According to the Oxford Dictionary, the concept of regionalism means "the desire of people who live in a particular region of a country to have more independent control in political and economic decisions". It is part of a Country, State or Province that has a definite way of life from other parts of the Country etc. Each entity develops out of specific culture and linguistic homogeneity. According to the Encyclopaedia of Britannica, "regional or regionalism consciousness and ideological correlation of thought that evolved from a sense of identity within the region"¹¹ is defined as regionalism. Region as a category is presently considered for analysing, planning and governing various public programmes of National and International level. "A region is determined from an area, which is usually a border concept classifying a portion of the earth's exterior. Area boundaries are inconsistent, secured for convenience, whereas regional boundaries are homogeneity and cohesiveness of the section"¹². By and large, the concept of region is connected with geographical and social homogeneity which is different from the neighbouring areas. Any region will have consciousness of its own owing to its manners and traditions, which develop a sense of identity within the nation. The term regionalism refers to the idea of conscious development of action of planning. It is also applicable for analysing regions as objects which lack official

Longman, 2001); See, R Jenkins, *Regional Reflections: Comparing Politics across Indian States* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁸ For detail understanding of regional movements within the national democracy, See T Brass, *New Farmer's Movement in India* (London: Frank Cass, 1997); See, C Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Low Castes in North Indian Politics* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003).

⁹ To know more about the emerging regional movements out of caste and ethnic identity, See, C Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Low Castes in North Indian Politics* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003).

¹⁰ To understand the concept of region and regionalism, See, "Encyclopaedia of Britannica," 15th ed. Vol. 9, (1985), 1003.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1003.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 1003.

borders¹³. Hence, region is not merely a geographical unit. It is also related to socio-cultural dimension encompassing socio-political and economic spheres of life commonly shared historically by people living in a region¹⁴.

Regionalism: Indian framework

In India, regionalism widened its factions amid independence. In free India, so many regional organizations raised their voice. In the juncture of India, regionalism is an indistinct idea; with it hold concrete and adverse aspects. For concrete, it symbolizes a pursue execution on the parts of a region. This view, as we have seen, represents the proper appearance of democracy and federalism. Therefore, it's not to be supposed and accept a basis for the fragmentation of the State. This kind of regionalism was still agreed upon with the statement of the S.R.C (States Reorganisation Commission) in 1955. It directs away that awareness of regionalism not only in the logic of pessimistic consciousness of the dearth of oppression or misuse other than in the intelligent scope of a festive look of the shared behaviour of people residing in a region or State. It may be contributing to the gratification of healthy beings of the community. Speaking the same language may also uphold development of regional awareness and possibly administrative assistance. Enormously, in a democratic state, people can legally assert, and the administration ought to promise that the admin is engaged in a manner the lingo human being can understand¹⁵.

Mainly, regionalism is a multifaceted concept. It can be classified into two types. Initially, socio-economic pressure groups fight next to the assault of strangers or migrants, or incomer. Next, it is a political group that fights in favour of political supremacy and request an individual state or identity to support its people. These sorts of political movement resolve slowly give

¹³ Alvin Johnson & R. A. Edwin Seligman, "Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences," Vol. 13, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923), pp. 377-378.

¹⁴ Alvin Johnson & R. A. Edwin Seligman, "Encyclopaedia of social science," Vol. 13 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), p. 208.

¹⁵ Formation of Linguistic provinces, see para 44-50, See, K B S S. Fazl Ali, *Reports of the States Reorganisation Commission* (Delhi: Government of India Press, 1955), pp. 10-11; For detail understanding of intra-state agreements and regional grievances, see, para 830-838, Also See, pp. 224-225.

origin to a political body, leading to achieve political control. For example, activities of groups such as, Shiv Sena (Maharashtra), Lachit Sena (Assam) and Amar Bengali (West Bengal) came out as societal movements for uniting locals.

According to Das, Hindi Vs. English have repeatedly been projected as the issue of North Vs. South. Like arguments be doomed to lead to the esteem of some local political parties in a few Southern states. Various historical features have admired the improvement and development of refinement amid South and North India. Dravidian forces are with South; they stand on top of language, social group, racial and history of provincial. The success of local party in various south states should end the separating row among North and South¹⁶.

Regionalism in India is also connected with religious and linguistic minorities. In given region, majority people form an idea on the people of other States as well as on minorities which brought regional politics to the forefront. The individuals belonging to other States are repeatedly looked down upon as strangers, and the condition turns out to be serious if they engage in tactical political, governmental, and industrialized positions. The cases like - in Maharashtra, South Indians and Gujaratees, in Assam, Bangalees, and in Odisha and West Bengal Marwaris - can be cited as example for communities living in non-native States and facing discrimination. In Maharashtra Shiv Sena group, in Assam Lachit Sena group, in West Bengal Amar Bengali group and then in Meghalaya Khasi Students Union has demanded a separate identity and insisted on eliminating the supposed stranger. "All Assam Students Union and Assam Gana Parishad" asserted their native identity over the outsiders in the State of Assam¹⁷.

Regionalism in Indian political affairs have typically been observed as in opposition against the organism, federal and not in favour of the primary good of a harmoniously combined and advanced polity. The unauthorised localism was encouraged by essential aspects alike social group, language, marginal group sub-cultures. Binder would also name the mind-set sub-

¹⁶ Hari Hara Das, *India's Democratic Government and Politics* (Bombay: Himalaya publication, 1991), p. 409.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 410-411.

cultures and possibly the majority vital amid certain, besides the essential financial circumstances of the diverse provincial societies¹⁸. Since India exist a great country divorced with big mountains, rivers with forests, close by ample gaps among one region. The significant separation is the language. In India, ironically, an Indian is nearly a vanished genus. We have Punjabis, Bengalis, Tamils, Malayalees, and similar; however, no Indian¹⁹. Gopakumar indicates that regionalism in India is somewhat the mixture of India ethnic group, community, fiscal growth, the aim of Indian republics civilization of religious leaders, the kind of plan and preparation implemented by the central regime, etc²⁰.

In India, regionalism is much multifaceted. In a specific region, subdivisions of a region are found; for example, in the one-language regions, there are autonomist actions in various states in India. For instance, the Marathi region is differentiated with the Vidarbha region based on language and culture; in Andhra Pradesh, Telangana region has its own colloquial language and cultural differentiation. Similarly, Gujarat State also has regional variations. In U.P as well, there are such demands that stand on fiscal and societal rearward. In Andhra Pradesh, the northern areas, earlier Nizam controlled Telugu talking regions that are social, economic, and educational back to front, are challenging an independent region for long period. Likewise, in Maharashtra, Vidarbha region, in Gujarat, Sourashtra region etc., had sub-regional demands. The sub-regionalism too offers origin to political organisations and political leaders. Several times, the political leaders from different political organisations, particularly the national organisations, lifted this demand to obtain the individuals interest and get high-quality professions. For example, Telangana and Andhra demanded the independent Pradesh Congress Committee (P.C.C) for both states. The Telangana and Vidarbha groups supported political movements under leadership of Channa Reddy and Y.B. Chavan in respective States who later became Chief Ministers.

¹⁸ Gaddam Ram Reddy, & B A V Sharma, *Regionalism in India: A Study on Telangana* (New Delhi: Concept publishing, 1979), p. 3.

¹⁹ "Times of India," May-26, (1996), p. 15.

²⁰ G Gopa Kumar, *Regionalism Political Parties and State Politics* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1986), p. 40.

Sub-regionalism became violent and intolerant in the recent times. A number of requests are prepared to stand on a socio-economic, political and cultural basis, still support diversity in language, customs and behaviour of livelihood. People from these regions feel that a few linguistic (minorities) and cultural groups with diverse historical backgrounds are living under the leading linguistic groups. Although it is not in favour of basic civil rights, individuals are necessary to be alive under the name of harmony and truthfulness of the nation. The Vidharbha, Uttaranchal, Jharkhand, Bundelkhand, Bodoland, Gurkhaland, drifts are of this category to one side from Telangana.

In some states, sub-regionalism was slowly turned into political parties and challenged in the election, hammering up the local feeling. A few parties got hands filled of seats, and they played an influential job in the Parliament and the Assemblies. The Congress Party got external support from the Telangana Praja Samiti (T.P.S) into the Lok Sabha, while Mrs Gandhi regime was at risk because of slit in her party in 1969. Congress has asked for the backing to Jharkhand Party two times in Orissa, indicative of the tribal populace and Ganatantra Parishad representative the elevated land regions. However, these political organisations existence period is small and snappy, as their support is not extremely sturdy. But in some states, the same regional parties showed their ability to get into power even.

Regional sentiments into various States have naturally grown amongst the individuals due to the county's existing underprivileged socio-economic conditions and carelessness by the governments. Nevertheless, localism has been ripe up; it alive simulated establishment with the political marginalised politicians, particularly the Congress party, to uphold their tapered safety. Parallel regionalism curved into a provincial party stirring the citizens by balancing the monetary and communal tardiness by way of urbanized regions, reminiscent of their feelings and the beauty of the historic environment.

Regionalism in India: Background

Regionalism as a phenomenon is not new to the Indian political system. Regionalism has stayed on possibly the main effective vigour in Indian politics. Regionalism is ingrained in India's much variety of languages,

customs, ethnic group, hamlets, beliefs and so on, and expectant by the local attention of person's uniqueness indicators and stimulated by an intellect of regional dispossession. Used for several ages, India could remain the land of several domains, counties, mores and habits. The most crucial aim to see in this respect is that the inner free-will of community, regardless of lingual, racial, spiritual, and provincial or their groupings, has stay behind the major shape in that regionalism in India has required to articulate it in history and to coexist. The British imperialist intentionally encouraged the populace of different regions to imagining their county relatively than the country as a full, meant to uphold their grip above India all through the nationwide actions.

Regionalism: Pre-Independence

To build their colonial government in India, the British Empire chose three important centres: Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. They obtained regions of East, West and South India was slowly added to the presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal. They resulted in the formation of three imaginative British Indian zones. During the first phase of empire-building, British have established higher States. In the next segment, they divided larger States to construct British Indian provinces into smaller ones. The onliest purpose of the Britishers in the territorial re-organization and formation of new States was the betterment of imperial interests and the powerful administration. In this regard, Assam was the first State of its kind. No plan for development and welfare, due weightage was given to the advocacy of the policy 'Divide and Rule'. British India had three provinces: the Governor's zones, the Lt. Governor's zones, and the Chief Commissioner's zones²¹. India during the British period was not uniformly controlled, and various regions may be categorized as Areas under effective British control, partially administered the native princes-controlled areas, un-administered areas and the areas. The following observation of B.B. Kumar about the rulers of North-East India equally applies to many cases: "the British were not aware of the strengths and weaknesses of the rulers of this region and were very cautious in their dealings with them. Their cautious approach gradually gave way to

²¹ B B Kumar, *Small State Syndrome in India* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1998).

unusual firmness. The Kings and Chiefs, who were initially treated on equal footings, were gradually reduced to the status of Sanad and Kabuli holders. British paramountcy gradually eclipsed the sovereignty of the Kings. This gradually happened as British established their stronghold on other parts of the country and could know the inner weakness of the society, the ruling elite and the polity of the region”²².

In the year 1872, India was divided into 16 Provinces²³. The regions in British rule are separated on seven great provinces, Madras and Bombay presidency is one side, Bengal and North-west areas, Punjab in lieutenant Governor’s rule, under Chief Commissioner central Provinces and Oudh. In addition, there were three small Coorg, Ajmer-Marwari and Andaman and Nicobar Islands, in British control. A massive area of country was under Indian Princes. Their affairs were all under the British Paramount rule, and these were all administered by the agreement. ‘Sanads’ and fund did with diverse rulers in different times in the same way the Rajputana also joined. More to the point, there were some tiny pockets under the rule of French and Portuguese too. In 1872, Daman & Diu, Goa lands were under Portuguese rule and Karikal Mahe, Yanam, Pondicherry, and Chandemagore were under French rule. Tribal regions of Assam subjugated by Duphala, Akha, and Mecree ethnic groups have been placed on chart in the North-East front line bureau region of India.

Bengal region was under the Orissa Commissioner’s division. For Assam had Nine British Districts; namely, Khasia & Jynteah Hills, Garo Hills, Nowgong live in Princely States. Bihar area consists of ten districts which were all in the British rule. Bengal partition had fourteen districts. Two Princely zones, Viz., Hill Tipperah and Cooch Behar, the main branch of the Chota Nagpur, were under the Princely States of Oodeypoor Jushpoor. The

²² B B Kumar, *The Trend of British Annexation of North-East India*, (New Delhi: Omsons Publication, 1994).

²³ They are Ajmer Merwara Province, Bengal Province, Madras Province, Hyderabad Province, Central India Province, Mysore Province, North-West Province, Oudh Province, Punjab Province, Rajputana Agency Province, Muneepoor Province, British Burma Province, Coorg Province, Jammu & Kashmir Province and Sikkim Province. Banthia Jayant Kumar, *India Administrative Atlas 1871-2001: A Historical perspective* (New Delhi: Registrar General & Census Commissioner of India, 2001), p. 109

Bombay Presidency, extended over Bombay and Gujarat, consisted of eighteen districts and more than forty-two Princely States. All these districts covered nearly one-third of the Bombay Presidency. The Central Provinces were under the control of Chief Commissioner in 1962. They were created integrating nineteen districts and fifteen Princely States by the British regime. The Charter Act of 1833 created North-West Province and kept under jurisdiction of an Officer below the rank of Lieutenant Governor²⁴.

Except for Cochin and Travancore, twenty-one British districts formed as Madras presidency, and five princely states leftover smaller territorial units in the south. Madras Presidency represents twenty-one British districts, and five Princely States, apart from Travancore and Cochin lingering was slighter defensive units. Hence Province was placed in the Southern most branch of the country, crossing the length of the eastern shore and moving the river State Orissa in an extended form. Punjab Province was occupied during the Sikh wars of 1845 and 1849. In 1859 this was brought under control of Lieutenant Governor with merger of Delhi and nearby regions form North-West Province. Punjab Province, which was under the control of the British, got divided into fifteen Districts. Apart from that, there are fourteen Princely states²⁵. Rajputana Agency was alienated into twenty-one Princely States in the Western part of the Country. And it was one of the most prominent territorial regions that many rulers administered, and the shape of their territory also differed a lot.

Central India has constituted one hundred and forty-eight princely states. The North India is developed in 1856 and merged with the rule of Chief Commissioner. The period of 1872 consisted of twelve British districts. Some regions of Central India have captured Nizams of Hyderabad on hire. In 1853, until through a resident Stationed at Hyderabad was under the control of the British government²⁶. In the South part, Hyderabad embedded a big region separated into thirty-seven princely districts, including Mysore; South India had eight princely States. According to Alteration of Boundaries Act of Assam 1951, neighbouring region belonging to Kamrup District of Assam was

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

annexed to Province of Bhutan. According to Naga Hill-Tuensang Area Act 1957, territorial areas of Assam and North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) were made part of Assam State²⁷.

Andhra is created in accordance with “Andhra State Act of 1953”. In 1956, Eight Districts of earlier Hyderabad State and some of Northern regions of Madras State are formed into Andhra Pradesh State. In 1956, Kasaragod Taluk of South Kanara District and Malabar District from Madras State are added to Kerala State. Later, the suggestions of the State Reorganization Act 1956 are established in New Mysore State with some parts of Bombay, Hyderabad and included some areas that come under the Madras State, i.e., the entire area of Coorg was combined.

Madhya Pradesh was attached to Madhya, and Vindhya Pradesh was formed as Bhopal State begins with forty-three districts. In Rajasthan, Ajmer was wholly merged. In 1960, the Maharashtra State was constructed purely on linguistic basis. Bombay State was formed in 1956 through Inter-State reorganisation of Districts and Taluks. Even in the Reorganisation Act of 1956, older Bombay State lost four districts, i.e., Kanara, Dharwar, Bijapur and Belgaum to Mysore State. Abu Road Taluk (Banaskanth district) was added to the State of Rajasthan. Districts of Bhir, Parbhani, Osmanabad, Aurangabad and Nanded were given to the State of Maharashtra. Excluding few Taluks, three Taluks of Bidar and part of Adilabad district from Hyderabad State and Amaravathi, Wardha, Buldhana, Akola, Yeotmal, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda districts from Madhya Pradesh State were merged with State of Maharashtra.

According to the Bombay Reorganisation Act 1960, the earlier Bombay State was split into Gujarat and Maharashtra on a linguistic basis. Likewise, the West Bengal acquired the French region of Chandernagore under the Merger Act 1954. According to the States Reorganisation Act 1956, Patiala and East Punjab and earlier Punjab region are combined to form the current Punjab State in 1951. The State of Uttar Pradesh remained unchanged. According to the New State Act 1954, Bilaspur is merged with Himachal Pradesh in 1954. A District like Chini Tahsil, 14 villages of Rampur Tahsil of

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

Mahasu District and some Districts from Himachal Pradesh are formed as Union Territory in 1961.

According to 1956 State Reorganisation Act and 10th Amendment of 1961 Constitutional Act²⁸, the following Union Territories are formed; they are - Goa, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Delhi, Laccadive Minico, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Diu and Daman, Amindivi Islands, Naga Hills-Tuesang Area, NEFA, Pondicherry, Sikkim and Tripura. Assam was restructured forming two new administrative units i.e., Mizoram and Meghalaya. In the Assam Reorganisation Act 1971, Meghalaya State confirmed an independent region on 2nd April 1970. Then, the North-East Frontier Agency is created in Arunachal Pradesh under the North-Eastern Area Act 1971. Naga Hill-Tuensangs region are specified Statehood and started as Nagaland under the Nagaland Act 1962.

The centre is everlasting; however, the nature of the states is not constant in their physical form, but it changes accordingly to the local demands and forces. Whatsoever the circumstances they could have, the states are the elements of the unification.

India after Independence

After the Indian Constitution was launched in 1950, Indian States got divided into Four Sections²⁹.

Section-A: It consists of the provinces of British India. They were - Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Punjab.

Section-B: It consists of states formed out of the Princely States. They were - Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU), Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin and Hyderabad.

Section-C: It covers **the** states carved out of previous Chief Commissioner Zones. They were - Bhopal, Bilaspur, Delhi, Ajimир, Himachal Pradesh, Coorg, Manipur, Tripura and Vindhya Pradesh.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

²⁹ Partha Chatterjee, *State Politics in India*, ed. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 7; For more details, See *Report of the First General elections in India*, Vol. 1, (New Delhi: General Election Commission of India, 1955), p. 12.

Section-D: It consists of Union Territories ruled by Centre. They were - Andaman and Nicobar Islands, tribal areas of Assam and acquired territories.

The following process had initiated by the national leaders, i.e. Integration of the country: All parts of the country were not equally integrated by the British. The national leadership took practical steps to incorporate the regions in the national mainstream by which the Princely States were brought under a unified constitutional framework. The people of these States were no more subjected to the monocratic excesses and the tyrannies of their rulers. Then Uniform administration was gradually extended throughout the country. This was not so during the British days when an extensive area of the country remained either non-administered or partially administered. The entire country was uniformly democratized. This brought a change in quality of life of people of the Princely States of this country³⁰.

Regional Political Parties

In Indian political system, the regional parties are widespread; it is also not new to Indian politics. They came to existence from 1916 in the Madras State named like Justice Party. Steadily these political organizations are performing a crucial part. They are raising extra influential and developed to the control over to the National Parties. The committed leader has come into sights that can downhill the National Parties with their control. A few regional political parties turned into national political parties, similar to BSP (Bahujan Samaj Party), SP (Samajwadi Party) and SSP (Shiv Sena Party).

Party politics normally emanate from diverse circumstances along with dissimilar stances. In contrast, the regional parties have arisen in India in diverse alive social, economic and political backgrounds. There is no consistent outline of political condition living in the states anywhere regional parties have appeared hooked on being. These parties, which ought to be described as State-based parties, lead to a decline in national will and change the perception of national unity, integrity, solidarity, and diversity. In a close observation, the argument proves that they do not stand up for the spell and throughout these coordinated hits. An anxious effort is prepared to restore the

³⁰ B B Kumar, *Small State Syndrome in India* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1998).

weakening party at the Centre, which was benefit from authority control designed for excessively elongated a time except for a short-lived two-and-a-half-year interlude³¹.

Regional parties have continued for a lengthy period and hold supremacy in different states like Jammu and Kashmir, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, and the North-Eastern states. Enemies of regional parties disregard that these parties come into being. Individuals consider that the national parties have unsuccessful to complete their goals and prospects and care for the welfare of the citizens who have chosen them to rule. With the breakdown of national parties, individuals have felt that the wings of these parties who work in the states stare for the central offices for their advice and directions. Therefore, the initiation of lacking is impacted on to the party's apparatus, are more involved in maintain the power attention towards the central offices rather than the permit transference and make opportunities for increasing the local leadership³².

It is not wrong to be pompous of one's culture, language, and struggle for improvement. No regional party urge independence or separation. However, parties created on a local base can give full concentration to the nuisance of the growth of the particular states, unopposed by distant control. Local disparity can be restored further efficiently by creating governments that have struck certain heredity in the earth. These differences are the actual reason for hatred, which sometimes provides to go up to narrow and separatist trends³³. These parties' organizational composition, maintenance, and approach are different from State to State. The socio-economic changes are shaped and manifested by improved education and adult suffrage which get reflected in societal relations. It is transformed in social relationships that change political behaviour³⁴.

After establishing the government, the regional parties have shifted their focus on tradition and history, community and structures, economy,

³¹ *Times of India Group*, "Din Man," *Editorial Hindi daily*, May-13, (1988).

³² S Venkat Narayan, *NTR – A Biography* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1983).

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

³⁴ Myron Weiner & Joseph. LaPalombara, *Political Parties and Political Development*, ed. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 418.

religious values, ethnicity, national rivalries, etc. Most of the parties have followed this pattern and continuing their legacy like this. Parties like the National Conference of Jammu and Kashmir, DMK in Tamil Nadu and TDP in Andhra Pradesh covered these issues³⁵. Moreover, collectivism with the support of religion is too answerable to the growth of sub-nationalism in India. Various conditions and causes stimulated and inspired the development of regional leaders, consequently leading to the surfacing of Regional Parties. Also, the opposition to Congress appears to be the significant feature of these Regional Parties due to its monopolistic behaviour in the Indian political affairs³⁶.

Various major factors to emerge regional parties in the states: non-success of working for national parties not to fulfil their regional aspirations and demands. Power rolling over particular caste and regions could lead to regional parties like Punjab, Akali Dal party, Kerala, Muslim League party, Maharashtra, Shiv Sena party, etc. Neglecting or ignoring the regions which have specific historical and cultural significance. And not focus on the local problems, economic inequalities or disparities. They lack good opposition in the states where a big party dominates; due to this, the Telugu Desam Party came to the limelight. Reconstitutions of a linguistic base give way for the formation of regional parties as well. It happened in the Maharashtra and Gujarat states. Furthermore, disputes due to not allot party tickets for party workers in the election, and group and factionalism is developed in the dominant parties, directed to the surfacing of regional parties. Influence and personality are too directed to the appearance of regional parties, for example, Annadurai, N.T. Rama Rao, M.G. Rama Chandran and Sharad Pawar etc.

Regionalism can arise in certain specific situations. In India, before independence, there was a form of provinces under British rule to centralize the administration with an inevitable regionalism. To address the grievances of the people and regionalism was used to fight against the British government. In the wherein twenties, the national parties like Congress have ignored all

³⁵ “*Times of India*,” May-26, (1996), p. 15.

³⁶ Myron Weiner & Joseph. LaPalombara, *Political Parties and Political Development*, ed. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 203.

kinds of freedom.³⁷ Later independence, regionalism was secured when the Congress Party grew a firm entity. The non-congress leadership seemed for an option. Attempts have been executed to invite the masses by managing feelings. Political polarization started in the south and north India. Around 1967, local parties were rooted in both the Hindi belt and Tamil Nadu³⁸. Over time, calls for regional autonomy have been made in Assam, Punjab and Kashmir³⁹.

In India regionalism is so compound. It includes no specificity and path surrounded by the area. Some sub-regionalisms provide origin to political parties⁴⁰. The five-year plans created the urbanized areas additional residential and therefore the less developed less, even as the wealthy turn into richer associated the poor poorer in general⁴¹. The expansion of regional faithfulness has not solely given issues for the national parties, always it's formed a ample crop of regional-based mostly parties⁴². In the early 20th century, these regional political parties have emerged, and Ramaswamy Naiker could be a discoverer of regional political parties in the Pre-Independence period. He is the one who led Dravidian movement that fought against the Brahmins for establishing social, political, economic and cultural integration among the people. Because the Dravidians claim that they are indigenous people to the sub-continent of India, but they call Brahmins, they belong to North India. They belong to the Aryan sect and came from central Asia and Sanskrit Hindu religion, taught their children English, and occupied all government positions⁴³. The Dravidian movement was started in the un-bifurcated Madras state⁴⁴. After that, the emergence of regional parties changed their political

³⁷ Shiv Chandra Jha, *Indian Party Politics* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publication, 1989), pp. 291-292

³⁸ "Times of India," May-26, (1996), p. 15.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Myron Weiner & Joseph LaPalombara, *Political Parties and Political Development*, ed. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 203.

⁴¹ Shiv Chandra. Jha, *Ibid.*, pp. 291-292.

⁴² H Hanson & Janet. Douglas, *India's Democracy* (New York: W. W. Norton Company Inc., 1972), p. 84.

⁴³ Madhusudan Mishra, *Politics of regionalism in India-with special reference to Punjab* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publication, 1989), pp. 26-27.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

system. A significant factor is that these regional parties supported parties work democratically; that is why they have developed into other liable and closer to the folks.

These regional political parties are narrow to the federal system, act at the state level and only meet regional aims, not national aspirations. They could not have complete knowledge and understanding of many national issues. So, these parties have a sharp vision that turns around the region; they recognize their states' geographic and societal environment very well. Regional parties' associations are restricted to certain places. They will not know the national problems well, and several local parties' value local goals rather than national welfare. National solid and external policies are required for overall economic development. To secure the country against external aggression, fight terrorism, condense local disparity, and support the proper fiscal growth of all States, we require a sturdy central government in a centralized makeup, a national party by way of wide goals and outlooks.

Still, the foundations of regional parties in India have carried drastic improvements in the Indian political system. These parties cover tapered space among the government and the individuals. They are close with people because they get to know the perception of the individual. They look after the people because they belong to the same regional backgrounds. Hence, they are very devoted to taking each movement forward.

Regional Parties in India: North and North-East

The regional parties are different in North India. The Siromani Akalidal party is the prime one. This trend slowly spread to North-East India. Environmental and cultural diversities developed strong Regional Parties in North-Eastern States of India. Regional Parties have gained additional seats over National parties in the North and North-Eastern States. In 1957 Assembly Elections, Regional Parties gained success in many States.

Some Parties came together and insisted for linguistic States. In this struggle - Samyukta Maharashtra Samithi, Sikkim Sangraha Parishad, Jharkhand Mukthi Morcha, Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad were the notable Parties in North India. Parties

from North East India which significantly fought for separate linguistic States were Mizo National Front, Tripura Tribal Force, National Socialist Council of Nagaland, Peoples' Liberation Army, Naga National Council, Kangleipak Peoples' Revolutionary Party, Gurkha National Liberation Front and Assam United Liberation Front. Student organizations also supported for the cause; gradually, some of these organizations became Regional Political Parties such as All Bodo Students Union (ABSU), Assam Gana Parishad (AGP), Jatiuatabadi Dal, Militia Jana Sangh, Purban Chaliya Lok Parishad, and Assam Students Union (AASU).

Regional Parties in South India

Regionalisms in south India bit differ from north India because it was started as a direct fight among north and south.

Dravida Munnetra Khazhgam (D.M.K)

Developing the regional movements in Tamilnadu is a symbol of holding the native Dravidian land and Culture. The action went on like this: they assert they are the aboriginal populace of India. By saying, Culture is oldened and around thirty centuries aged⁴⁵. They are evenly aware of the grand tradition of the Tamil literature. The Aryan entered from North part India, carried along with Hindu religions and Sanskrit language. Be trained well in a local language, adopted it, and spread Sanskrit and Hindu ideology in South India. Being Brahmin, all preserve supremacy for purity and devoutness over not assimilating into Dravida Culture. In a while, once the British arrive, the Brahmins train by English teaching over their kids. Impact of the modernised pedagogy and exposition, Brahmins could raise nationwide strife for independence. In everyone life in the Madras Presidency, the supremacy concerning Brahmins produced a sensation of lowliness among non-Brahmin Dravidas⁴⁶.

The knowledge of separate identity and mistreatment at the hands of Brahmin has formed unique wakefulness in the Dravidians. The local feeling

⁴⁵ Iqbal Narain, *State Politics in India*, ed. (Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1967), p. 466.

⁴⁶ S N Balasundaram, "The Dravidian (Non-Brahmin) Movement in Madras," in *State Politics in India*, ed. Iqbal Narain. Meenakshi Prakashan, pp. 167-171. Meerut, 1967.

in Madras Presidency went towards the news media, i.e., in Tamil ‘Dravidian’ in English ‘Justice’ and in Telugu ‘Andhra Prakasika’. In 1917 the organization called “South Indian Liberal Federation” was started. Later this became Justice Party. It produced couple of ministries consecutively, i.e., in 1920 and 1923. Under the leadership of Panagal Raja, non-Brahmin members formed ‘Justice Party’. The agenda shows clearly that not in support of one group to destabilize the pressure and influence of British monarchs who only can grip the level yet connecting caste and dogma in the current situations⁴⁷.

The Justice Party and Dravidian Movement developed caste politics in the Madras State⁴⁸. After Tayagaraja Chetti, the Justice Party turn into a side-track. In later phase, Ramaswamy Naicker, a Congressman from Kannada-Telugu Balija community became leader of Non-Brahmin Movement in Tamil land. In 1925 he resigned from Congress Party on the pretext of unequal representation of Tamils in electoral bodies. He led the ‘Self-Respect movement’, which later became the ‘non-Brahmin movement’. This movement aspired for separate Dravidian identity based on Tamil lingo⁴⁹.

In 1937, the Congress government was headed by C. Rajagopalchari, a stalwart nationalist by creed; in nationalistic zeal, Rajaji initiated Hindi as an essential subject next to the school level in Madras State. Dravidians conflicted with the idea of imposition of a North-Indian language on them and protested; its chief E.V. Ramaswamy and millions got arrested. Eventually, the administration had to correct its verdict, and Hindi language ended as an optional⁵⁰. After some prolonged internal conflicts, a division occurred in Dravida Kazhagam Party. Anna Durai, the prime associate of Naicker, beside with his big crowd of supporters and friends, separated himself from Naicker on 17th September 1949. He established another Political Party named Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), a reformist Dravidan Association⁵¹.

Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)

⁴⁷ S P Rastogi, “Emergence and rise of the D.M.K.,” in *Indian Political Parties*, ed. C Kashyap Subhash, Research, p. 159. Delhi, 1971.

⁴⁸ M Subrahmanyam, “*Nationalism-Regionalism vs. Separatism in the Developing Politics of India*,” *Op. cit.* p. 59.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 60.

⁵¹ M Subrahmanyam, *Op. cit.* p. 60-62.

The D.M.K has its chronological heredity with the Self Respect Movement, Justice Party, South Indian Association, Justice Party, and combined in 1944 under E.V.R to establish Dravida Kazhagam. The term 'Dravida Kazhagam' means Tamilian development party. After some years of the close association of organisational work, his solo admirer, Annadurai, disagreed and ruptured with the Dravida Kazhagam and started D.M.K. This Party opposed strongly the supremacy of higher social groups and Vedas, Puranas, all religious ceremonials carried out by the religious class. The D.M.K, supported by the affluent non-Brahmin students, well-known film superstars, meaner and ordinary individuals similar to Maravrs, Nadars, and Adi-Dravida became strong. The Party opposed central obligatory duty ties and insisted 'Tamil' as a middling of directions. It was resolute on the regional disparities and economic inequality in South India as the source of dearth. It directs to numerous well-accepted activities like anti to idol worship, Hindi, Brahmin etc.

On June 5th, 1960, D.M.K and Nani Tamil (we Tamils) planned a combined movement for Madras State to separate Madras from India and build an autonomous, self-governing state of Tamil Nadu. On March 30th 1961, D.M.K wished for Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Kerala and Mysore to separate on or after the Indian unification and created a self-regulating nation of Dravidanadu. Apart from the plan, it did not procure a lot hold up from outer Madras. The lump campaigning changed towards a political party *via* the voting and law-making method. In 1967 it moved towards authority afterwards, D.M.K rigorously concentrated much on the claim for regional sovereignty. The D.M.K contested the third general election and succeeds fifty seating, whereas it obtains only fifteen seating in the next common election. Its potency in Lok Sabha increased from two in 1957 to seven. Again in 1967, D.M.K came to power and changed their rise from autonomy to local sovereignty and more focused on Centre-State relationships by demanding extra finances from the central government. After, in April, Chief Minister Karunanidhi tried for the partition of Tamilnadu from the Indian Union. Then after to some extent, they faced several divisions after the death of Annadurai. Personality rather than ideas discrepancy that caused split in the party. And it led to the new establishment.

All India Anna Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK)

After the death of C. N. Annadurai, the founder of D.M.K, the All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazagam (AIADMK) party was launched. M.G. Ramachandran was the treasurer of D.M.K and later expelled from the Party. Then he established A.I.A.D.M.K Party in 1972. M.G. Ramachandran, the Tamil renowned actor, turned into extremely trendy. In the 1977 election to Lok Sabha, the party challenged and succeeded twenty seats in coalition with the Congress party. In June 1977, in the Assembly elections, it became successful with one-hundred and twenty-nine seats and held the sovereign power of Tamil Nadu. M.G. Ramachandran became the Chief Minister and continued his rule in the state until his death in 1987.

Though, A.I.A.D.M.K. is a local party with a national outlook. It is not divisive like D.M.K., but both parties followed the doctrine of Annadurai. Then Jayalalitha became the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu from 1991 till 1996. The party was slowly missing the people's self-reliance due to unyielding activities, lavish lifestyle, fraud, Sashikala part, property litigations etc. Jayalalitha played a prominent part in building and cracking the B.J.P steered coalition ministry chief by Vajpayee at the Centre during 1998-99. The Party took stand in favour of removal of Naval chief Vishnu Bhagavat by the Vajpayee government.

The Kerala Congress

The Kerala Congress is the largest local Party in Kerala. Starting on Oct 9th, 1964, external animosity, individual disputes and class enmity in the Congress, the Kerala Congress went through Kerala's Nair and Syrian Christians electorates. It's an influential party. It's societal stand concerted in core Cochin, Travancore, and Catholic people in Malabar in the vein of the Muslim League, the tactical places in firm sections, and the Church's rule above the Party ended its significant energy in the state politics. It was originated by E.J Jacob, K.M. Mani, K.M. George, and P.J. Joseph.

However, it is a controlling power; it did not move into rule in the State, although it's an all the time ingredient partner in the Government created by Congress. It is the regional Party of national outlook, nothing like

D.M.K. The Party concentrated on local problems resolved carried by the field of state government.

Indian Union Muslim League (I.U.M.L)

The Indian Muslim League, a spiritual, communal local party in range and force, directs a dreadful situation in Kerala. It has obtained excellent command over the Malabar region. The principles of the Muslim League are going forward on the grounds of the Muslims in the nation. The guiding principle has been watchfully outlined to set the nationwide safety. Its aim is to protect civil rights of Muslims and other negligible sections in India. It arises for defending the welfare of Muslims. It permits no intrusion whichever since the element of Government or some other outer cluster, in its sacred themes the social gathering and values of Islam. The Party takes its backing on or after the Muslim traders, agronomists and farm-labourers.

Regional Parties in A.P: Pre-Independence Period

The Andhra Pradesh was meant for Telugu community, and Telugus had no other unit prior to independent India. They were mixed in the Madras presidency. The Telugu people and Tamil community were administered jointly. The political affiliation amongst the Telugu and Tamil people slowly vanished because of the violent temperament of Tamil people. However, for the duration of this era, lots of political parties were also yielded. There was increasing regional sentiment amongst Tamils; disagreement with Tamils' centre and political control may direct the Telugu community to have their State below some political organisations that capture the scenery over period.

Justice Party

Justice Party is established in 1921. It has its origins from the South Indian Liberation Front (S.I.L.F) which started in 1916. Justice Party largely had Kshatriya, Kapu, Velama, Reddy and Kamma communities. However, it was primarily a non-Brahmin organisation although facilitated National politics. The party was turned down in 1936 after some leaders tied in the Congress.

Andhra Congress

The Telugus formed the Andhra Congress committee it was strong wish for separate from Madras State. In opposition to Gandhi and Annei Beasant opinion, the Andhra Congress is created and recognised as a Party in the Calcutta Congress Session in 1917. The initial Andhra Congress meeting is held in Vijayawada on 20th January 1918 which is chaired by N. Subba Rao⁵².

Swarajya Party

The Swarajya party come up into being out of discrepancies in the Congress. The party broadened so quickly been recognized—its pretence as a question for Congress in some regions.

Revolutionary Movement

This party, in 1931, became a leftist organisation named Vujjivan Bharat Sammelan in Godavari district started as a revolutionary movement. This alliance was established with Bhagath Singh as the idyllic and motivation in that P.B. Chari, K. Shastri took prominent position. Nevertheless, the management pinched the bud⁵³.

Hindustan Socialist Republican Army

This organisation held a wing in Andhra Pradesh. It was maintained by K. Ramanath Choudary, M. Sohaphthy etc.

Separate Andhra Movement

The idea of separate Andhra could not turn up because numerous declarations were being conceded from 1913 onwards. The Rayalaseema populace was unwilling primarily to split Andhra. The Dhar Commission report was not in favour of the Andhra State formed and hence, a sub-committee was created to look into the affair with Jawaharlal Nehru, P. Seetharammayya and V.B. Patel. The Subcommittee favoured creation of Andhra State separating it from the Madras State.

Post –Independent period

⁵² N Innaiah, *Politics for Power: the role of caste and factions in Andhra Pradesh 1880-1980* (Hyderabad: Scientific Services, 1981), p. 85.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

The regional parties performed an outstanding task to build Andhra Pradesh alongside the Congress Party. These organisations put effort into partitioning Telugu talking areas of Madras State to establish an independent State.

Socialist Democratic Party

It was started by Marri Channa Reddy and Gouthu Lachhanna. This party is not in favour of Sanjeeva Reddy. It was established at Warangal District.

Regionalism movement in Telugu States

The idea of regional sensitivity appears on the front line as a first occurrence in the Madras Presidency. The amalgamated Madras State included the Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, and Odia talking people. Along with these, the Telugu uttering individuals were widely supposed. The Tamilians, mainly, assumed the leadership in the regional Congress Party. Therefore, the significant Andhra leaders be converted into stifling and articulated to classify a local Congress committee of the Andhra region. However, together the regional and nationwide management uttered their dissatisfaction. Andhra leaders assembled in May, 1913 at Bapatla (in Guntur district) and announced the formation of the Andhra Congress Committee. More or less, every prominent Congress leader related to the Andhra locale is present at the convention. They intended to acquire independent status to Telugus by decreasing the dominance of the Tamils in the Andhra matter and to establish a separate region for Telugus. Pressure they exerted on the Congress Party and on the 8th April 1917, the Congress Party agreed to form a Telugu State⁵⁴.

Andhra regionalism has foundations on language and cultural. The Telugu being the second largest language next to Hindi, demand for separate State on language basis gained prominence. Andhras never proposed any separate nationality in Pre and Post-Independence politics. They only projected economic under development and domination by the others

⁵⁴ M Subrahmanyam, "Nationalism-Regionalism vs Separatism in the developing politics of India," *Indian Journal of Politics*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (1981), p. 54.

specially, the Tamils⁵⁵. In principle, the Indian National Congress had acknowledged freedom movement and expressed their desire to continue the same at the Nagpur session of 1920. In 1928 the Nehru Report suggested the need to reorganise the region on linguistic basis.

After the First General Elections in 1952, C. Rajagopalachari, a Tamil leader became the Chief Minister. Based on the Nehru Committee Report, leaders from Andhra demanded a separate State based on language. The Central leadership was willing to consider such demand. However, the local leaders from Tamil and other language background did not favour the move. All the legislatures hailing from Telugu speaking region stood firmly for separate State. In 1952, out of one hundred and sixty legislators, seventy Andhra legislators met the Congress old veteran leader, Gadicherla Harisarvottama Rao. The meeting resolved to follow the Gandhian path of agitation through democratic means to attain its goals and objectives. A Gandhian follower and Sarvodaya leader namely, Potti Sri Ramulu went on hunger strike for attaining a separate State for Telugus from Madras State. Central government did not give much interest to the demand for separate Andhra State. The struggle for separate State went peacefully till death of Sri Ramulu. Later, it became violent. The movement resembled the Civil-Disobedience Movement of the Indian Freedom Struggle. Students boycotted from attending educational institutions.

Sri Ramulu expired on the 56th day of his hunger strike and as a result emotions flared up in Andhra Region and agitation took a route of violence. All Telugu districts were in fear and also several people got killed in police firing. The Union Government was unresponsive until the agitation became violent. Although Union Government rejected Andhra's request and declared that it could not be done however, it finally agreed to the demands. Then Nehru said that he will take early steps to form Andhra State excluding Madras city on 19th December 1952⁵⁶. In the end, as a first step taken by Nagpur Congress resolution 1920 and with following Constitutional

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

⁵⁶ Karat Prakas, *Language and Nationality Politics in India* (Madras: Orient Longmans, 1973), pp. 37-41.

recommendations proposed by Nehru Committee 1928, reformation of Indian federalism on a linguistic base was made possible⁵⁷.

Andhra State was created by the bifurcation of Madras State. The Telugu speaking districts of Circars and Rayalaseema were formed into a separate state on 1st October 1953. Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu became the first Chief Minister for Andhra State. He managed an alliance between the regions of Circars and Rayalaseema by setting up Kurnool as the Capital and High Court at Guntur. The domains of Hyderabad State had Telugu, Kannada and Marathi speaking inhabitants. However, Telugu speaking regions were the largest in Hyderabad State. Like any feudal State, the Nizam of Hyderabad did not take much care to develop Telangana and Telugu language. People of Telangana created literary organisation, 'Andhra Mahasabha' in 1920 to support Telugu regions for promotion of mutual interest on language and culture. Concurrently it championed Telangana peoples' wish to come out of tyranny and feudal rule of the Nizam. Andhra Mahasabha demanded for combining all Telugu speaking regions. Congress and Communist activists and sympathisers were members of Andhra Mahasabha. After the Indian Independence, Congress and Communist Parties recommended for unification of regions of Telugu speakers. The movement lead for separation of Andhra region from Madras State in 1953 failed and gave a setback to unification of Telugu region. Though States Reorganisation Commission proposed for separate States for Telugus i.e., Andhra and Telangana, it did not materialise. This situation helped some members within the Congress party to demand a separate Telangana State. The Telangana leaders within the Congress party opined that a unified Telugu State would prevent economic growth in backward regions of Telangana⁵⁸.

Unrest in Telangana was chiefly concerned with economic backwardness and political dependency over Andhra regions. State of Hyderabad was divided into three branches in 1956 for implementing States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) recommendations. The Kannada and

⁵⁷ M Subrahmanyam, "Intra-Regionalism in Andhra Pradesh," in *Regionalism Developmental Tensions in India*, ed. Akhtar Majeed. Cosmo Publications, p. 119. New Delhi, 1984.

⁵⁸ M Subrahmanyam, *Op. cit.* p. 21-22.

Marathi regions were merged with the States of Mysore and Bombay and the nine Telugu speaking districts of Telangana were merged with Hyderabad. Concerning the apprehensions of the leaders of Telangana, the States Reorganisation Commission left the issue to be resolved by the people of Andhra and Telangana through general elections⁵⁹.

Opposite to the proposal of the SRC, an agreement took place. Home Minister J.B. Pant put his restless efforts to unite Andhra and Telangana for that he called them and kept them in one standard regional canal. At the main, the agitation was stirred by political supremacy, economic backwardness, and more dominance over under-developed areas. Then after that, Andhra and Telangana leaders came to an agreement named 'the Gentlemen's Agreement' between both regions. Consequently, an extended Andhra State was formed including the Telugu speaking areas of the Telangana, Circars/Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema on 1st November 1956.

The 'Gentlemen's Agreement'

Representatives of Telangana State Assembly appointed the Regional Committee to deal with issues pertaining to their regions. After giving aid for the proposed expense of the State, the actual income from the Telangana region will be used for the growth of the area alone. Recruitment to specific jobs in the province will be given to Telangana people for at least fifteen years.

The Gentlemen's Agreement, Clause (13) is incorporated to accommodate the share of political power between the regions of Telangana and Andhra. It states that "if the Chief Minister is from Andhra, the deputy Chief minister should be from Telangana and vice versa. The following two out of five major portfolios will be assigned to Ministers from Telangana i.e., Home, Finance, Revenue, Planning & Development, and Commerce & Industry". The 'Gentlemen's Agreement' is basically meant to integrate Telugu speaking regions. Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy became the first Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ K B S S. Fazal Ali, *Reports of the States Reorganisation Commission* (Delhi: Government of India Press, 1955), p. 105.

⁶⁰ M Subrahmanyam, *Op. cit.* p. 122.

Due course, populace of Telangana expressed a support for sub-regionalism. The traditional cultural aspects were projected to spread Telangana awareness. By and large, Andhra areas were much advanced due to the British rule and the Telangana areas remained backward due to feudal rule of Nizams of Hyderabad. Historical differentiation in these two regions resulted in development of sub-regional consciousness within the people of Telangana despite the language spoken being the same. Observing this kind of sub-regionalism, Duncan Forester stated that “historical and economic factors produce sub-regional problems and encourage the growth of compelling political subcultures which not only do not correspond but conflict with larger unities of language, culture, caste represented by the linguistic State”. Sub-regionalism is an outcome of economic inequality, it may be viewed as a by-product of modernization. A history of division creates sub-regional senses in a widespread cultural region⁶¹. In January 1969 political dominance and economic exploitation of people of Telangana by Andhras led to protest in Telangana regions. The unrest was launched by students of Osmania University on issue of unemployment. The protest quickly expanded to the other domains of Telangana. It took a drastic turn. Many factors such as failure of getting Ministry posts, financial mistreatment, inequality in government employment and cultural diversities etc., led to the protest movement in Telangana regions. The overall outcome of sub-regional affirmation in regional politics added new aspects to Indian politics. Recognising the importance of civilizing homogeny and historical milieu as the only measure of political existence became clearer in the formation of states based on *lingua franca*⁶².

Civilizing disparities within the regions are an essential part of the structural scope of view. Telangana identification is partly founded on Islamic customs, food habits, language etc. The Telangana folks are much like the North, whilst the Andhra's are extra similar to the South. The campaigning and Telangana civilization fully prove that a standard language and linguistic

⁶¹ B Duncan Forrester, “Sub-regionalism in India: The Case of Telangana,” *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (1970), 6-7.

⁶² Gaddam Rama Reddy, “Andhra Pradesh, Citiadal of Congress” in *State Politics in India*, ed. Iqbal Narain. Meenakshi Prakashan, p. 21. Meerut, 1967.

connection cannot meet the boundaries of mores and entrenched, ancient customs. According to Rashiduddin Khan, “the Telangana agitation for a separate state has at least demonstrated to theorize the inadequacy of the language factor as the primary point of political cohesion and has brought into sharper relief the necessity of taking into account for purposes of political stability and national growth. Such critical factors like a varied pattern of economy, demographic and sociological differentiation, political traditions and sub-cultural divergences, which cannot be taken for granted as a viable identity, must be mentioned”⁶³.

‘Telangana Praja Samiti’ party which was an off shoot from ‘Telangana People’s Committee’ got established by radical leaders of Congress Party and others to attain separate Telangana State. Shortly following creation of Telangana Praja Samiti, unrest was expanded to whole region. Even though it rose as a non-violent agitation by experienced leaders, the younger generation became violent, who welcomed much concern. More than three hundred individuals departed in the police firings, and the State lost Rs. 42 Crores due to that protest. The Telangana Praja Samiti influenced M. Chenna Reddy, a radical Congressman, to uphold the movement of individual Telangana and collectively advised him take up leadership. Including the admission of Chenna Reddy in the Telangana Praja Samiti, the protest got turned into a group movement. A person of experience and skill, he influenced the other political associations within the wrinkle of Telangana Praja Samiti. It is the youth and influential leaders supported by Congress leadership, increased protest in Telangana and performed a vital role in stimulating turmoil⁶⁴.

Regionalism - Classification

Regionalism is an emotional, sensitive element. Emotional regionalism is very influential. It can move behind the boundaries at times, and individuals are prepared even to loss their lives for that specific situation. Sometimes it can shift toward force and went the range of coercing the personalities. It

⁶³ Rasheeduddin Khan, *Composite Culture of India and National Integration* (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1987), p, 25.

⁶⁴ M Subrahmanyam, *Op. cit.* p. 126.

moves in radicalism. This type of localism can generate partisan turmoil in the nation's belief, customs, culture, language, boundary conflicts, river water disturbances etc. Regionalism can be sorted into three groupings, *i.e.*, (1) Ethnic Regionalism, (2) Linguistic Regionalism and (C) Sub-Regionalism.

(1) Ethnic Regionalism

Ethnic regionalism is a desire of a specific group. It may be seen by various tangible characteristics. Ethnic regionalism develops once somebody feels that they are ignored and mixed thru the controlling language groups. India takes three species, *i.e.*, Mongolian, Aryans and Dravidian. This sort of regionalism occurred in the South part of India, North and North-East India. The Tamil which pertains to the Dravidian ethnic group, remain original residents of this sub-continent that force to the south in the Aryans. To preserve their status, they started the Dravidian movement toward Aryans. The very word 'Dravidian' relates to a certain community. A similar event by Communities in the north-eastern area was that the people of the Mongolian race coped for a separate thing when the ethnic groups combined with Assam State. They too consume diverse religious customs. The Tamils maintain that the Brahmins took Hinduism to the south. The Sikhs, too, privilege to do distinct beings.

It can classify in two kinds; I. Regionalism concerning separate Nationhood. II. Regionalism toward sovereign Statehood.

Regionalism concerning separate Nationhood

Any ethnic group may necessitate separate Nationhood from that continent of the country anywhere they exist. For instance, the Tamils commenced the self-respect drive, Justice Party and D.M.K etc., to strive aimed at a dispersed country to shield their identities. The Tamils, who discovered their fifty-century old ethos and enlightenment in the Indus valley, are profoundly known as Statehood. The Muslims wanted a distinct state for them and made Pakistan based on ethnicity. The Sikhs, Nagas etc., ought to demand a sovereign Country for them.

Regionalism towards sovereign Statehood

The Tamils and the Tribes in North-East though wanted to separate from united India, the Constitution of India did not permit such move and all the State of India to remain within the country. They began asking for a separate State. Because of a long flight, the administration selected to make particular States to consider packages based on ethnic and linguistic premise. Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, Meghalaya, Punjab etc., also put forth demands on ethnicity basis. The Tribal regions of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, which made a portion of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, individually, were granted a separate State after eighty years of the hard fight.

Linguistic Regionalism

Linguistic regionalism is a communal aspect at the same time is such a vast and sensitive subject. It is a sentiment of one's dialectal, culture, and discourse. It takes organized the persons who articulate the similar language for friendly message. Usually, there is a great sensation between individuals who fit to the equal species or origin. Despite the individuals of the equivalent linguistic who emigrated or wandered to other nations too arise collected and build relationships. We notice linguistic communities of Indians in external realms. These organisations primarily serve socio-linguistic, matrimonial, legendary relationships. The persons who express the similar utterance will be approaching together to support social and communal bonds and even improve their partisan and commercial links. Linguistic or language regionalism was noticed in the twenties and mid-thirties to include more extra and more individuals in the nationwide drive; it abruptly developed an obstacle to state harmony in the mid-fifties and the mid-sixties. A significantly more substantial size of counties in the north-eastern area of India now formed primarily on folkloric background.

The linguistic regionalism in India originated through the desire for distinct statehood for Telugu community, founded in 1908 in the combined State of Madras presidency. The Telugus, they had their past, asked an independent state. Following a hard struggle, their desire became true just later, the Freedom. In 1953 a discrete linguistic State was formed outside the Madras State. Formerly the government of India had established the States Reorganisation Commission to in support of forming different States on a

linguistic base which resulted in creation of Andhra State. The campaign for a self-governing State of Andhra was launched in 1913. However, in 1920 Congress Party admitted Andhra plea for linguistic realignment in the State. Andhra leaders pressed their demand on the floor of the Legislative Assembly for forty years⁶⁵.

To form a distinct Andhra State demand was raised at Bapatla Session in 1913. The discussion carried to accept the Telugu Congress to gain an individual Telugu region for Telugus⁶⁶. In Machilipatnam, a merged Rayalaseema, Andhra, and Telangana plan were first perceived in 1908. Konda Venkatappaiah and Pattabi Sitaramaiah demanded for establishment of separate University in Telugu region in 1910. The nature of the Andhra regional Congress committee in 1917 was notable attainment for the Andhra⁶⁷. The desire for an individual State was supported by Congress led by the Andhra leaders of political fame. The leaders who wholeheartedly engaged in the Independence struggle under the leadership of Gandhi to achieve independent India from the rule of the British. Following the freedom fight, the Dar Commission which is recognised as Linguistic Provinces Commission 1948 wanted to create Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra and Maharashtra States with separate executive, fiscal and other provisions. Though the report was received by the Central government, the request for the issue of linguistic Province was refused⁶⁸. J.V.P Committee and Dar Commission advocated for formulating separate States on linguistic basis. In 1952 due to unusual violence, Prime Minister Nehru designated Wanchoo Commission to develop a proposal for an individual State. At the demise of Sri Potti Sriramulu, who died at an indeterminate hunger strike, the Prime Minister declared in the Parliament a separate State for Andhra on 19th December 1952. On 1st October 1953 Andhra State evolved as an independent State⁶⁹.

⁶⁵ A Prasanna Kumar, "Caste and Political Leadership," in *Andhra Pradesh: Government and Politics*, ed. A. Prasanna Kumar. Sterling Publishers Private Ltd, p. 1. New Delhi, 1994.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶⁸ Government of India, *Memorandum on Maharashtra - Mysore - Kerala Boundary Dispute* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1967). p. 8.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

In Telangana, the Telugu talking regions under the Nizam dominions, a group of activists under the banner, Andhra Jana Kendra Sangham in 1921 staged a protest for an independent State. The first Conference was headed by Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy on 1922 and the Second Conference in 1923 was presided by Madapati Hanumantha Rao. The opening of Telugu Newspapers and pamphlets in Hyderabad City and Nalgonda quickened the speed of the action. The Newspapers, Nilagiri and Suravaram Pratap Reddy's Golkonda Patrika motivated the Telugu people of Telangana. The Andhra Patrika and the Krishna Patrika influenced people of Coastal Andhra region⁷⁰.

In India, Linguistic regionalism has increased its fame because of the Britishers. When the British government most of the provincial borders had remained restricted on incidents of victory and accomplishments. As a result, the sections of the cultural crowd were usually disseminated in various regions of British India, including princely states. Maharashtrians were a well-known case, divided amid the Central Provinces, Bombay, Mysore and Hyderabad. Those situations had provoked great dissatisfaction, and some emotions flared-up linguistic sentiments. Both the Montague-Chums Ford and Simon reports (1918, 1913) individually identified this proper legitimacy. In 1936, new regions of Orissa and Sindh were realigned based on this policy by the British rulers⁷¹.

Sub-Regionalism

Intra-State regionalism is also recognised as Sub-Regionalism⁷². Sub-Regionalism commonly arises when persons of linguistic State feel that there are the differences in the allocation of finances for socio, economic, linguistic, cultural and political development because of ruling government's partiality. The sub-regional movements are built on local and migratory battles. Utmost popular analytical features of cultural diversity are determinants of competition. Sub-regionalism in Andhra Pradesh got bifurcated because of widespread growth of the Andhra region and holding important administrative posts in government. People from Andhra region got employment in

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷¹ L S Sikri, *Indian government & politics* (New Delhi: Kalyani publishers, 1989), p. 85.

⁷² Mishra Madhusudan, *Ibid.*, p-16.

Telangana region in public and private sectors such as industries, schools, government offices, Road Transport Corporation (RTC) and different business households⁷³.

Sub-regionalism is of two kinds: A. Regionalism because of backwardness and B. Regionalism for distinct Statehood.

Regionalism because of backwardness

Some people may live backward in a homogeneous linguistic State for several reasons; they are topographical, climatically, economic, political, and social in nature. People hailing from regions having rich resources kept core and impressive portfolios in Ministry. The other areas are neglected agriculturally due to shortage of irrigation services. Moreover, the upland regions by virtue of shortage of rainfall did not produce firm crops, particularly cash crops and remained backward. The dry zone areas lack general and professional educational institutions from KG to PG. Feelings of Sub-regionalism increased intensely in backward regions of the Telangana, Jharkhand, Uttaranchal, Bodoland, Gurkhaland, Vidarbha, Bundel Khand, Sourashtra, Chhattisgarh, Vananchal etc.

Regionalism for distinct Statehood

Request for various regional States arouse due to economic backwardness and cultural identity. These changes would shift towards asking an autonomous state. For instance, after 70 years of strain, the Jharkhand movement attained a distinct State in 2000. The Uttara Khand, the Chhattisgarh, too gained independent state rank later in a long battle with Jharkhand. In 1970 the request for individual States in different states of the Indian Union arose up.

Assam Plains asked for a separate state. The inhabitants of the erstwhile Princely State of Mysore asked to part from the Karnataka districts. The people of mountainous areas of Kumaon and Tehti Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh demanded for a State of their own. The Jana Sangh leaders and B.K.D leader Charan Singh directed the bifurcation of Uttar Pradesh into U.P. and

⁷³ Majeed Akhtar, *Regionalism: Developmental Tensions in India* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publication, 1984), p. 47.

Uttara Khand State. The people of Western U.P wanted 'Agra' or a 'Meerut' State combining the territories of 'Dehradun' (part of erstwhile Braj State) and some portions of Rajasthan. The South-Western people desired for Rohil Khand State and Bundle Khand State with some districts of Madhya Pradesh; the South-Eastern people aspired for trans-Vindhya State. Also, eventually, people of Eastern region of U.P stirred for 'Bhojpur' State with Varanasi as Capital. The natives of South Gujarat, Dublas and Dangs urged for separate State.

Sub-Regionalism and Cultural Politics - Formation of Telangana State

The conception of linguistic reorganization of States in India originated with the Telugu speaking people. They were the foremost to plead for an independent State of Andhra Pradesh seeking bifurcation from the Madras State in 1953 based on a common linguistic identity. After three years of persuasion with the people of Telangana region, the state of Andhra Pradesh was formed. Founders and proponents of the newly formed state have a vision of Vishalandhra, which is for unifying the Telugu speaking people of three regions i.e., Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telangana. This zeal for unification did undermine the sentiments of sub-regional identities. In the initial phases of formation of Andhra Pradesh State, leaders of Andhra region were much enthusiastic about connecting the Telugu people with a shared commonality of language and culture on a broader term undermining colloquial language and sub-regional cultural distinctions and making it as a democratic State⁷⁴ with a "Gentlemen Agreement". In due course within a decade difference crept in between Telangana and Seemandhra regions over sharing of resources and employment opportunities. Several debates and political discussions happened and agitations took place in both regions for and against the unified State of Andhra Pradesh. Ultimately, at the turn of the century, separate Telangana State was formed, bifurcating the state of Andhra Pradesh by projecting historical, cultural, geographical differences despite having a common language. Thus, sub-regional politics played an important in

⁷⁴ Sundaraiah spoke in his writings says that Vishalandhra would be an evolved democratic state that climbs beyond caste and class imbalances. See, P. Sudariah, *Vishalandhra Lo Praja Rajyam (in Telugu)* (Hyderabad: Vishalandra Publishers, 1999).

projecting distinctive cultural identity as the driving force for formation of smaller States.

Although some leaders of Congress Party secured the majority votes in Telangana in 1956 for their contribution in establishing separate State of Andhra Pradesh, the Communists who had significant shared support in Telangana even publicly endorsed the idea of Vishalandhra. The Hyderabad Legislative Assembly was merged with the Andhra to form the state of Andhra Pradesh after considerable deliberations⁷⁵. Yet, after a decade, the Telugu State experienced subregional feeling among the people demanding for a separate States of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh ⁷⁶. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister, refused to yield to subregional demands and tried for a compromise by initiating a Six-Point Formula. This was incorporated as the 32nd Constitutional Amendment (Clause 371-D) of 1973⁷⁷. The Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS), formed in 1969 to fight for a separate Telangana, was dissolved and its leaders re-joined the Congress party.

Formation of Telugu Desam Party

The state of Andhra Pradesh was formed based on the “Gentlemen Agreement” on 1st November, 1956, by merging Telangana regions. The Indian National Congress was in power in the state for about two-and-half decades from the day of its formation till early 1980s. However, at the national level, the Congress had to go through a split in 1969, and this was a critical event that changed the nature of how the Congress worked as a political party

⁷⁵ Pingle Gautam, “The Historical Context of Andhra and Telangana, 1949-56,” *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 45, No. 8 (2010), 57-65.

⁷⁶ Sen Mohith, “Separatism Over Telangana,” *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 5, No. 47 (1970), 1877-87; M Kodandaram, “Movement for Telangana State: A Struggle for Autonomy,” *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (2007), 90-94; Hugh Gray, “The Demand for a Separate Telangana State in India,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 11, No. 5 (1971), 463-74; Hugh Gray, “The Failure of the Demand for a Separate Andhra State,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1974), 338-49; G Dasaradha Rama Rao., G Parthasarathy & K V Ramana, “Separatist Movement in Andhra Pradesh: Shadow and Substance,” *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 8, No. 11 (1973), 560-63.

⁷⁷ For detailed understanding of 32nd Constitutional Amendment and six-point formula See, http://www.aponline.gov.in/Aportal/HomePage-Links/PresidentialOrder/Presidential_Orders.pdf

in terms of recruitment of MLAs and Chief Ministers to the selection of prospected Lok Sabha candidates and to how party funds were collected and disbursed and campaigns organized. Ideological values were sacrificed to the urgent pragmatic consideration of election and holdings of power by Mrs. Gandhi. She ensured that in the State of Andhra Pradesh, Chief Ministers were centrally appointed at her will. The imposition of leaders from above created very bad sensitivity in the people of Andhra Pradesh and a feeling that the Andhra leadership not getting respect from the national Congress leadership was expressed overtly. This was perceived as insult to pride of the Telugu people and under these circumstances, Mr. N. T. Ramarao (NTR) a famous film actor, established the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) on his 60th birthday in 1982. It was founded as an alternate to Congress by emphasizing on Telugu regional pride. It projected the Party as pro-farmers, backward castes and middle-class people. He said that TDP stood for the honour and self-respect ("*Telugu Vari Aatma gowravam*") of the Telugu speaking people. He also promised in his manifesto some essential welfare measures such as mid-day meal scheme in government schools, sale of rice per kilogram at rupees 2/- for poor through Government ration stores and prohibition on sale of liquor. The Telugu masses greatly appreciated these populist measures and helped the TDP to sweep general elections in 1982.

In the 1960s, a process began in several states of India; the emergence of alternative political parties challenged the hegemony of Congress rule and wanted to end its dominance. However, this process was not witnessed in Andhra Pradesh then, and it got much delayed and took its roots only in the early 1980s. This is puzzling because there was electoral support from the people to the anti-Congress opposition even during the 1950s, and it was more robust in State of Andhra Pradesh when compared with other States. In bordering State of Tamil Nadu, the Dravidian parties outsmarted the Congress party and came to power. Even this development did not provide inspiration and impetus to the anti-Congress opposition in the State. It was only during the early 1980s, under the leadership of matinee idol, N.T. Rama Rao that a new regional party, Telugu Desam Party (T.D.P.), had its genesis in March 1982. The party did not take long to come to power, and it occupied the stratum of power in January 1983, much to the surprise of all. It is a record for

a Political Party to come to power in just nine months after its birth. This is perhaps a record in the history of party politics in India and worldwide. Timing of the setting of Telugu Desam was very apt. Internal quarrels corruption plagued the ruling Congress party, and similarly, the non-Congress opposition in the State presented a dismal picture of hopeless division and decay. This provided a conducive environment for the TDP to come to power like a tidal wave sweeping the Congress out of power in the January 1983 elections held in the State.

TDP did not have any antecedence of any sustained social movement or struggle unlike other political parties such as DMK in Tamil Nadu, National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, Asom Gana Parishad in Assam and Shiv Sena in Maharashtra. It neither had any leader trained in any ideology nor many leaders who had honed their skills in the rough world of politics. Likewise, it also did not have any formidable party organization. It was initially thought that the TDP was just a passing phase in the political landscape of Andhra Pradesh; however, proving its critics wrong, the party has shown a lot of endurance and resilience. After the 1984 parliamentary elections, the party became single largest opposition party in Lok Sabha, surpassing all other national parties. Though the party lost bitterly in the elections fought in 1989, it bounced back to power in 1994 but lost power again in the 2004 elections. Thus, this party witnessed both highs and lows in electoral politics of Andhra Pradesh State and acted as ruling and opposition party as its fortunes fluctuated. Many fondly hoped that this party would not survive for long, and even its founder, President N.T. Rama Rao, was also under the same illusion that it would not survive him, and he often quoted that 'the TDP came with me and will go with me. However, apart from proving critics wrong, the party also disputed the belief of its founder President and resumed to play a chief position in State politics of Andhra Pradesh both as a ruling party and also as an opposition party.

Separate Telangana Movement

P V Narasimha Rao, Jagam Vengala Rao, Marri Chenna Reddy, and T Anjaiah hailing from Telangana became Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh. In 1982, Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister publicly humiliated Chief

Minister, Anjaiah. This event was projected by N T Rama Rao (NTR) as loss of Telugu pride and roused public sentiments by appealing to Telugu people for restoration of Telugu pride. Then Telugu Desam Party (TDP) came to power by ending monopoly of Congress rule⁷⁸. Although NTR was from the coastal Andhra, he and his party received overwhelming support from the people of Telangana. During his tenure as Chief Minister (January 1983 to September 1995) efforts were made to encourage Telugu language. Tank Bund on Hussain Sagar Lake was beautified with erection of statues of well-known personalities associated with Telugu history, literature, culture, society, and politics. During this period, linguistic identity played a prominent binding factor in this State⁷⁹.

Formation of Telangana Rashtra Samithi (T.R.S)

In the year 2001, Kalvakuntla Chandrasekhar Rao (KCR) formed the regional party, Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS). Prior to forming the TRS party, he was holding the post of Deputy Speaker in the combined State of Andhra Pradesh. He had differences with the then TDP Chief Minister N Chandrababu Naidu (September 1995 to May 2004) for not giving him the post of Deputy Chief Minister as a mark of respect to people of Telangana for he is representing the sentiments of people of Telangana.

In the beginning stages of formation of TRS, it was not taken serious and not much importance was given to the claims for separate Telangana State. TRS entered into electoral alliance in 2004 with Congress Party and in 2009 with the TDP thereby enhanced its power and emerged as an essential force in politics of Andhra Pradesh. By then the voice for separate Telangana also increased in other political parties especially, from Congress Party, TDP, Praja Rajyam Party (PRP) and Yuva Jana Samika Rythu Congress Party (YSRCP). Lack of strong political leadership in the Central and State within Congress Party after the death of Y. S. Rajashekar Reddy, the then Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh strengthened the sentiments of separate

⁷⁸ Atul Kohli, "The NTR Phenomenon in Andhra Pradesh: Political Change in a South Indian State," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 28, No. 10 (1988), 99-101.

⁷⁹ H Srikanth, "United Andhra or Separate Telangana: Politics of Regionalism in Andhra Pradesh," *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 72, No. 3 (2011), 781-790.

Telangana. The national parties such as BJP and CPI and CPI (M) supported the cause of Telangana movement. The PRP and YSRCP confined their political claims largely to Seemandhra Region. Though very few political parties supported for United Andhra, their voice was unheard. Lok Satta Party was neutral on the idea of united A.P. It advocated for good governance and all-round development of the State⁸⁰. However, the TRS succeeded in championing the cause of separate Telangana by supporting Joint Action Committee (JAC) whose members hail from different political parties and civil society.

Telangana: Regional Identity and Autonomy

Some prominent personalities of civil society promoted narratives of exploitation, discrimination, domination and humiliation constructed from the people of Telangana Region and predominantly disseminated them through mass media and also meetings conducted in the villages and towns. These narratives justified the Telangana movement as a struggle for identity and separate Statehood. All the claims made by the leaders of the movement though are not justifiable and correct, lack of counter narrative from the people of Andhra Region and indifference towards the movement gained strength to the voice of Telangana Region. As a result, the linguistic considerations which was hitherto formed rational for lingua franca of State formation is replaced with the slogans of domination and economic exploitation. To strengthen the Telangana identity, the leaders brought forth local and Sub-Regional identities connected with dialects, culinary practices and folk performing traditions and beliefs.

Prior to the Telangana movement, the leaders of Telangana while being under the rule of Nizam, to project their linguistic affinity with the Telugu language and people did take up a reformist view and named their first library as 'the Sri Krishna Devaraya Andhra Bhasha Nilayam' and also established Andhra Maha Sabha. These reformist activities were taken up primarily against the domination of the Urdu language which is official

⁸⁰ Kesav Rao Jodhav, "Towards a History of Telangana Movement," in *Tealangana, Dimensions of Underdevelopment*, ed. S Simhadri & P L Vishweshwer Rao. Centre for Telangana Studies, pp. 5-14. Hyderabad, 1997.

language of Hyderabad State. Further, the historic events connected with Razakar movement and Jagirdhari institution resulted in Peasant Struggle in Telangana Region. The Telugu Speaking areas of Madras Presidency sympathized with people of Telangana⁸¹ and supported their cause for merger into a separate State of Andhra Pradesh. However, they entered into a Gentlemen's agreement and merged with the State of Andhra Pradesh in early Fifties. When they realised that the Gentlemen's agreement was violated, they sought for separate Telangana. Telangana leaders alleged that the Andhra leaders forced them to join the Andhra Pradesh State but not out of willingness that they have joined the State⁸². The States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) Report negated this allegation by saying that "Influential leaders of public view in Andhra themselves appear to admire that the merger of Telangana with Andhra, though sensual, should be established on a volunteer and generous partnership of the individuals and that it is primarily for the people of Telangana to determine their future"⁸³.

The leaders of Telangana contended that the region remained underdeveloped and neglected because of the manipulation of Semandhra politicians and contractors. This has become a vital slogan for formation of separate State. Its advocates rejected the Sri Krishna Committee (SKC) of 2011 as it listed development in many districts in Telangana more than that in North Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema⁸⁴. To counter this, some Telangana

⁸¹ Such as, Suravaram Prathapa Reddy, a Telangana writer and intellectual who extended Telugu in Telangana under Nizam's regime, did not manifest any animosity towards the individuals of Andhra and recognised the associations that Telangana maintained with the other Telugu speaking individuals of Andhra. He did not have a dislike for naming himself Andhra. See, S Prathapa Reddy, *Andhrula Sanghika Charitra* (in Telugu), (Hyderabad: Vishalandra Publishing House, 2012); See, Akkiraju Ramapathi Rao, "Charitra Nerpani Patalu (in Telugu)," (Andhrajothi: August-21st, 2013).

⁸² K Jayashankar, *Viability of Telangana and Andhra as Separate States* (Hyderabad: Telangana Vidyavanthula Vedika, 2012), p. 5.

⁸³ For detailed understanding of States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) See, Telangana Resource Centre's webpage, <http://www.trchyd.org/>.

⁸⁴ C H Hanumantha Rao, "Sri Krishna Committee Report on Telanagana: Recommendations at Variance with Analysis," *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 46, No. 5 (2011), 33-36; See, D Ravinder et. al, "Srikrishna Committee: Throught but Unviable," *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 46, No. 10 (2011), 16-18; Also See, Article "Justice Krishna's Injustice," (Hyderabad: Telangana Development Forum,

ideologues focussed on distinct cultural identity and aspirations for self-rule⁸⁵. In the process, they criticised Telugu culture and language depicted in the films by the Andhra producers and directors. They projected that Telangana language is undermined and showed in Telugu films as language of illiterate characters, villains and comedians.

As in the case of other identity movements, the Telangana movement also constructed a philosophical and ideological divide by using ‘us’ and ‘them’ or ‘we’ and ‘they’ to create separate identity. In the process ‘us’ and ‘we’ are used as homogeneous entity disregarding class, caste and communal variations. For instance, many Telangana Muslims were indifferent towards separate State. Similarly, Telangana landlords, contractors and businessmen were in favour of separate Telangana State. Contrary to this agrarian proletariat, commoners and urban middleclass were not much enthusiastic about separate Telangana. The politicians especially, from TRS and new aspirants desperately wanted a separate State.

Hyderabad being the Capital of the united Andhra Pradesh, all investments and establishments were created within the State even by the Andhra political personages. When the separate Statehood claim was put forth forcefully, the Andhras were taken aback. The Telangana leaders argued that their sentiments towards the city, Hyderabad is historical, cultural and emotional. There was a clear divide on for and against the State of Telangana within Hyderabad. Even there is a proposal for making Hyderabad as a Union Territory during the movement by sections of civil society. During the movement, the Telangana leaders criticised vehemently NTR, Chandrababu Naidu and Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy for their pro-Andhra favouritism. Though P.V. Narsimha Rao took a neo liberal stand and invited investments from outside, he was not criticised as he is considered as the ‘son of Telangana’ (Telangana *Bidda*). Thus, the leaders of Telangana successfully advocated for

2011), See, “Prajalanu Vismarichina Sri Krishna Committee (in Telugu),” (Hyderabad: Hyderabad Resource Centre, 2011).

⁸⁵ V Anil Kumar, “Why Telangana? Why Now?” *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 42, No. 9 (2007), 790-791; See, K V Ramanamurthy, “Prathipadika Samskritikame (in Telugu),” (Andhrajyothi: Oct-1st, 2013).

separate Telangana whereas, the leaders of Seemandhra did not advocate their views against separate Statehood.

Discrimination towards Telangana

Even after 54 years of united Andhra Pradesh, the leaders of Seemandhra region did not whole heartedly contributed to the development of Telangana region or for the people of Telangana. The discrimination between the two flared up overtly over a period of time in both regions in the front of emotions, language and culture. Historically both the regions were under different regimes of different dynasties. Mostly, for the past 400 years the Telangana region was under the dominance of Muslim rule which is quite different from the British and the earlier rulers of Seemandhra region. This historical factor remained a distinct feature in the cultural systems of both the States. Though on linguistic basis they were formed as one State, their innate differences in culture, language and manners and customs remained intact and resulted in aspiration for separate Statehood.

Negligence towards language

The dialect which is spoken in Telangana region is a distinct form from that of the standardised language of Telugu from the Andhra regions. The Krishna and Guntur districts' Telugu language is standardised by the press, film and media channels as producers and owners of film and media firms hail from these districts. Other regional dialects of Telangana, Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra are neglected or marginalised. During the movement the Telangana poets and writers started producing literary works using their dialect and claiming nativity over such productions. Even in the films, Telangana language is used for comedians and villains and projected in a bad taste. This is heavily criticised by the writers of Telangana who championed the cause of Telangana dialect.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh published Textbooks for educational institutions wholly in the standardised Andhra language. The spoken language of Telangana was not at all used in these textbooks and hence, students from Telangana region found difficulty in understanding the lessons. The usage of Telangana dialect in writing exams favoured less

marking by the evaluators as it is not recognised as a standard language. Even the teachers of Telangana regions faced difficulty in communicating lessons to students. The Telugu Academy published books written by scholars mostly hailing from Andhra region and therefore, their language is considered chaste language. Most of the Telangana region has Muslim population in a sizable manner, the Telangana dialect also got influenced by Urdu language. This also created a distinctiveness which when used in official communication is totally despised.

Most of the films had themes connected with culture and society of Andhra region. Even the family stories, love stories etc., projected the Andhra culture as a result kinship terms, addressing systems, greeting patterns form the core of film culture. Indirectly it has promoted Andhra culture and totally neglected the Telangana culture and society thereby its language too. Even in the mass media like Television and Radio, most of the programmes are designed to entertain the audiences from Andhra regions. No much space is given to the Telangana culture and language in mass media. The language of the leaders from Telangana region is used for jokes and comedy. For example, Ex-Chief Minister, T Anjaiah, is subjected to humiliation for using Telangana language in public platforms. Only writing of Andhra poets and scholars are rewarded with awards of State and National prestige. On the whole, the dialect of Telangana is not recognised as a respectable communicative language which resulted in a cause for Telangana movement.

Disregarded Telangana History

The leaders of the Telangana movement alleged that the Andhra government neglected history of Telangana region and concentrated much in Andhra regions. The number of excavations carried out in Andhra region outnumbered the Telangana region. Earlier governments took substantial steps to take up excavations connected with Satavahana Dynasty to unearth heritage, culture and archaeological relics in Andhra region. In the year 1942, when the rule of Nizam was on excavations were carried out in Kondapuram, Medak District. In these excavations historical evidences connected with Buddhism during the reign of Satavahana were discovered. The Buddhist symbols on rock cut outs, coins, utensils and other images related to historic

periods though were collected, they were not properly documented and preserved in museums. Most of them were shifted to museum in Amaravathi, Guntur District but not acknowledging the place where they were found in excavations. Thereby, they have undermined the history of Telangana.

During the rule of Satavahana, Kotilingala in Karimnagar District played an important role in connecting as a trade centre from the Western to the Central India. It became an important mercantile city. During 1970-74 excavations were conducted in Kotilingala and Doolikatta of Karimnagar District. Several historical sites were about to be unearthed in full form but however, discontinued excavations midway by citing lack of funds. Tourism Corporation and Government Department of Tourism did not make any serious efforts to protect monument and rich cultural heritage of Telangana. In Telangana, several forts, palaces and temples of historic importance were totally neglected and no proper measures were taken to protect the historical properties. Illegal digging was carried out in several of these sites by robbers for gold and precious metals, in the process these historic sites were dilapidated. For instance, baddies stolen the main gates of Tekmal and Medak forts. Apathy of government towards restoration of forts of Yeligandula, Bhongir, Ramgiri, Medak and Nizamabad which are of high potential for tourism affected largely the interest in reconstruction of Telangana history. Very significant temples of Kakatiya period such as Thousand Pillar Temple, Ramappa Temple, Temples at Keesara and Yadagiri were not given importance at all and remained ignored.

Publications related to History

Most of the historical writings in the form of books and anthologies connected Andhra region were given much importance than the Telangana region is the accusation of the leaders of Telangana movement. These books contain much information on Andhra history with proper source documentation whereas, the history of Telangana is not covered and whatever is covered is, it is done in a scanty manner without any historical evidences. In the syllabus of school text books also Telangana history is not covered. For example, after the Kakatiya rule in Telangana region, several dynasties ruled but their history is totally ignored. Even the rule of Golkonda by the Muslim

rulers is also not covered much. The books published by NCERT and SCRT also do not have detailed history of Telangana. Freedom fighters of freedom struggle hailing from Telangana region such as Komaram Bheem, Ramji Gond and Terebajh Khan who fought against the Nizam and the British were not included in text book syllabus. Even Telugu Academy which is a government publication division did not cover much information on Telangana region though the place of publication is located very much in Hyderabad.

Prominent Telugu poet, Malinatha Suri who wrote an interpretation on 'Kalidasa Raghuvamsam' is bestowed with the title 'Vyakhyana Chakravarthi' was born in 1150 A.D. in Kolichelama village, Medak district. The previous governments totally ignored his contribution and gave no recognition to his poetic works. After much persuasion his dilapidated house was renovated just two decades back and made it as a memorial site. A bronze statue of Malinatha Suri is erected presently in that place. Similarly, Bommera Pothana (1450-1510) of Bammera village, Warangal is also ignored. His nativity is fixed in Ontimetta, Cudappah and Pothana celebrations were conducted in Cudappah only ignoring the fact that he belongs to Telangana region.

Thus, historicity is distorted and subverted as far as Telangana history concerned and this has become a point of discourse in Telangana movement.

Cultural Suppression

Telangana culture is looked down upon by the Andhras is the major concern for the leaders of Telangana and therefore they raised their voice to show that Telangana's culture is not just the Nizam culture but culture with its own ethnicity and diversity. The Telangana belief systems and cultural practices were mocked by Andhras as Telangana region was in the Nizam dominions. In 1934, one of the Andhra writers wrote an article with the title 'Nizamandhralo Telugu Kavyalu Poojyam' ('There is not Telugu poetry in Nizamandhra') to show that the Telugu language that is prevalent in Telangana is not worthy for writing poetry. To counter this argument, Suravaram Prathap Reddy, a well-known poet, edited writings of 350 poets.

Some of the most popular festivals of Telangana such as 'Bathukamma, Bonalu and Sammakka and Saralakka' were not even given importance by the Andhra Media. Even the regional newspapers which are run

by the Media houses of Andhras ignored these festivals and never covered in their editorials. Bathukamma festival is celebrated in every village and nook and corner of Telangana by women folk for well-being of families. It is celebrated for 9 days and coincides with Dasara celebrations. Lot of singing and dancing takes place in this festival. The songs of Bathukamma are typically poetic narratives having native linguistic devices which are totally undermined by the Andhras. A rich cultural traditional festivity of this kind is not given any significance during the Andhra rule. When TRS came to power, it declared Bathukamma festival as state festival and celebrated with pomp and glory. In the city of Hyderabad, on Tankbund, Bathukamma festival is organised on a large scale and separate spots near tanks are constructed for immersion of Bathukamma. Similarly, Bonalu is celebrated to goddess Mahankali which is considered as one of the biggest festivals in the Telangana region. During the Andhra rule bonalu is not at all given importance and even its celebrations were not popularised. In Hyderabad city, the Hindu deity procession of Lashkar Bonalu passes through the Old City which is inhabited by Muslim Populace. This feature is not at all projected as religious syncretism in the Andhra Media. Likewise, 'Sammakka and Saralakka' Jatara which has a tribal origin became renowned only after separate Telangana State.

During NTR regime, he erected statues on the Tankbund with prominent historical and poetic personalities connected with Telugu history and culture. Most of these statues represent those personalities which are from Andhra region and very few are from Telangana region. Outstanding poets like Dasharadhi, Padmavibhushan award recipient Kaloji, Vattikota Alwaru Swami, a man who directed the Library Movement and others who hail from Telangana were totally ignored. The Telangana leaders gave several representations in this regard but in vain. Thus, the Telangana poets and historical personages were totally obscured by the Andhra region. Not only in erecting statues commemorating the contribution of Telangana people, they are even ignored in naming the places in Hyderabad City. Most of the parks and public places, stadiums etc., are named after Andhra leaders. Even the Universities and Educational Institutions are named after Andhras only.

On the whole, the Telangana leaders blamed that the Andhra rulers acted in partisan in allocating funds to Telangana for cultural activities and to develop libraries. Students of Telangana suffered most due to lack of adequate libraries and reading materials therefore, failed to cope up in competitive exams meant for employments. Even funds were not provided to libraries such as Bollaram, Secunderabad and Shalibanda which have large number of books from donors. The infrastructure for schools such buildings and play grounds etc., were not provided with adequate funds and almost reached dilapidated condition. All these resulted in perpetual backwardness in Telangana and therefore, crave for justice emerged in the form of Telangana agitation.

In this 1969 agitation, mainly students, employees, Muslims and middle-class women actively participated. A large section of people in general including rural people also participated significantly. Although the movement did not accomplish its statehood, it implanted the seed of a separate State among Telangana people. This separatist phase of the movement was continued in various types. Since 1985, different intellectuals and organizations have constantly discussed the problem and backwardness of Telangana and its development. Intellectual's forum like 'Telangana Intellectual Forum' was established in 1986 to extend protest environment in the Telangana region. The 'Telangana Information Trust' carried out research by collecting information on various fronts of unfairness to the Telangana. In 1988 considerable debates over issues of inequalities took place in Assembly and outside in Telangana. In 1989, an organization named 'Telangana Development Forum' initiated various programmes related to the movement. And in 1991, 'Telangana Students Front' instigated agitation in Osmania University. Likewise, so many protests and representations were done for the Telangana state.

Telangana Sahitya Vedika:

"Telangana Sahitya Vedika" is an association of renowned scholars, singers, folk cultural specialists and literary professionals formed to achieve social change and social development in Telangana. To mobilize people, they have extensively used folk songs and music thereby addressed the gatherings on issues of discrimination and self-respect. This forum conducted some

significant events such as “Bhuvanagiri Sabha (Bhuvanagiri), Telangana Jana Sabha (Suryapet) and Warangal Declaration (Warangal)”.

Bhuvanagiri Sabha:

It was organized on 8th and 9th March, 1997 in Bhuvanagiri, Nalgonda district. It was conducted by eminent leaders like Jaini Mallaiah Gupta, Keshav Rao Jadav, Kaloji Narayana Rao and K G Satyamurthi. That was initial step to bring artists, writers, academicians and journalists to one platform. In Bhuvanagiri Sabha, the organisation, “Sahithi Mitra Mandal” conducted by Belli Lalitha performed folk songs and dances on the theme “*Dagapadda Telangana* (Subjugated Telangana)”. Nagara Manjaiah and Bala Krishna Reddy were the conveners for this meet. This meeting was attended by forty thousand people from all over Telangana. This Sabha revitalized Telangana statehood movement. In this Sabha, folk songs of Belli Lalitha and others were very significant which created a protest environment for a separate statehood.

Telangana Maha Sabha

“Telangana Maha Sabha” was organized at Suryapet in Nalgonda district on 11th April 1997. This event was a turn in Telangana Movement as it is led by the intellectuals who shared the platform to address the gathering. This initiator of the Sabha was Maraju Veeranna. The songs were related to the Telangana state sung by Belli Lalitha. The eminent speakers like Prof. Jayashankar, Gade Innaiah, Dushcherla Satyanarayana and Mandali Satyanarayana demanded for creation of Telangana State. The main demands were “establishment of Telangana with ten districts, discontinuation of construction of Polavaram and Pulichintala projects, distribution of surplus land to poor, ban on extrajudicial killing in the name of Naxalites and ban on privatization of public property”.

Warangal Declaration

Warangal Declaration brought social activists, politicians, non-parliamentarians and other prominent business households together to uphold the demands of Telangana people. They created an organisation called, ‘All India Peoples Front’ and a summit was planned on 28th Decembe1997 at

Warangal. Kaloji Narayan Rao released a declaration for separate State in this meeting. Around 2 lakh people from all over the region were present at the meeting. This declaration put forth sixty demands for upliftment of Telangana people by this Intellectual Forum. These demands were “implementation of land reforms, implementation of 1970 Act to prevent tribal land alienation in agency areas, provision of irrigation facilities, establish Icchampally project on Godavari River, refusal of privatization and revitalization of industrial sectors”. Moreover, Warangal Declaration also influenced “Telangana Jana Sabha” formation in July 1998 in which lawyers, journalists, and teachers joined the movement. Also, from the student side, the “Telangana Students Front” was formed in October 1998.

Telangana Kala Samithi

After the success of Warangal Declaration, “Telangana Jana Sabha” created a cultural wing to illustrate the problems of Telangana people through song and cultural activities in the name of “Telangana Kala Samithi”. Belli Lalitha was the convener of “Telangana Kala Samithi”. She was recognised as ‘Nightingale of Telangana’⁸⁶. She inspired and encouraged people of Telangana and worked for the upliftment of various sections of society like women, youth, labourers and farmers.

Girglani Commission

Later emergence phase of the Telangana movement was through exerting pressure from Legislative Assembly wherein some members demanded for implementation of 610 G.O. The then Chief Minister, Chandrababu Naidu Government appointed J M Girglani as one-person Commission on 25th June 2001 to look into the issue. The final Commission report was submitted on 21st September 2004; it went against what Telangana peoples’ expectation.

Role of Political Parties

⁸⁶ B Manohar, “Belli Lalitha: The Nightingale of the Telangana Resistance,” *Feminism in India*, (2018). Retrieved from URL: www.feminisminindia.com/2018/03/02/belli-lalitha-telangana-resistance/

Indian National Congress Party (INC) at the Centre and particularly in State played a vital role in establishing the Telangana State. In 2004, after Congress came to power, the separate Telangana State process started with quite a delay. The Congress Party constituted a sub-committee under the presidentship of Pranab Mukharjee. This committee tried to get acceptance from all political parties. Around 36 political parties have submitted their letters favouring Telangana; still, Congress did not decide. In the consecutive elections of 2009 also, Congress reiterated its adherence to Telangana. This dragging continued until the death of the then Chief Minister, Y S Rajashekar Reddy on 2nd September 2009. Then Rosaiah became the Chief Minister. After that the formation of Telangana State process was started. K Chandrashekar Rao resolved to fast unto death after High Court gave a verdict stating that Hyderabad becomes a free zone. Then Congress constituted the Sri Krishna Committee under with Justice Srikrishna as the Head. After many discussions, finally the Congress Party announced separate Telangana State on June-2nd 2014. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) took a positive approach towards Telangana movement since its beginning. Vajpayee announced that their party was for Telangana in the 1997 Election campaign. 'One Vote Two States' was their slogan. However, after coming to power, they announced the formation of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Uttaranchal but Telangana was not taken up. Even Chief Minister, Chandrababu Naidu could not put any demand for bifurcation. The BJP's apathy made Ale Narendra to leave the party and he formed the 'Telangana Sadhana Samithi'. Later he merged it with the TRS on Aug-11th 2002. After losing the power in the Centre, BJP came up with the 'Sankalp Yathra' meeting on November-13th 2008 at Secunderabad. BJP cadre actively participated in all protest events like 'Bandhs', 'Rastaroko', 'Vantavarpu', 'Manavaharam' and 'Million March'.

The State BJP leader G. Kishan Reddy took up 'Poruyathra' in all the villages of 88 constituencies igniting separate Telangana feeling among the public. National leaders like Sushma Swaraj and Rajnath Singh participated in all the meetings and promised to declare the separate Telangana, if they get to power. The TDP stand right from the NTR onwards was not in favour of separate Telangana State. In 2008 TDP declared its support to the bifurcation of State. Furthermore, Left Parties like CPI and New Democracy Parties also

supported the cause of Telangana state. Even though they have supported 'Samaikyandra' earlier, CPI soon changed its stand and supported the movement in the later phase. Its leader, K. Narayana took up 'Jana Chaitanya Yatra' demanding formation of Telangana. Even the New Democratic Party cadre and leaders actively participated in the agitation. Various Caste Associations, Peoples Organisations, NGOs, Peasants, Workers, Students and Intellectuals voluntarily participated in the Movement.

Songs as a form of Protest

Telangana songs are very close to nature. All the songs have a particular rhythm that soothes minds and hearts. The folk music also encompasses largely protest songs and were performed in the movement for the formation of Telangana State between 2009 and 2014. The content of folk songs reveals day-to-day elements of working class and their toils. The upland region of Telangana is having scanty rainfall and much agriculture depends on monsoon. As a result, the farming is not within the reach of the small farmers. Most of these lands are owned by rich peasants who acts as landlords. The Nizam government employed these landlords as Tax collectors in the name of jagirdars and zamindars. The whole of Telangana region in due course became a feudal State under the rule of Nizam. Socio-economic exploitation in this region was so severe that it facilitated the ideological of Communism to spread. The Communist leaders of all kinds took interest in this land and fought against landlordism on behalf of peasants and agrarian proletariat. The Communist leaders with IPTA and other cultural organisations propagated Communist ideology with song, dance and drama. As part of this, the left writers wrote protest songs to gather masses and inspired them to fight against exploitation. Therefore, the protest songs have become a significant cultural feature in Telangana. Gaddar became the folk voice of Telangana in protest movement criticising political dominance of upper class through his inspiring songs. Similarly, several other folk singers also depicted in their song performances the trials and tribulations of lower-class people especially working in occupational jobs. Goreti Vekanna is a classic example for this. These singers gathered masses by touring villages and instilled in them

political consciousness of their rights and exploitation that they were subjected to by the ruling landlords.

Folk songs were widely used in protest movements is a well-established genre⁸⁷ and led to corrections in human rights⁸⁸, civil rights⁸⁹ and cultural resistance⁹⁰ in social history of humankind. The content of protest songs of folk always has colloquial idioms and language of everyday use so as to make people understand meanings clear and simple. The all have mono-theme poetic narratives wherein the stanzas are written in a manner where the story is told in an incremental progressive manner. There is hardly much difference in *Pallavi* (First/introductory stanza) and *Charanam* (Stanzas that follows). No *Anupallavis* (Second stanza) are found in folk songs especially connected with protest songs. Every stanza is repeated by chorus group though not entirely, at least few lines. The lead singer gets breathing time in between to continue the poetic narrative. The rhythm of these songs has fast beat and even the songs of pathos accompanied by rhythmic drum beats. No Harmony or string and wind instruments are used in protest songs. Mostly the percussion instruments of leather and metal are used. The performers themselves while singing use these instruments.

The cultural wings of political parties especially the Communists wrote protest songs against landlordism and the same were replaced with Andhras as landlords exploiting the Telangana people and composed songs in favour of Telangana movement. In every meeting before the commencement, protest songs against the Andhra rulers were sung by folk singers to create awareness of self-rule of Telangana. Most of the women folk singers performed the protest songs narrating even the gender discrimination⁹¹. Protest songs during

⁸⁷ J R Ingram. & S. Hinduja, "Neutralizing music piracy: An empirical examination," *Deviant Behavior*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (2008), 334-366.

⁸⁸ Anna Paretskaya, "This Is What Democracy Sounds Like: Protest Performances of the Citizenship Movement in Wisconsin and Beyond," *Social Movement Studies* Vol. 14, No. 6 (2015), 635-650.

⁸⁹ Roy William, "How Social Movements Do Culture," *Institutional Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2010), 85-98.

⁹⁰ Trever Hagen, "Converging on Generation: Musicking in Normalised Czechoslovakia," *East Central Europe*, Vol. 38, No. 2-3 (2011), 307-335.

⁹¹ Tia DeNore, "Music into Action: Performing Gender on the Viennese Concert Stage, 1790-1810," *Poetics*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (2002), 19-33.

Telangana movement gained popularity throughout the State and even got good response in social media such as Youtube, Twitter etc. These platforms created huge following for folk art performances especially, folk songs of Telangana.

Telangana Jagrithi

Telangana Jagrithi, a socio-cultural organization, was founded by Kalvakuntla Kavitha. In June 2008, to promote dispersal of Telangana folklore, culture, art forms, Literature, language and accent. It conducted Bathukamma festival in a big way and propagated Telangana Cultural identity. Even the women abroad expressed their solidarity with the movement by organizing Bathukamma. This organization played a crucial role in making women as partners in the movement.

Intellectuals, Students and Cast Groups: Their Contribution

The Telangana movement attracted all sections of society and several groups participated actively in taking forward the movement for separate State. Some of the notable groups are Intellectuals, Students and different Caste associations. The all played a vital role in projecting uniqueness of Telangana identity against the larger *lingua franca* of Telugu speaking people comprising Andhra and Rayalaseema regions.

In Intellectual front, the contribution of Keshav Rao Jadhav and K Jayashankar was significant. Telangana politicians discontinued demand for separate State due to the failure of 1969 movement and kept silent for almost three decades. Keshav Rao Jadhav and K Jayashankar started afresh the demand for separate State by establishing organisations as alternate political platforms. Keshav Rao Jadhav, a faculty in Osmania University was a follower of Ram Manohar Lohia's Socialism. He actively participated in anti-Mulki rule and supported the cause of subaltern people of Telangana. As the President of Osmania University Teacher's Association, he actively participated in all political movements which voiced separate Telangana. As Lohia's follower, he believed in social movements which ought to be collective, democratic and participatory. He never subscribed to individual leadership for collective movements like Telangana freedom struggle. He

believed that individual leadership always self-centric and electoral-centric thereby accept accommodative politics at the cost of larger interest of people. Initially, he supported the cause of separate Telangana championed by Marri Chenna Reddy, a Congress man. However, he later withdrew his support due to his ideology and was against Marri Chenna Reddy's Party namely, Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS). After merger of TPS with Congress, he worked with student activists and started "Telangana Liberation Students Organisation" (TLSO) and "Telangana Students Federation" (TSF)⁹². He was also against the 'Telangana Rashtra Samithi' (TRS) headed by K. Chandra Sekhar Rao (KCR) based on the Lohia's Socialist ideology. K. Jayashankar, an academician was instrumental in forming TRS under the leadership of KCR for separate Telangana. He actively participated in Telangana movement at all stages and wrote several articles on injustice done to Telangana region. He was a product of Osmania University and later became a faculty in the same University and continued his activities for Telangana mastering support from students and faculty. Later he became the Vice Chancellor of Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (CIEFL), Hyderabad and Kakatiya University, Warangal. He influenced several Telangana intellectuals and students by conducting workshops and seminars⁹³.

As the movement gained momentum, the other intellectuals, academicians, journalists, lawyers and artists supported the cause of separate Telangana. Everyone contributed in their own way to strengthen the Telangana identity. Left oriented intellectuals and artists such as Gaddar, Vimalakka, Allam Rajaiah, and Kodandaram actively toured villages of Telangana and mustered support. They broadened the scope of the movement by reaching to masses which is also considered as a significant phase in the movement. This is all done outside the political party, TRS and they formed a

⁹² Kesav Rao Jadhav, "Towards a History of Telangana Movement," in *Telangana, Dimensions of Underdevelopment*, ed. S. Simhadri & P L. Vishweshwer Rao. Centre for Telangana Studies, pp. 5-14. Hyderabad, 1997; Kesav Rao Jadhav, "Backwardisation' of Telangana," *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 45, No. 13 (2010), 15-20.

⁹³ K Jayashankar, "Telangana Movement: A Demand for a Separate State," (2006). Available at <http://demand-telangana.blogspot.in/2006/11/telangana-movement-demand-for-separate.html>; Also See, K. Jayashankar, *Viability of Telangana and Andhra as Separate States* (Hyderabad: Telangana Vidyavanthula Vedika, 2012).

separate organization namely, Joint Action Committee (JAC). The student Organisations especially Ambedkar Student Union which is almost formed on the lines of caste of SC and ST supported the cause. Similarly, backward class organisations (BC) based on caste affiliations gave their voice for separate State⁹⁴.

Telangana Movement: A Path

KCR through electoral politics by forming TRS Party did make attempts to bring the issues connected with separate Telangana in the Legislative Assembly of AP. However, he could not materialise separate State through party politics. Meanwhile, more intellectuals, students and youth joined the movement. Having seen the vibrant and dynamic flow into the movement by all, the JAC was formed with leaders of political parties, intellectuals, students, NGOs, lawyers, journalists and artists to pressurise government for separate Statehood. The JAC conducted different types of protests and strikes such as Dharnas, Rasta Roko, Gheraos, Rallies, Civil Disobedience protest and Mass Processions. They also conducted Vanta – Varpu (cooking on streets) to disrupt civic life which gained full support from women folk and public. Cultural programmes and Political meetings were organised extensively. Those who sacrificed their lives for the cause of Telangana were homologised as freedom fighters and songs were composed and sung in cultural events⁹⁵. Some of the students of Osmania and Kakatiya Universities committed suicides.

The leaders of the movement consciously used Telangana dialect in their speeches and writings and popularised in media. KCR undertook fast unto death protest in December 2009. This forced the Congress at the Centre

⁹⁴ For detail understand of Leaders who belong to the oppressed communities like S.C, S.T, O.B.C opinion on bifurcation of the state based on B R Ambedkar favouring smaller states. See, Kancha Ilaiah, “Pranteeya Fundamentalism (In Telugu),” *Andhrajyothi*, (Sep-28th, 2013).

⁹⁵ Numerous Bathukamma songs have patriarchal connotations. The lyrics of some Bathukamma melodies are available on websites such as <http://www.telugulyrics.org/>. At the same time, most Telangana idealists respect these traditional songs in the name of Telangana traditions. Some left-oriented artists like Vimalakka attempt to provide them with political exposure. Her performances and interviews are available on YouTube.

to pass a declaration in favour of Telangana. However, the separate State did not come at this stage. The “Million March” organised under the auspicious of JAC on 10th March 2011 in which statues of Telugu luminaries erected on the Tank bund were destroyed. Later in September – October 2011, ‘Sakalajanula Samme’ was organised and continued for about a month. All sections of Telangana joined in this strike⁹⁶. Ultimately, all these protest movements culminated in achieving successfully the State of Telangana.

Information & Communication Technology: As a Tool

Growth of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) benefited Telangana Movement as the leaders and advocates made use of social media and internet resources to propagate everyday occurrences. Even folk songs and narratives were circulated in the virtual space to instil a sense of protest amongst the populace. Messages through mobile apps for social gatherings were utilised extensively in the movement. Wherever the State tried to prevent the protest movement, pictures of police atrocities were captured and circulated to mitigate emotions of the masses. The print media especially the newspapers owned by Telangana sympathisers were made available in the internet for their readers in order to get updates on the movement. TV channels uninterruptedly broadcasted the events and views on the movement. Several leaders of the movement were interviewed. Some of the channels owned by Telangana people and also the sympathisers owned by the other regions conducted live debates on the movement. This has exclusively given a fillip to the movement. Skits, plays and films were also produced keeping in view the exploitation done to the Telangana region and people⁹⁷. These were also placed in the social network platforms such as YouTube, Instagram etc. Mobile Phone technology immensely helped the movement. Group postings were shared on different aspects of the movement by the activists.

Media, NGO's and other Folk Singers

⁹⁶ Many articles were documented urging the Telangana individuals to partake in the protest. See, the Vol-I (Telugu) of Sakalajanula Samme, (Hyderabad: The Telangana Resource Centre).

⁹⁷ V Anil Kumar, “Why Telangana? Why Now?” *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 42, No. 9 (2007), 790-791.

Several non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were started during the movement to promote its cause. For instance, “Telangana Development Forum”, Telangana Resource Centre (TRC), Telangana Jagruthi (TJ) and Telangana Information Task Force” (TITF) were created by political parties such as TRS and other individuals backed by business households. Even NRI funds were utilised for this cause. Free websites were created by these organisations and provided access through Internet to e-books, articles, literary works, biographies of Telangana leaders. That apart, speeches, poems and songs venerating Telangana were disseminating through these websites by the NGOs⁹⁸. *Jataras*, folk performances, food festivals and literary gatherings were conducted in every district of Telangana region by the NGOs. Several folk singers and performers came to limelight through this movement. V6 TV Channel, HMTV, Namaste Telangana Newspaper were launched to boost the movement. All these created Telangana identity to the people of Telangana wherein they can relate themselves to the region and a sense of belonging got created.

Cultural Identity among Telangana People

In order to create a universal Telangana identity, the political leaders and intellectuals came up with the idea of stereotyping the image of Telugu Talli (Telugu mother) to Telangana Talli (Telangana mother). Telugu Talli is iconically representing the people who are speaking a mother tongue called Telugu. This slogan is basically used to unite all Telugus living in Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telangana regions to support the cause of linguistic States while the region was under erstwhile Madras State. However, to promote sub-regionalism as an identity, the people of Telangana created Telangana Talli image focusing on spacial dimension. This icon is created to advocate that the region of Telangana is exploited by the Seema Andhra leaders and therefore

⁹⁸ Few significant websites showing publicity to the cause of an independent Telangana include, See, <http://www.etelangana.org>, www.telanganaresourcecentre.org, <http://www.trchyd.org> and <http://www.telanganajagruthi.org>

remained backward region⁹⁹. Analogous to the British rule where the '*Bharath Mata*' was humiliated by the British through their exploitation, the Telangana Talli got humiliated in the hands of Andhra rulers is the claim made by the leaders of the movement. The statues of Telangana Talli were erected in all towns and inaugurated by the local leaders to promote Telangana identity. The statue became not only an identity symbol but also roused hopes and emotions of sense of belonging.

Hyderabad is Only Ours

"Hyderabad *Sirf Hamara*" (Hyderabad is only ours) slogan gained momentum during Telangana movement. Hyderabad being the capital of combined State, several Seemandhra people settled in the city and even projected that the city belongs to them during the TDP rule. The Seemandhra rulers created several infrastructure including the Hitech city which attracted the attention of IT companies from all over the world¹⁰⁰ and therefore claimed their share in the city. To counter this argument, the ideologues of Telangana argued that the city was developed by the Nizam rule even before the times of merger of Telangana with Andhra¹⁰¹. A recent developments of IT corridor, flyovers, outer ring road, beautification of city, metro rail works, etc., are carried out only to promote contractors from Seemandhra region which in fact destroyed the serenity of the capital¹⁰² is the argument put forth by the

⁹⁹ K Srinivasulu, "Tank Bund Idol-ism: Crisis of Cultural Politics of a Provincial Regime," (Feb-9th, 2012). Also available at <http://socialsciences.in/article.tank-bund-idol-ism-crisis-cultural-provincial-regime>

¹⁰⁰ Baru Sanjaya, "The Local and the Global in Hyderabad Development," *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol.42, No. 43 (2007), 31-36; See, Ramineni Bhaskarendra Rao, "Hyderabad Andaridi (in Telugu)," (Andhrajyothi: Oct-3rd, 2013); See, Sake Shailajanath, "Hyderabad Evaridi (in Telugu)," (Andhrajyothi: August-31st, 2013a); See, Sake Shailajanath, "Mahandhra Bhagyam Hyderabad (in Telugu)," (Andhrajyothi: Oct-9th, 2013b).

¹⁰¹ Neelayapalam Vijayakumar. "Bhagya'me Keelakam (in Telugu)," (Andhrajyothi: August-21th, 2013); See, Sunkireddy Narayana Reddy, "Hyderabad Janani Telangana (in Telugu)," (Andhrajyothi: Sep-25th, 2013); See, Chakravarti Mayurika, "Chikku Samasyani Charitra (in Telugu)," (Andhrajyothi: August-16th, 2013); See, Velchala Jagapathi Rao, "Patnam pe Atyaashaku Povaddu (in Telugu)," (Andhrajyothi: August-21th, 2013).

¹⁰² B Someshwar, "Hamara Hyderabad: Telangana Vyasa Sankalanam (in Telugu)," ed. (Hyderabad: Telangana Resource Centre, 2011).

Telangana activists. This type of development is settler oriented rather than with natives' concerns.

Separate Statehood: Telangana State Formation

The most crucial portion following the movement was the Andhra leader's supremacy across the State regime. Leaders of Telangana were disappointment as political appointments were not given to them. As stated in the "Gentlemen's Agreement", the Chief Minister's and the Deputy Chief Minister's offices were not distributed between Telangana and Andhra political leaders. Deputy Chief Minister post was abolished by the Chief Minister, Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy. Two Telangana leaders, either KV Ranga Reddy or JV Narsinga Rao was not given the second position in the Cabinet. Chairman posts of Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council were given to leaders from Andhra region. The Congress President post was held by Andhras since 1957. The rate of literacy in Andhra was 22.3% and in Telangana was 17.4%. Besides, eliminating the state Capital, literacy percentage held just 13.5% in Telangana area¹⁰³. The Osmania University alone in the whole Telangana area rendered its inhabitants' educational services. Irrigation facilities were much neglected in Telangana region. Irrigation projects of Pochampad and Nagarjuna Sagar in Telangana region were not promoted. Irrigation in the Andhra region yielded 78.5% and, in the Telangana, yielded only 21.5%¹⁰⁴.

Unrest started growing in Telangana regions cutting across different classes of society. Carolyn Elliot distinguishes "three such social classes; university students trying town services at a point when the Government was no more-distant utilising their aids; the supremacy of the Andhriles in diverse state services in Hyderabad and the Telangana region, the resentment of peasants in Nizamabad and Nalgonda districts, who had sold their land to wealthier Andhra migrants and; finally, the bitterness of the middle-level Government employees, especially non-gazetted officers over the Andhriles getting promotions. One of the essential factors behind the movement were

¹⁰³ B A V Sharma, "Socio-Economic and Political Dimension of Sub-Nationalism: The Case of Telangana, *Indian Journal of Politics*, A.M.U., Aligarh

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

employees from Telangana. They developed a feeling that the Andhra employees were exercising dominance over them, and the Andhra officers were victimising them. The Gentlemen's Agreement was not reflected in its true sense. There was a failure in the implementation of the 'Mulki Rules' also. On the other hand, the Government employees from the Andhra areas, posted in Telangana areas, also developed discontent upon the Telangana employees. They started thinking that they were the vested class of people. However, Telangana employees with less capability were getting more opportunities against them. Another problem was also before them, i.e. due to the necessity of the Mulki or domicile certificate for admission into the educational institutions in Telangana, they felt that their children were deprived of educational facilities in Telangana. Meanwhile, overlooking the Telangana safeguards, the Government of Andhra Pradesh prepared an integrated list of seniority of their employees for promotions. But the Telangana employees were depressed as that was a violation of the Gentlemen's Agreement". Telangana employees approached High Court of Andhra Pradesh and stalled combined promotion list¹⁰⁵.

On receiving Stay Order on combined promotion list, Andhra employees questioned 'Mulki Rule' application in High Court. The government of Andhra Pradesh argued in the Supreme Court against the stay order of the High Court. According to their appeal, High Court decision created confusion in student community and NGOs of Telangana. Government of Andhra Pradesh was expecting a favourable decision from Supreme Court meanwhile the Telangana NGO's association started protest. The agitation lasted for forty-six days. Finally, the Supreme Court announced that the 'Mulki Rules' is legitimate as it is based on Article 35(b) of the Indian Constitution. Later, NGOs were asked to continue the protest by the Telangana Leaders for separate Statehood. Government also gave a guarantee to Telangana leaders that by creating superannuated posts, Andhra employees would be relocated to Andhra area. Telangana personnel will be filled in vacancies arising out of

¹⁰⁵ Hugh Grey, "The Demand for a Separate Telangana State," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 11, No. 5 (1971), 463-474.

transfer of Andhra employees. Among these assurances, Telangana NGO Association called off their forty-six days strike.

On 19th January 1969, the Government called an all-party meeting to clarify the strain and clash of the Telangana crisis in Hyderabad. The all-party get together pointed out annoyance difficulties like unemployment and inequalities in employees' allotment, change in integrated list of seniority, non-utilization of Telangana residue finances to monetary growth of Telangana and fiscal inequality in Telangana region. If these issues are addressed, demand for a separate State will be decreased. However, all-party meet could not make Telangana rebels to leave their protest. Individuals in common and youth in particular, lost trust in leaders¹⁰⁶. During 1971 in mid-term Lok Sabha polls, the Telangana Praja Samiti contested elections with the slogan of "backwardness of Telangana" area. It won ten seats contesting fourteen constituencies in Telangana. Due to triumph of Telangana Praja Samiti in Lok Sabha polls, the Centre has recognised power and reputation of TPS. The Prime Minister and the Telangana Praja Samiti leader, M. Chenna Reddy made an agreement in September, 1971¹⁰⁷.

This agreement includes the following items:

- (i) Legal laws for the Telangana local organisation;
- (ii) Separate allotment of finances and financial credit to Telangana areas;
- (iii) Separate wing of Telangana Pradesh in Congress Committee;
- (iv) Execution of 'Mulki Rules';
- (v) Congress Party-State leadership to Telangana person.

As a result, Brahmananda Reddy was removed from Chief Ministership. This was considered as an individual victory to Chenna Reddy. Most Telangana Praja Samithi members joined the Congress party. P.V. Narsimha Rao from Telangana was appointed as Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh replacing Brahmananda Reddy. Congress won the State Assembly Elections in 1972, Narasimha Rao was repeatedly given the Chief

¹⁰⁶ M Subrahmanyam, *Op. cit.* p. 125.

¹⁰⁷ Hugh Gray, "The Failure of the Demand for a Separate Andhra State," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1974), 338-349.

Ministership. Narasimha Rao actively voted for “Land Reforms Act and Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act, 1976”. A Jana Sangh leader explained “the Farm Ceiling Bill as discriminatory and inhuman. Besides the attempt by the Congress party at the centre to restructure the state leadership, mainly to break the power of the dominant agricultural castes and to establish direct contact with politicians at the grassroots, without the link of solid factional leaders, had also created a feeling of uncertainty among the leaders of the Andhra region”¹⁰⁸. Meanwhile, the judgement of the Supreme Court on ‘Mulki Rule’ goes against the judgment of the High Court and the ‘Mulki Rule’ ought to be followed according to Article 33 (b) of the Indian Constitution. This Judgement of the Supreme Court triggered protests in Andhra region for separate statehood. One group of landlords from Congress Party not satisfied with the socialistic ideals of Narsimha Rao, held protests. Andhra Congress representatives asked to change the state capital to any place in the Andhra region. The Andhra NGOs were not in favour of ‘Mulki Rules’, while Telangana NGOs pressed for complete enforcement of ‘Mulki Rules’.

Andhras stirred a State wide protest on 27th November 1972 against declaration of “Five-Point Rule” issued by Prime Minister; the following is the content of declaration:

1. The ‘Mulki Rule’ is applicable to NGO positions up to the level of Tahsildar, Assistant Civil Surgeon and Assistant Engineer in the Telangana region.
2. In the offices of the Secretariat, ‘Mulki Rules’ permission should apply for each next position of all three direct employment openings at non-gazetted level.
3. Different government service cadres up to first or second Gazetted level are to be regionalized.
4. Education services are to be expanded in twin cities, Hyderabad and Secunderabad.

¹⁰⁸ Dagmar Bernstorff. “Eclipse of “Reddy-Raj”? The Attempted Restructuring of Congress Party leadership in Andhra Pradesh,” *Eastern Survey*, Vol. 13, No. 10 (1973), 959-979.

5. A multiple police force brought from both areas, in favour of Hyderabad and Secunderabad¹⁰⁹.

Later, Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi spoke in Lok Sabha on 21st December 1972, perceived that in a desperate sensitivity in the country, some residentiary eligibility for public employment went in opposition to the design of common citizenship manifested in the Indian Constitution. But in a way, the originator of the constitution who framed it did understand that the safeguards available to people who experience unusual difficulties could not be eliminated straight away¹¹⁰. State Cabinet was approved the five-point formula, but student and NGO Association refused the Five Point Formula. On 7th December 1972 Andhra NGO employees went on indefinite strike. Nine Andhra Ministers, out of twenty-nine, resigned from the Cabinet on 18th December 1972, which led to a further degraded environment in the State. All these resignations occurred to decree the President's rule that led to the standoff to a conclusion. To hold combined Andhra Pradesh intact, Home Minister K.C. Panth issued the following Six Point Principle;

- I. State-level Planning Boards and Sub-Committees were set up to address the issue of backward areas.
- II. For Hyderabad, a new Central University was proposed.
- III. Given the specific extent in direct recruitments, local candidates should be preferred to;
 - Non-gazetted positions except in Secretariat and in Hyderabad City Police Office.
 - Positions in Local Bodies and
 - Positions of Junior Engineer, Assistant Civil Surgeon and Tahsildar.
- IV. Service Cadre has to be an orderly expanse and it should be allocated on regional basis prescribed by Gazette notification to improve promotion prospects.

¹⁰⁹ Hugh Gray, "The Failure of the Demand for a Separate Andhra State," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1974), 338-349.

¹¹⁰ The Statesman, "Counsel for Despair," Dec-27, (New Delhi, 1972)

- V. A high-level administrative court will have established to deal with complaints about seniority promotion services and other related affairs.
- VI. Constitution indeed revised to keep away from legal action.

It is hoped that the Six Point Principle may discontinue “Mulki Rule” and Telangana Regional Committee in future¹¹¹.

Since one-party dominance did not develop any different ideological orientations of the Congress and opposition Parties from the beginning of the State, Andhra Pradesh’s politics was controlled by intra-party conflicts within ruling party. Factional politics of Congress changed the political scene in Andhra Pradesh. Dissident leaders of Congress initially started the Telangana and the Andhra agitation. Opposition parties could continue protest as long as the leaders of the Congressional factions worked against their rivals. Once the differences were resolved, they sought political support to continue combining the state of Andhra Pradesh. The first Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Sanjeeva Reddy controlled the administration and party organization. He ruled the State as Chief Minister without following the directions from the Centre. After Sanjeeva Reddy, D. Sanjeevaiah from marginalised community appointed to the post of Chief Minister in 1960. He held the office of Chief Minister from 1960 to 1962.

After Brahmananda Reddy became the Chief Minister of the state, the politics of Andhra Pradesh shifted to Delhi and almost all decisions were taken at the central level. However, he made special move to build his fortress crumbled by the 1969s agitation of Telangana. Even to satisfy the self-esteem of particular individuals at the Centre, they slaughtered the State democratic principles. Since 1971 the fate of the State was decided by the personal decisions of Indira Gandhi as a substitute of party politics. As directed by Indira Gandhi, there was no party politics in the State apart from individuals and individual’s politics. Moreover, all Congress leaders of Andhra Pradesh were aware of Indira Gandhi. She was an able politician and administrator. She controlled completely the State administration from the Centre and gave no scope for the State politicians to raise protest voices.

¹¹¹ Hugh Gray, “The Failure of the Demand for a Separate Andhra State,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1974), 338-349.

Telangana agitation 1969

Eventually, governments failed in upholding the “Gentlemen’s Agreement” and continued discrimination against Telangana region in government employment, education, and public expenditure; due to this discrimination, the Telangana movement and students stepped up their demonstrations for a separate state in January 1969. On 19th January, 1969 an agreement was reached among all political parties to keep-up the Telangana demands.

The main elements of the agreement were as follows:

- All non-Telangana employees working in positions intended for Telangana employees will be transferred.
- Surplus revenue acquired from Telangana would be utilised to promote growth in the Telangana region only.
- Call on the Telangana students to put aside their agitation.

Nevertheless, students and employees became involved in statewide agitation. The then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, arranged a high-level conference to deal with the situation. Following many negotiations with leaders of both areas, the Prime Minister formulated an “Eight Points Plan” on April 12th 1969; Telangana Praja Samithi (T.P.S.) was founded in 1969 by M. Chenna Reddy to achieve Statehood in Telangana. Indira Gandhi in March, 1971 called for parliamentary elections in the country. Telangana Praja Samiti won ten out of fourteen seats in Parliament. By contrast, Indira Gandhi’s Congress party won a massive majority in elections due to progressive programmes such as poverty alleviation and *Garibi Hatao*. Then M. Chenna Reddy merged Telangana Praja Samiti with the Congress party. The separate statehood movement began to decline.

The state unit of the Bharatiya Janatha Party (B.J.P.) issued a resolution in 1997 calling for the creation of a separate State for Telangana. The BJP was responsible for establishing Jharkhand State, Uttarakhand and Chattisgarh in 2000. In A.D. 2000, Kalvakuntla Chandrashekar Rao (K.C.R.) being the Deputy Speaker of State of Andhra Pradesh Legislature tried for a Cabinet Minister post in Chandrababu Naidu Cabinet. Having failed to get the ministerial post he raised Telangana issue in the Legislative Assembly and

resigned from the post. K.C.R launched Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) party on 17th May, 2001. Before launching, he held wide-ranging talks and discussions with a large number of Telangana scholars and leaders in the state. Prof Jayashankar, one of the leading members of the Telangana Movement has expressed his support for TRS. The Congress party and TRS made a political alliance with TDP and BJP in 2004 to win seats in the legislature; the party won twenty-six seats in Assembly and five seats in Parliament; With this, Telangana was included in the “UPA Phase - 1 Common Minimum Program”; As part of this, separate State for Telangana was also mentioned.

During their respective speeches Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President Abdul Kalam was also mentioned the issue of separate Statehood. T.D.P. M.L.A.s resigned from their posts and even in April 2008, some state government officials came out and joined the protest to form an independent Telangana state. T.R.S. made an alliance with the C.P.I., T.D.P., and the C.P.M. for the 2009 election. This large coalition failed in getting expected results; T.R.S. managed to get only 10 M.L.A. seats and 2 M.P. seats.

Peak phases in Telangana Movement

In support of the separate Telangana State, K.C.R declared an indefinite hunger strike. He was arrested by the state police and shifted to the sub-jail of Khammam. The movement got intensified by students, employees, and members of civil society. The United Progressive Alliance (U.P.A.) at the Centre made an announcement on 9th December, 2009 that it will commence the process of bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh. After two weeks of resistance from the Seemandhra people and its leaders, the U.P.A. withdrew the decision. Afterwards, KCR gathered all political associations in Telangana to establish the Joint Action Committee (TJAC). Prof Kodandaram was its chairman. TJAC organised several agitations and demonstrations. (See Annexure – Newspaper Reports)

Suicides (*bali danalu*) in Telangana

As part of the agitation, several suicides and suicide attempts were reported. KCR, the president of the TRS Party, claimed that about 2000 people have committed suicide in Telangana since 1969. In the above, 1500 suicides

took place between 1969 to 2000 and the rest of about 500 took place from 2001 to 2014. The state gave compensation for 459 cases of suicide that happened during the period between 2001 to 2014, which is considered to be an aggressive period of agitation for the separate State of Telangana (See Annexure for Martyrs List).

The first suicide that shook the Central government was reported in 2009 by Yadireddy, who committed suicide beside the Parliamentary building in New Delhi. He attended a public meeting called by the TJAC in New Delhi as part of a protest about separate states. This was followed by several students and individuals, mostly unemployed young people. According to Telangana Movement statistics reported by the leaders, 196 suicides took place in 2009 and 223 in 2010. On the whole, 419 suicides were reported in the newspapers and social media. The prominent among the deceased were Bandaru Srinivas, Yadireddy, Srikantha Chary, Ashok, Nayak, Dinesh Chandra, Goswamy, K Venugopal Reddy and Sai Kumar Meegada. Most of the suicides happened in Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Warangal and Nalgonda. To prevent further suicides, the central government announced the act of process of bifurcation in Parliament. The Telangana leaders called these suicides as *bali danas* (gift of sacrifice) for achieving Telangana State. Actually, these suicides made an immense impact on the nation and several parties urged the Congress government, which was at the helm of affairs at the Centre.

Formation of Telangana State

After four years of continuous struggle, the United Progressive Alliance (U.P.A.) at the centre moved separate independent state bills into two houses of Parliament. In February 2014 General Elections, TRS formed the government. Kalva Kuntla Chandrashekar Rao (KCR) took oath as Telangana's first Chief Minister on 2nd June, 2014. Telangana was officially declared as a separate State.

Polemics of Cultural Politics - Art and Culture Budget at a Glance

Budget allocation on Art and Culture from the Five-Year Plans right from the inception of India as an independent state to the establishment of NITI Aayog (i.e., 1951 to 2017) is very meager. The following table shows the

budget allocations from 2014 to 2022 given to all public institutions, such as Zonal Cultural Centres, the Sahitya Akademi, the Sangeet Natak Akademi, the Lalit Kala Akademi, Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts, Museums, Archeological Survey of India, Anthropological Survey of India etc., as part of Art and Culture.

Table - V: Indian Government Budget on Art and Culture

S.No.	Year	Total Out lay Budget (In Crores)	Budget allocation on Art and Culture (In Crores)	Percentage (In Crores)
1	2014-2015	17,94,892	2511	0.139
2	2015-2016	2,60,493	2169	0.832
3	2016-2017	706248.40	1755	0.248
4	2017-2018	21,47,000	2738.47	0.127
5	2018-2019	24,42,210	2843.32	0.116
6	2019-2020	27,86,349	3042.35	0.109
7	2020-2021	30,42,230	3150	0.103
8	2021-2022	34,83,236	2665.00	0.076

Source: <https://www.indiabudget.gov.in/>

The above budget allocation is only for Art and Culture, which is exclusive of budget allocation to youth affairs, education and sports. From the above, it is evident that the Union Government allocated less than 1% to promoting Art and Culture through public institutions. The year 2015-16 witnessed the highest budget allocation (0.832 crores). During this year, the government has introduced the “Prime Minister’s Fifteen Point Programme” under which several programmes connected with small and medium industries to produce art and craft materials are undertaken. This allocation is in addition to the allocation to public institutions. The year 2021-2022 is reported as the least in the budget allocated to public institutions (0.076 crores). From the above, it is evident that from 2016 onwards, the government of India introduced NITI Aayog replacing the Five-Year Plan. The NITI Aayog is an annual budget plan and based on request from the Public Institutions and the

Ministry of Art and Culture, the budget is allocated. The NITI Aayog has also introduced institutions funds on a loan basis to the institutions. As a result, the budget allocation from 2016 onwards shows an annual consistent decrease as reported in the table above. This trend reflects the concept of the ‘Nation State’ which India is heading towards in the present political scenario. The Nation State is formed with the slogan, “One Nation One State”, which means nation is construed in the paradigm of cultural homogeneity, i.e., “One Culture One Nation”. This drift in cultural politics undermines the earlier Nehru Plan of Unity in Diversity for constructing the Indian nation.

As mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, the formation of coalition governments due to the increase in regional parties resulted in setting regional aspirations within the States. The Telangana government is no exception to this. The demand for Telangana State as discussed above is based on culture and language politics. After the formation of the State, in order to sustain its claims, the Telangana government concentrated on projecting and demonstrating its cultural uniqueness through cultural performances, folk art and craft traditions. After the formation of the State, the Telangana government created the State Cultural Council and Rasamayi Balakrishna was appointed as Chairman of TSCC. It also appointed K.V. Ramachary as Advisor to Culture, Tourism, Endowments, Youth and Media Affairs. As part of TSCC, 500 folk artists are employed to promote cultural literacy programmes. That apart, the government showcased cultural events annually, such as Alai Balai, Bathukamma, Sammakka-Saral akka jatara, Bonalu with pomp and glory (See Annexure – Photographs). As a consequence, the Telangana government sought more grants for art and culture through NITI Aayog and UNESCO etc. The following table shows the allotment of budget to art and culture:

Table – VI: Telangana Budget on Art and Culture

S. No.	Year	Total Outlay Budget (In Crores)	Budget allocation on Art and Culture (In Thousand)	Budget allocation on Art and Culture (In Lakhs)

1	2014-2015	1,00,637.96	28,3993	---
2	2015-2016	1,15,689	39,5274	---
3	2016-2017	1,30,416	40,5635	---
4	2017-2018	1,49,646	---	45,33.54
5	2018-2019	1,74,454	---	51,52.07
6	2019-2020	1,46,492	---	50,31.60
7	2020-2021	1,82,914	---	54,11.44
8	2021-2022	256958.51	---	55,45.50

Source: <https://www.telangana.gov.in/budget-finance-2022-23>

From the above table, it is evident that the government is increasing its allocation of budget on an incremental basis annually. The state was formed in the year 2014 and in the initial three years of its origin, the budget started growing gradually. In the year 2014-15, the budget allocation for culture was only Rs.283993 thousand out of 100 crores. An actual leap in the budget allocation for cultural activities can be noticed from the year 2017-18 till that date. Various cultural activities are being undertaken by the government through the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. In the historical sites of Telangana region, light and music programmes are conducted regularly to showcase the historical significance of the region. For instance, light and music programmes in Golkonda Fort (Hyderabad), Thousand Pillars Temple (Warangal), Ramappa Temple (Warangal) etc., are attracting the attention of tourists. On the whole, the government is giving a lot of emphasis to promoting culture as a part of the identity creation of Telangana to distinguish the Telugu people of this region from that of Andhra region. Thus, cultural politics became party politics to sustain political power.

Conclusion

Regionalism is the movement in contrast to the socio-political and economic disadvantages; it is also a movement against the dominant hegemonic groups in the country's mainstream. Various factors brick the wall of regional sentiments of emotional attachment and affinity with that region

they think is theirs. Factors like language, economy, political and administrative issues play a pivotal role in mobilizing people. The psychological aspect is also another factor to which people get sensitized. Any protest movement occurring in a particular social set-up is not without favourable variables. Although the regional parties operate in the smallest spaces and follow only limited objectives, they have played a crucial role in State and State politics. Many states in India related to the government policies and programmes, these regional parties give their best concretely after forming their government. Likewise, the regional parties, i.e. located in the states like Jammu & Kashmir, the national conference, in Sikkim the Sikkim Sangram Parishad, in Mizoram the National Front, in Meghalaya the All Party Hill Leaders Conference, in Assam the Assam Gana Parishad, in Haryana Indian National Lok Dal, in Goa the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party, in Tamilnadu the D.M.K. and the A.I.D.M.K, in Andhra and Telangana the T.D.P., T.P.S., and T.R.S. connection with major parties the regional parties also formed the Government in several States in the fourth parliamentary elections in 1967.

Moreover, regional political parties played significant role in supporting Congress to form Government at Centre. After split in the Party in 1969, the D.M.K. party was backed by Mrs Indira Gandhi's Government. To facilitate her to carry on Government against the loss of the majority in the parliament. T.D.P. was also leading regional party pillar strength to United Front name has been changed to the National Democratic Alliance. These regional parties' representers promote their interest; they always measure the parliament decisions. Also, look at the issues of their region and influence the Government's policies. One crucial aspect of regional parties is caring for the people in remote areas irrespective of their social, political and economic matters as well as the political arousing. Eventually, concerning on top of discussion, the regional political parties have influenced national politics. Furthermore, the effort and interest they have made are associated with the regional issues. In brief, it would declare that regional political parties intelligently influence regional politics and clear out enormous brunt on national politics.

Regionalism played on language politics thrived much from 1920s to 1990s in India. In the beginning of the Second millennium (around AD 2000) regional politics paved the way for sub-regional politics adding cultural connect as a major shift. States formed on linguistic basis (*lingua franca*) faced protests within on the basis of improper resource sharing. This is attributed to cultural variations and attitude of the dominant ruling classes hailing from different cultural milieus. This phenomenon is found in various states and Telangana is no exception to it. Since, the State formation is mooted on the basis of cultural discrimination and unequal sharing of resources, the Telangana State after its formation allocated budget in incremental increased manner for items related to culture. This move is to protect its consciousness and identity of culture in order to sustain the State as an independent and prosperous one.

CHAPTER - V

Conclusion

A Sum Up

The present study “Culture and Politics: A Study on Emergent Regionalism in Telugu States” examines historical background of the federal state formation policies, implementation and its impact on regionalism. It proposes to study how the Central government, in the name of linguistic States, imposed several restrictions on merger and de-merger of areas with support of Congress ruled States in the initial phases of formation of Independent Indian State which was mainly responsible for the implementations of policies in the respective linguistic States.

Culture is region specific due to ecological, historical, political and socio-economic factors. The concept of country or nation though claim to have one cultural system, it is not so because the nation or the country are formed with the help of the idea of communal shelters or imagined communities. Based on this fact, India is claimed to be a nation of unity in diversity owing to its regional distinctive cultural traditions. This notion was deeply embedded in the Indian political leaders who fought against the colonial regime. In order to come out of the colonial clutches, the freedom fighters who were mainly from the Indian National Congress raised the slogan of ‘nation of unity in diversity’. With this metaphor the Congress government at the Centre the formed all the States based on linguistic paradigm. As a result, Madras State which was hither to in Madras Presidency under the colonial regime was divided into three major linguistic States i.e., Madras, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka with the population speaking Tamil, Telugu and Kannada respectively. However, this faced resistance in due course due to emergence of sub-regional feelings. In this thesis how culture played an important role in politics to bifurcate the existing linguistic States into sub-regional States. As a case study, in this thesis, the formation of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh is examined and arrived at the conclusion that it is not just the language but the cultural aspects of language and people paved the way for sub-regionalism in

the recent past.

Culture is not free from power. Always the dominant, be it community or society, dictate the norms of culture. Culture in that sense basically becomes a tool in the hands of elite or few individuals to dominant over the weak. At the community level elders become the decision makers and at the societal level the elite turn as wielders of power. This power relations regulate in many ways the cultural system. The concept of cultural politics got momentum with the post-colonial writings of Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak etc. The writers from the colonies under the dominance Imperial European countries viewed the literary and historical writings and other cultural objects such as sculpture, art and architecture from the critical view point and pointed out the colonial dominance over them. Post-Colonial theory probes into and develops stand points about impact of the European Imperial rule over cultural systems over the colonised societies. It also enquires into responses of the colonised societies. The whole discourse of post-colonial ontology is founded in the writings of Antonio Gramsci on the notion of 'Cultural Hegemony'. From this backdrop the concept of cultural politics needs to be viewed even in the Indian context. India is a country where different cultures and diversified people mix up in the different political and cultural fields. Any form of cultural representation is innately 'political' because it is tied up with power groups which allow accessibility to various types of knowledge for some while negating it to others. It influences the political systems and it is comprehensive to approach. India being multi-layered and multi-cultured country owing to its long temporality both in terms of space and time. Cultural institutions in the form of education, art and culture, dance and drama etc., are promoted throughout historical times in the Indian context. As a part this, Cultural institutions in the form of education, art and culture, dance and drama etc., are promoted throughout historical times in the Indian context. Some of the public institutions connected with culture are financed and administered by Central government. To name a few, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives and National Library are established to have all India network with State governments in their respective fields. Botanical, Geological, Zoological and Anthropological Surveys of India are under the control of Central government. Apart from

these, Oriental Institutions as well as Institutions of Visual Arts, Theatre and Drama were also established in the field of culture. State government also established in their domains similar Institutions. The Indian princely States maintained performing and liberal arts institutions. All India Radio is set up to promote official news and other cultural items such as Music, Drama, Literary genres through Mass Media. Initiatives from private organizations such as Rama Krishna Mission, University of Santiniketan of Ravindranath Tagore promoted education and training in culture. Individuals with Philanthropic outlook also took interest in promoting culture.

The Second Chapter entitled “Culture and Politics: A Perspectival Discourse” is mainly divided into two parts. Part One discusses the general description of culture, and Part Two discusses politics and its definitions and relationship. Culture signifies the values, behaviour, and popular belief system and the rules and regulations and political power passed from one generation to another in the given society. It has two dimensions i.e., artefact (Physical Construct) and mentifact (Mental construct). The cultural manifestation in terms of artifacts is found in several physical objects such as art, craft, architecture, implements and tools etc. The mentifacts are associated with all types of knowledge, philosophy manifested both in terms of verbal and non-verbal expressive traditions. Culture therefore, is a comprehensive whole of human advancement and progression. Different schools of thought looked culture as a phenomenon to understand it.

It is not only the scholars who are from the field of cultural study but also others from disciplines like Psychology, Anthropology, Sociology and Business (Organisational) gave a working definition from their academic perspective on culture. All Social Sciences promoted the idea of man’s adaptation to nature in the process of bettering the livelihood. In this due course, man as a social animal acquire all beliefs, practices, manners, customs and the knowledge systems. What is interesting to note is that these acquired traits are passed through the generations through language and other symbolic actions. Anthropologists and Sociologists employ the techniques of culture, handling it holistically, differing from the psychologist’s approach. Using a phenomenological approach, the subject of Anthropology probed into cultural experiences of everyday life of a cultural group rather than individuals. The

time frame for such cultural studies includes past and present. If one observes, most anthropological studies are based on the primary field data which is collected using some methods, i.e., ethnography, focus group method, etc.

The cognitive anthropologist depends on people's experiences in determining the cultural measures, and their understanding has a considerable description of cultural events of a given society. But both the things that emphasize building the group are individual psychological states of mind in carrying out the cultural roles. Coming into the sociological approach, discusses the in relation with the social action linked with the members of society. These social actions are related to the social relationships among individuals and groups, which ultimately establish an association of political, economic and social spheres. Cultures are generally considered to have developed due to geographical and ecological factors. By seeing the quotations of some culture theorists to justify the link between culture and people it is understood that there exists sociological connection with culture. The business or organisation discipline sees the culture as an organizational viewpoint related to livelihood and economy. It is established primarily on institutional and institutional theories. And it is well-known, according to Meyer and Rowan, the organizational setup that is formal and informal organizations. And these disciplines related to business management, to see the culture from macro and micro-economics view in connection to the companies' economic expansions, seek to increase its viability in the other countries. The scholar concerned about poring over the company's culture will be the expression for features such as Business opportunities, nature of human capital, laws and policies associated with Business development and potential competition from the others.

In psychology, most of the researchers have noticed culture both in universal (etic) and specific (emic) ways by applying psychosomatic codes. Generally, the "Cross-Cultural Psychologists" studied from etic perspective whereas, the "Cultural Psychologists" looked from emic point of view. More importantly, cultural psychologists also follow ethnographic and experimental approaches to study relation between cognition and culture, looking at how sociocultural lines impact mental procedures. All the processes and systems connected to culture and psychology conclude with cultural values and

behaviours. Still, culture is complex and multidimensional, and hence the implications of this method may not give exact results.

Other than the academic definitions the definition given by the prominent international organizations such as UNESCO is also discussed. It opines that culture is art connected with people's behaviour in moral values and human relations. To safeguard culture, Intangible and tangible cultural heritage of the people is taken as parameter. It follows some debates and decisions, i.e., people's contemporary cultural traditions and creative cultural abilities. To promote socio-economic development, preserve cultural property, which is of historical importance to all people create a good environment wherein they feel a sense of pride in their belongings. And also, government need to protect and preserve the cultural heritage of their region for socio-economic growth. Moreover, the cultural identity stays in the folklore of all people. Therefore, it could be considered a universal cultural heritage. This folklore should be well-thought-out as a living culture and therefore need to be preserved from the modernity and globalization threats. Special attention taken from the government must take an important role in conservation folklore at the earliest. Researchers also look at the members of the States' debates and decisions on safeguarding folklore through organizing conferences, assessments, and Action plans. Like legal and administrative developments. Facilitates traditional communities, governments, academic institutions, NGOs and other private parties to encourage conventional cultural practices.

The recommendations of the UNESCO given to the members of States to do specific actions, i.e., identify and support agendas for corroboration of traditional culture and folklore, reinforce the wellbeing schemes for established communities such as housing, health care, employment. Encourage local knowledge programmes, support traditional communities to develop their indigenous material culture, and provide awareness training camps to the native communities to understand administrative, educational, and other government activities. Make available to access the education, documentation and training for traditional groups. And more provisions to enhance local language, preserve material culture and conduct local, national, and international symposiums. Encourage the youth to learn their traditional

knowledge systems. Form a network of experts to support traditional groups in protecting their culture. Conclusion and boost to submission of proposals to UNESCO undertaking projects related to the traditional culture and encouraging states to act following Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to promote traditional knowledge and skills regarding human rights.

No disciplines defined culture to encompass all its aspects. The term culture is hard to define and still unconditionally taken for granted. The concept of culture should be viewed as a process and a product. The academic concept of culture divided culture into Two different components; firstly, Culture as conflict resolutions and secondly, Culture as a learning process. As per the first conception, it can be inferred that Culture is an integral part of conflict resolution. It is surrounded by all conflicts because conflicts come into existence in human relationships. Cultures affect the traditions yet try to resolve the conflicts. As per the second conception, culture has an inheritance of its own shape, purpose and meaning. Every human society expresses them through institutions, arts and learning. Every human society survives having a purpose and generates meaning to exist and by which it also shapes its future.

Culture is embedded in symbols and several behaviours and actions are regulated by them. Symbol is a thing that stands for a thing. In fact, culture is mediate through symbols. Both culture and politics cannot be separate from each other. Some Political and cultural theorists also gave some ideological and symbolic definitions. All symbols are bound by perceptions and therefore represent a system of culture.

The Third Chapter, “Parties and Politics: Towards Construction of Culture as a tool” discusses how parties have been using culture as a tool for their political benefits or political gains. This discourse brings forth the very idea of the concept of a ‘Nation-State’. A Nation-State means a nation whose ultimate duty infers a social self-identity that is called as a country or nationality. Since a State is the feeling of a Nation, there is just one State to every Nation. This idea is based on the notion of Romantic Nationalism propounded by Herder. Herder viewed that primeval characteristics of nations arose from family traits, climate, way of life and tradition inherited from the past. The customs inherited from the past took deep root and became the

distinct prototypes of the race. No two nations shared similar environments and histories, and therefore no two countries can share common characters. Herder viewed development, education and thinking are part of the human genetic order. Therefore, every human being in his spirit has 'Nationality'. Individuals achieve their redemption only by forming as Nation.

Scholars like Hans Kohn and Carlton Hayes's concepts on Nationalism prove the idea of community bondage based on shared folklore. Even in Europe and USA, and other States, this Nationalism developed the humanist way of enlightenment. Some philosophers like Herder have romanticized the concept of Nationalism. He kept remaining in people's thoughts and abiding by the very idea of Nationalism. He said Romantic Nationalism is based on folklore feel. So, folklore as an analytical tool would be a form of custom to analyze and more as a dynamic unit to construct the nationalistic tendencies of the Nineteenth Century. An attempt is also made in the Indian context by romanticisation of the Nation with the help of Indian folklore. In late-nineteenth-century development and documentation of folk tales collected by bards, people voyaged to communities to collect folk songs and legends. People who understood those tales precisely understood popular culture was altered and broken by external units. It was crucial to protect the folk tradition, recognize individual national integrity, and rebuild a spirit of pride in one's history.

Nation concept is gradually turns into the power politics to get into the power; some influential groups or famous people have started their organisations named its political parties. Indian political parties are no exception to this. That is mainly established in the era of pre-independence and post-independence. Primarily the parties like the Indian National Congress founded in 1885 and CPI (Communist Party of India) appeared in the country in 1925. The Rashtriya Swam Sevak Sungh too evolved in presence. Siromani Akali Dal arrived in permanence in 1920. The Jammu and Kashmir National Conference originated in 1939 in India. The Revolutionary Socialist Party, too, grew in continuation in 1940. All India Forward Block is too there. Before independence, there were parties in India that had a disproportionate effect on the country. Still, the Indian National Congress party was the most important, and it is now a reality.

In India regional parties can be classified into two types i.e., 1) regional parties based on programmatic agenda and 2) regional parties formed on the basis of clientelistic means. Regional parties which came to power based on programmatic agenda in their manifesto become successful for adopting populist programmes. In regional parties which follow clientelistic means their elite members basically designing manifestos of the party and it is they who make calculations of winning vote bank. In both clientelism and programmatic party system, Elites determine which kind of parties are electorally successful. They do so not by determining how voters vote but rather by determining whether the parties that voters vote for are regional or national.

In both clientelism and programmatic party system political parties used theatre for awaking people through their aesthetic creation of traditional performing art styles seen in all cultures. Theatre can show political and social revolutions and movements and even critically assess the contemporary issues in society. It started after Second World War it got a huge impact on the world. It went into every corner of the society, and it impacted the elite to the ordinary people to uphold the common issues. Theatre brings all the sufferings and pain caused by Post-World War depicted dramatically. On the other hand, the Marxist theory has vastly impacted theatre personalities- the screenwriters, filmmakers, performers, etc. The groups like the Communist Party, trade organisations, the scholar association, and various sections of society started to express their viewpoints through theatre. Respectively, cultural associations like the “Indian Peoples Theatre Association (IPTA, India)”, “Red Theatre (China)”, “Guerrilla Theatre of Green Peace (Belgium)”, and “Berliner Ensemble (Germany)” and several more have arisen between the World Wars. Marxist ideology greatly influenced the theatre of the marginalized, modern street theatre, guerrilla theatre, black theatre, community theatre, and feminist theatre. All those actions attempted to discuss the working group toward all kinds of deceptions. In this manner, every one of them has opposed proscenium theatre work and watched for an alternative area.

The Praja Natya Mandali is also an Indian Theatre that mostly focuses on Telugu rural doctrines, culture, customs, and traditions and directly influences the common working-class people. Political factors also influence

India's most prominent ancient popular rich heritage and world culture in a given society. The researcher also discussed the Indian political party's role in culture. Political parties act as motivators of the expression of the people, the channels of communication between government and the citizens. They are engineers of public policy.

It is also very relevant to study political parties concerning their role in policymaking. The researcher also explained the root word for the party, and he explored the scholar's ideas who have mostly studied on party and politics. He also explained the Indian political party system after India's independence and political parties' participation in the first general elections, then explained the party's performance after getting into power. In this thesis an attempt is made to study the five-year plans to evaluate the political party's work towards culture. Each Plan has its significance; in the case of the first five-year Plan, it was very less important given to the culture. Developments in the Village production like rural artworks and crafts that equally have socio-economic significance ought to be promoted. Village printing, decoration, pottery and the handicrafts of tribal people, for example, have a lengthy culture and have also been crucial parts of the natural identity and customs of the villages.

In the case of the second five-year Plan, the government has executed the welfare programmes towards tribals mainly focused on the tribal customs and rituals and education. This Plan initiated research institutions, educational projects, cultural hubs, folklore and tribal cultural departments. The third five-year Plan mostly focused on education, national development and national integration. In the fourth five-year plan government concentrated on education and the workforce. The planning commission has decided to amend the official language act to develop Indian languages and textbook production and strictly implement three language formulas. A central government released the grant to set up language institutions to do research and train language and also established educational institutions, developed school curricula, producing children's books to promote national integration by combining lessons on culture.

The government also encourages the youth and children to participate in cultural programmes organized by National Akademis. Printing brochures by the Archaeological Survey of India and Museums is promoted to create

awareness of cultural heritage. Publication of district gazetteers and manuals will be continued for the benefit of researchers and administrators. To reach Indian culture and heritage to every section of the household in the given society, the government has started a separate budget released specially to improve the Information and Broadcasting, i.e., Television and Radio are used to spread Indian cultural heritage and promotion of national integration. To advance Cultural integrity over cultural education, three national Academies, specifically Sahitya Akademi, Sangeet Natak Akademi and Lalit Kala Akademi, were given extra funds to take on various programmes for zonal and regional importance. As part of this programme, Sahitya Akademi has been awarded to prominent writers and poets for their literary productions. The books authored by such scholars are printed and distributed by the Akademi at subsidised prices. Similarly, Sangeet Natak Akademi promoted their documentation programme on famous musicians, both vocal and instrumental and telecasted them through Doordarshan. It also announced awards for younger scholars to work on music traditions. The Lalit Kala Akademi conducted dance and theatre programmes of cultural importance and showcased them in various States. The performers are given grants to travel to different places to organise their programmes. All these are intended to promote cultural integration.

Similarly, the sixth five-year Plan also covers four sectors related to culture, specifically Sound Broadcasting, Doordarshan, Films, Media, Information and Publicity. Mainly focused on developing infrastructure in remote and rural areas for implementing welfare schemes for poor, weaker, backward and marginalised communities. The main aim of this project is to maximise daytime transmissions through Radio programmes related to a public utility. The Ministry of Culture strengthened the Song and Drama Division by setting up a second sound and light field unit to promote culture and tourism. This project also covered folk and tribal forms for propagating diversity of culture, which is the chief feature of the Sub-Continent. The Films Division is also strengthened by providing infrastructure facilities of technical nature to increase the number of prints of the film, which is connected with National Integrity for releasing in several theatres at a time. The Doordarshan

has also come up with a three-tier system for telecasting programmes that is National level programmes.

These Regional level programmes focused on the regional language of the State to be telecasted. The third level is Local programmes, mainly for local communities in the rural level and tribal regions. Likewise, in this plan government has also focused on the development of languages; it is also one of the excellent ideas of the government. According to Article 351 of the Indian constitution, Hindi is considered the national language; the English and other foreign languages are promoted for employment. The classical languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian were also promoted. The Centre also gave prominence to Urdu and Sindhi to benefit the regions of the North-western and Northern regions. All languages are promoted to develop competence not only in communication but also in writing. The government also push the institutions to develop language-related training programmes and publications. Especially for art and culture government has established Zonal Cultural Centres, cultural programmes integrated with Youth Services, Rural Development and Tourism Ministries. To address the issues concerning the youth, the two existing programmes, i.e., NSS and NYK (Nehru Yuvak Kendras), are strengthened. Through NSS, the youth are encouraged to do community work, especially the adult literacy programmes.

The NYX (Nehru Yuvak Kendras) is established in the districts to promote developmental programmes, especially through art and culture. All the above programmes are designed to protect and promote the composite culture of India, which is based on the slogan “unity in diversity”. Activities related to preservation, documentation and conservation of varied traditional practices as cultural heritage received priority in the Sixth Plan period. As a result, archaeology, museums, archives, manuscripts, libraries and Buddhist-Tibetan studies got impetus. this Plan included the expansion of Sound, Broadcasting, Television and Information Services was also expanded to the seventh five-year Plan.

The Eight five-year plan promoted public institutions connected with art and culture. Established universalised elementary education to eliminate illiteracy and include lessons on the health care system in the school curricula. Different education-related departments, councils and organisations have been

established. From the above, it is evident that the National Congress Party, which was in the control of affairs, followed the Nehruvian policy of unity in diversity to shape the Indian Nation throughout the Plan periods starting from the First to Eighth Plan periods. The Congress party did not interfere much in the programmes of culture by imposing their ideology over the States, especially concerning sports, art and culture. After BJP came to power in the mid-Eight Plan, there were few changes to art and culture. The promotion of art and culture almost remained the same during the early phases of the Ninth Five Year Plan. However, during the BJP rule, focus is shifted to preservation of monuments to showcase them as cultural heritage of the country.

Zonal Cultural Centres are established to create cultural awareness at the regional and national level by dividing the country into seven zones, i.e., East Zone, West Zone, North Zone, South Zone, Central Zone, North West, and North East. These Centres actively engaged in promoting regional and folk-art traditions, including performing and fine arts, organising festivals and craft fares. Most of these Centres are documenting folk art forms on the point of extinction. Department of Culture actively participated in the Republic Day parade annually involving Zonal Cultural Centres. 'Resurgent India' is a central theme for the Republic Day of 2001, wherein folk dances of all regions are showcased to present the Nation's cultural diversity. A particular programme with disabled children is organized. In 1996 set up the National Cultural Fund (NFC) mobilising funds for cultural heritage. And also, the Cultural Zonal Centres (CZC) gave priority to developing tribal and folk-art forms. Cultural Resources and Training (CCRT) provide funds to build cultural inputs in the school curriculum. National School of Drama (NSD) is started Regional Resources Centres in other parts of the country to promote and propagate Indian theatre through workshops, seminars, and exchange programmes.

In the case of National Museums and other museums and Libraries in the country, several exhibitions and training programmes have been organized, and financial assistance has been provided to strengthen the cultural resource centres in the country. In the tenth five-year Plan, the Congress and BJP shared the power and initiated projects with the support of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) excavation activities. Due to industrialisation and urban

growth, encroachments around monuments increased and caused a severe threat to the cultural heritage sites. When the BJP government was in power, some schemes discontinued earlier Congress government allotted in the planned budget. It declares zero funding for cultural activities. Eleventh Five Year Plan concentrated much on cultural diversity programmes to promote to satisfy the linguistic State's interests. During the 12th five-year Plan, the government introduced Fifteen Point Programme, which connected several programmes with small and medium industries to produce art and craft materials. Minorities and their culture are also more essential, and Urdu language and Madarsas schools are getting modernised. Apart from Residential schools like Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya and Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya are promoted. This Plan was continued till mid-2014. Most linguistic States encouraged local/regional parties in opposition to National Parties. This made the central government advocate for diversity and gave much importance to regional languages, the morality of faiths, and conservation and promotional activities of cultural heritage to demonstrate the country's composite culture.

Similarly, folk and traditional arts are also prioritised to disseminate Intangible Cultural heritage. The UNESCO also encouraged its members to safeguard and protect “Intangible Heritage and Cultural Diversity”. Several international grants are given to promote intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO.

From 2015 onwards, Five Year Plan Schemes were discontinued, and Annual Plan schemes were introduced under the name “National Institute for Transforming India (NITI Aayog)” by the BJP government. The Planning Commission, established in 1950, got replaced by the “NITI Aayog”. The government of India created NITI Aayog as the nodal ‘Think Tank’ for making policy to provide both directional and policy inputs. NITI Aayog created two hubs; “(1) The Team India Hub and (2) The Knowledge and Innovation Hub”. The first hub, i.e., “Team India Hub,” acts for cooperation between States and the Central government.

In contrast, the second hub, namely, “Knowledge and Innovation Hub”, acts as a think-tank and designs policies of National importance. The government has kept Art culture under the Team India Hub, connecting the

aspects of Education, Sports and Youth Affairs under the umbrella section named after the Ministry of Human Resources Development (MHRD). Significantly less importance in developing and releasing grants for art and culture than the five-year plans; moreover, the NITI Aayog encouraged only proposal-oriented development programmes. The government funds did not fully support many public institutions connecting with culture and art. Instead, they encourage going for developmental programmes under Public-Private Partnerships (PPP).

The Fourth Chapter entitled, “Culture and Regionalism: A Case Study on Telangana State formation” mainly focuses on culture and regionalism related to the Telangana State formation. The sense of regionalism occurs when people are surrounded by some geographical regions, express a shared sense of their own, and are united by their unique culture, language, etc. In this chapter concepts connected international, national, and transnational in relation to regional and sub-regionalism is discussed. At the worldwide level, the Countries are grouped as South-East Asia, the Balkans, Western Europe, Central Africa, Latin America, etc. Based on geography, history is economy and considered groups by the U.N.O or I.M.F etc., to work trans-nationally for all-round development. At the National level the interest of India as a nation is studied from pre-Indian independence to post-independence period.

Regionalism as a phenomenon is not new to the Indian political system. Regionalism has stayed on possibly the main effective vigour in Indian politics yet while 1947, or then ahead of. Regionalism is ingrained in India’s much variety of languages, customs, ethnic group, hamlets, beliefs and so on, and expectant by the local attention of person’s uniqueness indicators and stimulated by an intellect of regional dispossession.

To build their Colonial government in India, the British Empire chose three important centres: Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. They obtained regions of East, West and South India were slowly added to the presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal. They resulted in the formation of three imaginative British Indian zones. In the year 1872, India was divided into 16 Provinces. The regions in British rule are separated on seven great provinces, Madras and Bombay presidency is one side, Bengal and North-west areas, Punjab in lieutenant Governor’s rule, under Chief Commissioner central

Provinces and Oudh. In addition, there were three small Coorg, Ajmer-Marwari and Andaman and Nicobar Islands, in British control. A massive area of the country was under Indian Princes. The period of 1872 consisted of twelve British districts. Some regions of Central India have captured Nizams of Hyderabad on hire. In 1853, until through a resident Stationed at Hyderabad was under the control of the British government. In the South part, Hyderabad embedded a big region separated into thirty-seven princely districts, including Mysore; South India had eight princely States. After the Indian Constitution was launched in 1950, Indian States got divided into Four Sections. The national leadership took practical steps to incorporate the regions in the national mainstream by which the Princely States were brought under a unified constitutional framework. The people of these States were no more subjected to the monocratic excesses and the tyrannies of their rulers. Then Uniform administration was gradually extended throughout the country.

Andhra regionalism has foundations on language and cultural. The Telugu being the second largest language next to Hindi, demand for separate State on language basis gained prominence. Andhras never proposed any separate nationality in Pre and Post-Independence politics. They only projected economic under development and domination by the others specially, the Tamils. In principle, the Indian National Congress had acknowledged freedom movement and expressed their desire to continue the same at the Nagpur session of 1920. In 1928 the Nehru Report suggested the need to reorganise the region on linguistic basis. Andhra State was created by bifurcating it from the Madras State. The Telugu speaking districts of Circars and Rayalaseema are formed into a separate State on 1st October 1953. Though States Reorganisation Commission proposed for separate States for Telugus i.e., Andhra and Telangana, it did not materialise. This situation helped some members of the Congress party to demand for separate Telangana State at later date. Unrest in Telangana was chiefly concerned with economic backwardness and political dependency over Andhra regions. State of Hyderabad was divided into three branches in 1956 for implementing States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) recommendations. The Kannada and Marathi regions were merged with the states of Mysore and Bombay, and Nine Telugu speaking districts of the Telangana merged with Hyderabad.

Concerning the apprehensions of the leaders of Telangana, the States Reorganisation Commission left the issue to be resolved by people of Andhra and Telangana through general elections. In the Gentlemen's Agreement, Clause (13) is incorporated to accommodate share of political power between the regions of Telangana and Andhra. It states that if the Chief Minister is from Andhra, the Deputy Chief Minister should be from Telangana or *vice versa*. In due course, populace of Telangana expressed a support for sub-regionalism. The traditional cultural aspects were projected to spread Telangana awareness. By and large, Andhra areas were much advanced due to British rule and Telangana areas remained backward due to feudal rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Historical differentiation in these two regions resulted in development of sub-regional consciousness within people of Telangana despite their language being the same.

Intra-national feelings went through sub-regional issues based on a socio-economic, political and cultural basis, still supports diversity in language, customs and behaviour of livelihood. In some states and regions, the sub-regionalism is slowly turned into political parties and challenged in the election, hammering up the local feeling. A few parties got hands filled with seats, and they played an influential job in the Parliament and the Assemblies.

Sub-regionalism can be divided into two kinds based on backwardness and separate Statehood. Backwardness can be topographical, climatically, economic, political, and social. Similarly, distinct Statehoodness is based on economic backwardness and cultural identity. Like in India, they are so many States they were demanding separate States; likewise, Telangana is one among them.

Intra-State regionalism is another term for sub-regionalism. Sub-regionalism commonly arises when the people of a certain uniform linguistic state aspire to intra-regional differences in socio, economic, linguistic, cultural, and political spheres because of the government's carelessness. The sub-regional drifts are built on local and migratory battles. The utmost popular analytical features of cultural diversity are determinants of competition. Sub-regionalism in Andhra Pradesh got splited because of widespread growth of the Andhra region and holding important administrative posts in government. Andhras were

employed much in industries, schools, government offices, Road Transport Corporation (RTC) and different business households in Telangana regions. In order to create a universal Telangana identity, the political leaders and intellectuals came up with the idea of stereotyping the image of Telugu Talli (Telugu mother) to Telangana Talli (Telangana mother). Telugu Talli is iconically representing the people who are speaking a mother tongue called Telugu. This slogan is basically used to unite all Telugus living in Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telangana regions to support the cause of linguistic States while the region was under erstwhile Madras State. However, to promote sub-regionalism as an identity, the people of Telangana created Telangana Talli image focusing on spacial dimension. This icon is created to advocate that the region of Telangana is exploited by the Seema Andhra leaders and therefore remained backward region. Analogous to the British rule where the '*Bharath Mata*' was humiliated by the British through there exploitation, the Telangana Talli got humiliated in the hands Seema Andhra rulers is the claim made by the leaders of the movement. The statues of Telangana Talli were erected in all towns and inaugurated by the local leaders to promote Telangana identity. The statue became not only an identity symbol but also roused hopes and emotions of sense of belonging. For support of the separate Telangana state, K.C.R declares an indefinite hunger strike. He was arrested by the state police and taken to sub-jail of Khammam. The campaign has spread like wildfire, with students, employees, and members of civil society groups all joining in. The government declared that the United Progressive Alliance (U.P.A.) with the aim of creating a new Telangana State, work would be started and decided to be revealed. After two weeks of resistance from the Seemandhra leadership, the U.P.A. was forced to reverse this issue. Afterwards, KCR gathered the entire political associations in the area to establish the Joint Action Committee (J.A.C.), a united group for various organisations and political parties, with Prof. Kodandaram serving as its chairman. TJAC organised several agitations and demonstrations, and the T.R.S. cadre and leaders took part in them with enthusiasm.

After four years of continuous struggle, the United Progressive Alliance (U.P.A.), the government started a separate independent State bill in two houses of Parliament and in February 2014, the General Elections, the

Telangana State formed the government. Kalvakuntla Chandrashekar Rao (KCR) took the oath as Telangana's first Chief Minister on 2nd June, 2014. The State of Telangana was officially declared.

Observations and Findings:

India is though considered as one cultural entity, it has multilingual, poly-cultural and differential geographical landscapes. Given the milieu the States are organised initially on linguistic basis immediately after the post-independence period. However, due to issues in governance, feelings of sub-regionalism erupted and resulted in formation of States reorganisation based on cultural distinctiveness. This phenomenon is observable in almost all States in federal system but for the limitations of time and others, the formation of Telangana State is taken as a case study. From the study conducted through primary and secondary data, the following observations and findings are arrived at.

1. The formation of 'nation concept' based on geographical entity is not valid for the Indian sub-continent due to the presence of multilingual and multicultural entities.
2. The Nehruian scheme of 'unity in diversity' for making nation is upheld by the National Congress during nationalism as well as immediately after post-independent India for creation of an 'imagined society' to form the 'Indian Nation'.
3. The concept of 'unity in diversity' gave much emphasis to 'unity' rather than 'diversity' in nation building. As a result, aspirations of cultural entities at subregional level are undermined.
4. The Federal State to promote the maxim of 'unity in diversity' devised Five-Year Plan budget allocation for education, youth affairs, culture and sports as part of cultural policy.
5. The political parties that ruled the States claimed their share for promotion of culture in their respective regions.
6. Party politics, especially the regional parties emerged claiming distinct cultural identity emerged in post independent India owing to demand for equal sharing of resources of men and material.

7. The dominant political parties in the States undermined the development of certain regions such as Telangana in Andhra Pradesh caused to voice the demand for equal share by such subregions within the States.
8. In order to promote sub-regionalism in the subjects of neglected regions by the dominant ruling parties, pressure groups formed into political entities and united people on language and culture by projecting them as distinct traits.
9. In due course, sub-regionalism gained momentum and resulted in the bifurcation of State into smaller States not based on *lingua franca* basis but founded on cultural paradigms.
10. The Telangana movement is a classic example for showcasing cultural events for political gains in the demand for separate State. The cultural events such as Dhum dham, Bathukamma, Vanta varpu, Alai Balai, Sammakka Sarallakka jatara, Bonalu etc., are much used to raise consciousness of their own cultural identity which paved the way for separate Telangana State.

Suggestions:

The area of research is having an ample scope for further studies. All along culture is viewed as passive element transmitted through generations in the form of customs and traditions. Hence, the people of the region passively following them as part of their culture. Very few studies viewed culture as a component and a contributing factor in power relations. The classic example of Telangana State is that culture is used as a force to create a separate State though being in the linguistic State of Telugus. Different aspects of culture can be taken up to study the impact of each cultural trait in power politics. The political parties and their involvement in cultural politics can also be studied further from multidisciplinary perspectives.

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18 వేల మంది ఉద్యోగులను బదిలీ చేస్తూ ఉత్తరగతులు అయ్యాయి. బాధితుల వారి వద్దే 50,00 మంది ఉన్నా వారు డ్రైవర్లను (సీనియర్లు) తిరిగి పంపారు. అందులో మేల ఉత్తరగతుల వారికి 810, 874 వేల మంది ఉన్నా డ్రైవర్లను స్వచ్ఛత చేస్తూ పంపారు. అందులో మంది స్పెషియల్ ఉద్యోగులు ఉన్నారు. తిరిగి వారి సంవత్సరాల విలువలను కూడా, వేలం 18,881 మంది ఉన్నా ఉన్నా ప్రతిభాత్మక స్వచ్ఛత చేసింది. వారిలో ఎక్కువ మంది వారు డ్రావాయితులు, హామీలు, వారిలో ఎక్కువ మంది వారు వచ్చినప్పుడు ఉంది. ఈ జీతం వారికి జీతం వారికి ఎక్కువ మంది వారు ఉన్నారు. ఈ ప్రక్రియ 20,417 మంది వారిలో ఉన్నా వారికి వేలం, వారికి 5,800 మంది వారిని కూడా రెండు వేల వారు. 5, 8 వేల వారికి మనం వచ్చినప్పుడు వారిని కూడా వారిని కూడా బదిలీ చేసి, ఈ డ్రైవర్లలో సీనియర్ల ఉద్యోగులు నాలుగు వేల వారికి వచ్చినప్పుడు ఉద్యోగులలో ఉద్యోగులలో ఉద్యోగులు ఉద్యోగులు, ఈ డ్రైవర్లను రద్దీలు చేసి వారిని పంపిస్తుంది.

Նիսիաների օրը

A large crowd of people, mostly men, are gathered outdoors in what appears to be a public square or street. They are dressed in casual clothing, and the scene suggests a significant public gathering or protest. The background shows some buildings and trees under a clear sky.

కొనసాగిన నిరసన

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మరికీ మృతి చెందిన శ్రీనివాస
కేసరప్పపేట మండలం చల్లూరులో గుడ్డ తెరిచిని వ్యక్తులు తొలగించే సమయంలో కుమారుడు కలెగర్లను కలిగిన కుమారుడు అందరినీ మండిస్తూ ఏడుపుతో ఉన్నాడని, ఎవరితోనూ కలాంకు ఉన్నారని పోషించి అభ్యంతరాలను తెలుపుతూ ఉన్నారని ఆధ్వర్యంగా, ఏడుపుతో మేల తగిలించి అదే పని చేసే వారని, నీటిబిల్లో 5 ప్రైవేటు యంత్రాలను వాడే వారని

[illegible]

బహుశంకరర్షి విగ్రహానికి శరణంగు పూసిన ఉద్భవతారాలు. కేరళలో పొర్చుగాడు అసఫ్ జాహి పొర్చుగాడు అని పేరు మారిన ద్వైతం



కృష్ణంలో మాజీ ఎమ్మెల్యే జంగు వెంకట్రావు కృష్ణం జ్యోతిర్లింగంలో ఘోరకాండవల్ల దునింగి చివిన నాశనమై

మూడు కమిటీల ముచ్చట!

నియామకం తీరులో ఏకరూపత

విభి నిర్వహణలోనూ సామ్యం

ఫజల్ అలీ కమిషన్



రాష్ట్రాల పునర్విభజన అంశాన్ని పరిశీలించడానికి కమిషన్ వేయబోతున్నట్లు నాటి ప్రధాని నెహ్రూ 1953 డిసెంబర్ 23న పార్లమెంటులో ప్రకటించారు. వారం రోజుల వ్యవధిలో ఫజల్ అలీ కమిషన్ ను ఏర్పాటు చేస్తూ హోంశాఖ ఉత్తర్వులు జారీ చేసింది.

అప్పటి ఒరిస్సా గవర్నర్ సయ్యద్ ఫజల్ అలీ, రాజ్యసభ సభ్యుడు హృదయనాథ్ కుంజ్రా, రూజ్ వైట్ బారెట్ రాయబారిగా పని చేస్తున్న కమిషన్ మాడవ పసిగ్గిల్లోనే రాష్ట్రాల పునర్విభజన కమిషన్ (ఎస్సెఫ్ఎస్) వేస్తున్నట్లు నాటి హోంశాఖ కార్యదర్శి ఎ.వి.పామె 1953 డిసెంబర్ 29న హోంశాఖ తరఫున No.53/69/53-Public, పేర ఉత్తర్వులు జారీచేశారు. పది అంశాలను నిశ్చేదించారు. పవ్తెని

మిది నెలల్లో నివేదిక సమర్పించడం ఆయనలో ఒకటి. చివర్లో మరో మూడు నెలలు పొడిగించారు.

ప్రభుత్వ ఉత్తర్వులు అందగానే ఫజల్ అలీ కమిషన్ రాష్ట్రాల పునర్విభజనపై ప్రజాభిప్రాయకల్పం, సామాజిక సంఘాలు, ఆసక్తి ఉన్న వ్యక్తుల నుంచి నివేదనలను ఆహ్వానిస్తూ 1954 ఫిబ్రవరి 23న బహిరంగ ప్రకటన విడుదల చేసింది. నిర్వాహక సూచనలు, సలహాలు, గణాంకాలు, కొత్త రాష్ట్రాల ఏర్పడితే ఎలా ఉండాలి సూచిస్తూ ఒకటి రెండు మ్యాపులు పంపించి ఫజల్ అలీ కమిషన్ తన బహిరంగ ప్రకటనలో కోరింది. 1954 ఏప్రిల్ 24 వరకు గడువు విధించింది. అయితే కమిషన్ ఆ గడువుకే కట్టుబడలేదు. ఇప్పుడు శ్రీశ్రీ కమిటీకి సంక్షిప్త చివరి పత్రాల నుంచి పూర్తి స్థాయి పరిశోధన పత్రాలు వచ్చినట్లు అప్పట్లో కూడా ఆయా ప్రాంత ప్రజలు తమ మనోభావాలను వ్యక్తం చేస్తూ చిన్న చిన్న టెలిగ్రాంలతో పాటు, తమ ప్రాంత సమస్యలను కూలంకషంగా విశ్లేషిస్తూ భారీస్థాయి పరిశోధనా పత్రాలు పంపారు.

ఈ విషయాన్ని ఫజల్ అలీ కమిషన్ నివేదిక ఉపోద్ఘాతంలో పొందుపరిచి ఉంది. అప్పట్లో ఆ కమిషన్ మొదట 1,52,250 చివరిపత్రాలు వచ్చాయి. అందులో ఎక్కువ భాగం తమను పరానా ప్రాంతం నుంచి పరానా ప్రాంతానికి మార్చాలని కోరుకుంటూ వలసిన టెలిగ్రాములు, ముద్రిత తీర్మానాలే. కమిషన్ విధివిధానాల్లో పేర్కొన్న అంశాల ప్రకారం పూర్తి స్థాయి సమాచారంతో నిండిన చివరి పత్రాలు 2 వేలకు మించి రాలేదని ఫజల్ అలీ కమిషన్ తన నివేదికలో స్పష్టం చేసింది.

ఆ కమిటీ ఒకవైపు తనముందుకొచ్చిన విజ్ఞాపన పత్రాలను అభ్యయనం చేస్తూనే మరోవైపు సమాఖ్య లోని అన్నిపార్టీలతో సంప్రదింపులు జరిపేది. కమిటీ ముందుకొచ్చే వారు స్వేచ్ఛగా, నిర్బాహమాటంగా అభిప్రాయాలు వెల్లడించడానికి వీలుగా ఫజల్ అలీ కమిషన్ సంప్రదింపుల ప్రక్రియను ద్విమితీయంగా నిర్వహించింది. 1954 మార్చి 1న ఢిల్లీలో ప్రారంభమైన సంప్రదింపుల ప్రక్రియ 1955 జూలై చివరి వరకు సాగింది. ఫజల్ అలీ బృందం 1954 ఏప్రిల్ 8న దేశ పర్యటనకు శ్రీకారం చుట్టింది. గేతు హిమాలయం 98 వేల మైళ్ళ పర్యటింది 104

ప్రాంతాలను సందర్శించింది. సుమారు 9 వేల మందిని ఇంటర్వ్యూ చేసింది.

స్పష్టమైన జనాభిప్రాయానికి సేకరించడానికి వీలుగా సమాఖ్యలోని అన్ని పార్టీలను సంప్రదించి నట్లు ఫజల్ అలీ తన నివేదికలో పేర్కొన్నారు. రాజకీయ పార్టీలు, ప్రజా సంఘాలు, సామాజిక కార్యకర్తలు, పౌరీకీయులు, ముస్లింల, జిల్లా బోర్డుల సభ్యులు, సాంస్కృతిక, విద్య, భాష, స్థానిక ప్రయోజనాలపై ఇతర ప్రజా ప్రతినిధులను ఈ కమిషన్ ఇంటర్వ్యూ చేసింది. ఫజల్ అలీ బృందం కేవలం ప్రజాభిప్రాయ సేకరణ కోసమే దేశ పర్యటన చేపట్టలేదు. ఒక్కోసారి వివిధ ప్రాంతాల్లో ఆకస్మాత్తుగా ఆగి స్థానిక సమస్యలు, అక్కడనున్న భారోద్యోగాల గురించి ఎక్కువకే తెలియకుండా ఆరా తీసింది కూడా. కమిషన్ విధివిధానాల ప్రకారం మధ్యంతర నివేదిక సమర్పించే వెసులుబాటు ఉన్నా కమిషన్ ఆ పని చేయలేదు. అది సాధ్యం కాదని స్పష్టం చేసింది. ఫజల్ అలీ కమిషన్ నివేదికకు కొన్ని మార్పు చేర్పులు చేస్తూ కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వం 1956లో రాష్ట్రాల పునర్విభజన చట్టం తీసుకొచ్చింది.

సర్దార్ హుక్కుంసింగ్ కమిటీ



1965లో పంజాబ్ హర్యానా విభజన కోసం కేంద్ర హోంశాఖ సర్దార్ హుక్కుంసింగ్ నాయకత్వంలో సంయుక్త పార్లమెంటరీ సంఘాన్ని, విడిగా మంత్రివర్గ ఉపసంఘాన్ని వేసింది. ఈ విషయాన్ని 1965 సెప్టెంబర్ 23న అప్పటి హోంమంత్రి గుర్జారాల్ నందా లోక్ సభలో ప్రకటించారు. పంజాబ్ మాట్లాడే ప్రజలకోసం రాష్ట్రం ఏర్పాటుపై ప్రజాభిప్రాయాలను ఆహ్వానిస్తూ పార్లమెంటు ఉపసంఘం బహిరంగ ప్రకటన విడుదల చేసింది. 22 మంది సభ్యుల కమిటీ అక్టోబర్ 8న తొలిసారిచేతే అయింది. మంత్రివర్గ ఉపసంఘం

మొదలు పెట్టింది. నాటి ప్రధాని లాల్ బహదూర్ శాస్త్రి మరణంతో కొన్నితర కార్యకలాపాలు వాయిదా పడ్డాయి. కమిటీ పంజాబ్ లోని అన్ని రాజకీయ వర్గాలతో సంప్రదింపులు జరిపి, 1966 మార్చి నాటికి నివేదికను పార్లమెంటుకు సమర్పించింది. దాన్ని ఆమోదిస్తున్నట్లు హోంమంత్రి నందా పార్లమెంటు సాక్షిగా ప్రకటించారు.

జస్టిన్ శ్రీకృష్ణ కమిటీ



డిసెంబర్ 9, 20 తేదీల ప్రకటనలు, జనవరి 5 తేదీ జరిగిన అఖిలపక్ష సమావేశం సేవల్లో ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ లోని పరిస్థితులను అభ్యయనం చేయడానికి జస్టిన్ వి.ఎన్.శ్రీకృష్ణ నేతృత్వంలో అయిదుగురు సభ్యుల కమిటీని ఏర్పాటు చేస్తున్నట్లు ఫిబ్రవరి 9న ప్రకటించారు. సభ్యులకు కేంద్ర హోంశాఖ కార్యదర్శి గోపాల్ పిట్టే రేఖం ద్వారా సమాచారం అందించారు. కమిటీకి సలహా దిందిన ఏడు విధివిధానాలను వెల్లడిస్తూ హోంశాఖ ప్రత్యేక కార్యదర్శి ఎనితా చౌదరి ఫిబ్రవరి 12న Do. No/12012/1/2009-SR పేర

ఉత్తర్వులు జారీ చేశారు. ఫిబ్రవరి 20న శ్రీకృష్ణ కమిటీ ప్రజాభిప్రాయాలను ఆహ్వానిస్తూ బహిరంగ ప్రకటన విడుదల చేసింది. మార్చి 22లో దాని గడువు ముగిసిపోయింది. ఏప్రిల్ తొలివారం నుంచి అప్పటి చివరి వరకు రాష్ట్రంలో పర్యటించి అన్ని పార్టీలతో సంప్రదింపులు జరుపడానికి సమావేశం అవుతోంది. శ్రీకృష్ణ కమిటీ పది నెలల్లో దాదాపు 20 సార్లు భేటీ కావాలని ప్రాథమికంగా నిర్ధారించుకొంది. శ్రీకృష్ణ కమిటీకి 7వేల దరఖాస్తులొచ్చాయి.

- మృణాళిమిత్ర, మృగ్ధిపతి

Fazal Ali Commission, Sardar Hukum Singh Committee and Justice. Sri Krishna Committee - Constituted for addressing Telangana Issues

TELANGANA TURMOIL

Rival fasts run parallel

PNS | HYDERABAD

A slugfest started as the indefinite fast by former Minister and Congress legislator K Venkat Reddy in Nalgonda and veteran freedom fighter Kondalakshman Bapuji in New Delhi entered its third day on Thursday.

While the Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS) is supporting Venkat Reddy's indefinite fast, its rival Telangana TDP Forum is extending support to Bapuji and both are taking potshots at each other.

Telugu Desam MP from Telangana, Nama Nageshwara Rao, addressing a gathering at Bapuji's camp at Jantar Mantar, targeted TRS president K Chandrashekhar Rao, saying he was not sincere in demanding a Telangana State. "He is using the agitation for political mileage," he alleged.

Popular folk singer B Ghaddar, another critic of TRS, said people wants a "democratic and socialist Telangana" and not a State where looters and robbers will again dominate.

TDP has chosen to side with Bapuji, saying it was ready to fight for Telangana under his leadership. Taking a dig at the TRS, TDP leaders said all parties should keep their flags and agendas aside and fight for a separate State.



Folk singer B Ghaddar and Swami Agnivesh support Konda Laxman Bapuji's satyagraha dharna for separate Telangana State, at Jantar Mantar in New Delhi on Thursday PTI

Both fasts are evoking good response from all the sections. Senior Congress leader Oscar Fernandez and BJP national spokesperson Nirmala Sitharaman were among the senior political figures who visited Kondalakshman's hunger strike camp and declared their support.

Fernandez, assuring that the Central Government will take an early decision on the matter appealed to the veteran freedom fight to end the strike. But rejecting his appeal Kondalakshman said he will end his strike only after the Central announces the formation of Telangana State.

Several other Congress leaders including MPs Ponam Prabhakar, S Rajaiah and K Keshav Rao were also present.

In Nalgonda, thousands of people continue to throng K Venkat Reddy's hunger strike. On the third day of the fast, doctors found former Minister's blood pressure and sugar low and he had lost 4 kg.

Thousands of students of private schools took out a procession in support of Venkat Reddy and gathered his camp where the folk artists performed songs and dance in support of Telangana State.

Satyagraha (fasting) movement conducted during Telangana agitation



కీయాకు వెళ్లిన విజయవాడకి లదిన్ను చేసి పోలీస్ స్టేషన్లు తరలించుతున్న స్థలం



పోలీసుల వైఖరిని విరుద్ధంగా విప్లవదళాలయం గేటువద్ద మావన హత్యల వేలక నిర్బంధ ఆందోళన



కీయాకు మావన హత్యల కమిషన్ ఏర్పాటు చేసిన కమిటీ వద్ద సమయంలో విద్యార్థుల తలంగా విలాసాలు

వీఐపీ జోన్ అప్రమత్తం

● వీఐపీ, ఆకుల ముట్టడి ● ప్రజాప్రతినిధుల ఇళ్లవద్ద భద్రత పెంపు

హైదరాబాద్, ఉస్మానియా యూనివర్సిటీ: శ్రీశ్రీ కమిటీ నివేదిక వల్ల ఆనందం పరిణామాలలో నగరంలో చెరువుమీద నియంతృత్వం చూపే కంట్రీబుట్టలు ఉన్నాయి. నిర్వహణలో నిరసన ప్రదర్శనలకు పరిమితమైన ఆందోళనలు కనిపించి సుదీర్ఘ వీధి బోర్డుల వ్యాపారాలు ప్రజాప్రతినిధుల ఇళ్లను పోలీస్ కార్యాలయాలను ముట్టడిస్తున్నారని తెలుగు గాన విద్యార్థి జానీ ప్రకటించడంతో పోలీసులు ఆప్త మత్తకున్నారని, బలగాల స్థాయి గణనీయంగా ఉండటంతో అన్ని ప్రాంతాల్లో విస్తృత బందోబస్తును ఏర్పాటుచేశారు. ఉస్మానియా క్యాంపస్లో యధావిధిగా యుక్త వారాలకు కనిపించి... నగరభాగ్యంగా ఆనక ప్రాంతాల్లో నిరసన ప్రదర్శనలు జరిగాయి.

రాష్ట్ర అన్ని నియోజకవర్గాల్లో తెరాస, విద్యార్థి ప్రజా సంఘాలు నిరసన వ్యక్తం చేశాయి. ఆనకలోని నివేదిక ప్రకటనల తరువాత, కాంగ్రెస్, తెదేపా ప్రజాప్రతినిధులు రాజీనామా చేసి, ప్రత్యక్ష ఉద్యమంలోకి రావాలని డిమాండ్ చేశారు.

ముట్టడి పోలీసు చర్య: ఆప్తమత్తమైన పోలీసులు ప్రజాప్రతినిధుల ఇళ్ల వద్ద భద్రత పెంచుతున్నారు. కీయా క్యాంపు వద్ద బందోబస్తు పెంచారు. కీయా క్యాంపు కార్యాలయం, చినిస్, ఎస్సెక్స్ కార్యాలయం, ఆనక ప్రజా ప్రతినిధుల ఇళ్ల వద్ద భద్రత పెంచారు. ఈ గేట్ వద్దలో మంజూర్, ఎన్.ఆర్.సి, జూనియర్ బంజారాపేట్, అవెన్యూ పోలీస్ స్టేషన్ వద్దలో పోలీసులు ప్రత్యేక చర్యలు చేపట్టినట్లు తెలుస్తోంది. వీటి వరుసలోనే వీలవిన ఇళ్ల పోలీస్ కార్యాలయాలు ఉన్నందున ఆదరణ బలంగా మారింది.



లక్ష్మీ కళాశాల ముందు ప్రభుత్వ దళిందొత్తు దహనం



తీహార్ ముందు ధర్మా చేస్తున్న విద్యార్థులు నిర్భయ



కీయా పోలీసు స్టేషన్ ముందు తెలంగాణ స్వాతంత్ర్యం ఆందోళన



కీయా వరసలపై మావన హత్యల కమిషన్లో ఏర్పాటు



గాయపడిన విద్యార్థుల విలాసాల నమోదు చేసుకుంటున్న మావన హత్యల కమిషన్ ఏర్పాటు చేసిన కమిటీ నిర్ణయ



పోలీసులు ప్రయోగించిన భాషావాయి నాళకలు



రాళ్లతో నిరంధరించిన కీయా పోలీసు స్టేషన్ ప్రాంతం

Agitations in Telangana VI Zone



వరంగల్ కలెక్టరేట్‌ను ముట్టడించిన టీఆర్ఎస్ శ్రేణులు. ముళ్ళ కంచెలో చిక్కుకుని గాయపడ్డ ఓ పోలీసు

దద్దరిల్లిన తెలంగాణం.. కలెక్టరేట్ల వద్ద ఉద్రేకం

ముట్టడి

శ్రీకృష్ణ కమిటీ నివేదికతో సంబంధం లేకుండా పార్లమెంటులో తెలంగాణ బిల్లు ప్రవేశపెట్టాలన్న డిమాండ్‌తో తెలంగాణ జిల్లాలు దద్దరిల్లాయి. తెలంగాణ రాజకీయ జేఏసీ పిలుపు మేరకు జిల్లా కలెక్టరేట్ల ముట్టడులు ఉద్రేకంగా జరిగాయి. పలు చోట్ల మంత్రుల నివాసాలను జేఏసీ శ్రేణులు ముట్టడించాయి. వారి రాజీనామాలకు డిమాండ్ చేశాయి. వరంగల్‌లో నెత్తురు చిమ్మింది. తెలంగాణ ఉద్యమకారులు, పోలీసులకు మధ్య జరిగిన ఘర్షణల్లో ఒక సీబి, ఇద్దరు కానిస్టేబుళ్లు, ఇద్దరు జర్నలిస్టులు సహా 17 మందికి గాయాలయ్యాయి. అటు రంగారెడ్డి జిల్లా కలెక్టరేట్ వద్ద ఆందోళన కూడా ఉద్రేకమైంది. పోలీసులు బలవంతంగా ఎత్తి వ్యాన్లలో పడేయడంతో పలువురు స్పృహ కోల్పోయారు. ఇతర తెలంగాణ జిల్లాల్లోనూ ఇంచుమించు ఇవే పరిస్థితులు కనిపించాయి. కాగా.. రాజధానిలోని కేంద్ర మంత్రి జైపాల్ రెడ్డి నివాసాన్ని అడ్డొకేట్ జేఏసీ, విద్యార్థి జేఏసీ ముట్టడించాయి. హోం మంత్రి సబిత నివాసాన్ని ముట్టడించారు. హన్మకొండలో టీడీపీ జిల్లా అధ్యక్షుడు రేవూరి ప్రకాశ్ రెడ్డి ఇల్లును కేయా జేఏసీ విద్యార్థులు ముట్టడించారు. అటు ఉస్మానియా యూనివర్సిటీలో ఉద్రేకత చల్లారలేదు. ఐదో రోజు ఆందోళనలు జరిగాయి. వర్సిటీ నుంచి 'చలో గాంధీభవన్' అంటూ బయల్దేరిన విద్యార్థులను పోలీసులు అడ్డుకున్నారు. మంగళవారం చలో ఉస్మానియాకు ఏబీవీపీ పిలుపు ఇచ్చింది.

వరంగల్‌లో తీవ్ర ఘర్షణ

17 మందికి గాయాలు

జైపాల్, సబిత ఇళ్ల ముట్టడి

రేవూరి ఇంటికి నిరసన సెగ

ఓయూలో చల్లారని ఉద్రేకత

నేడు 'చలో ఉస్మానియా'

విద్యార్థులకు

ఏబీవీపీ పిలుపు

Cease of Government Offices and Public Places

అమరుడికి అశ్రునివాళి

జననంద్రమైన పెద్దమంగళారం • పలువురు తెలంగాణ నేతల హాజరు



పెద్దమంగళూరులో యాదిరెడ్డి అంతిమయాత్రకు హాజరైన ప్రజలు

[illegible]

అంతిమ సంస్కారంలో పాల్గొన్న పాఠశ్చర్యేణ్ణి, కోడండరాం, స్వామిగౌడ్, వరలక్ష్మి, బీబీపీ నాయకుడు సీహెచ్ విద్యాసాగర్ రావు, బీబీపీ నేతలు ఎర్రబెల్లి, మహేందరెడ్డి తదితరులు, నివాసులర్పిస్తున్న విమల, అంతిమయాత్రలో గడ్డర్

Tribute to Martyrs

పగిలిన గుండె

- తెలంగాణ కోసం మరో బలిదానం
 - సూపర్ నోట్ దాని..
 - ఉరేసుకున్న బీటికీ విద్యార్థి
 - 'లేఖ'పై ద్రామాలాడిన పోలీసులు
 - తెలంగాణవాదుల ఆందోళన
- 9



ప్రత్యేక రాష్ట్రం కోసం మరో విద్యార్థి ఆశ్రయింపబడినాను చేయవచ్చును. 'నా రాష్ట్రంలోనేనా తెలంగాణ రావాటి, ఇవి ఏదోటి బలవంతుల రావాటి' అని నూన్నాని నోటి రాని... ఇంట్లో ప్యానిక్ ఉంది నూన్నానాడు. మహమ్మదాబాద్ లోని జిల్లాలో ఉండిన బిల్డింగ్ నాడు నంబూరిలోని చింతాపాటి శివరాం దీక్షిత్ మూడో సందర్భంలో సమర్థకునూడు. తెలంగాణా పరిషత్తుకు జాబ్బానిగి దీక్షిత్ మహమ్మదాబాద్ గల్ఫ్, బురగూడలో ఉదయనాడు ఆశ్రయం చేయవచ్చును.

తెలంగాణ కోసం మరో ఆత్మబలిదానం

◆ లేఖ రాసి ఉరేసుకున్న బీటిక్ విద్యార్థి

దినేష్ చంద్ర

◆ సూసైడ్ నోట్స్ పోలీసుల దృష్టాదు

పెద్దాయిని అనుకుంటున్నాను... బండల లేకుండా తెలంగాణ తోటలని కోరుతున్నాను నేను చేసేది తప్పదు... తప్పదు అవరూ చేయవద్దని కోరుతున్నా... బ్రిటీష్ తెలంగాణ అని రాబోతుంది. అద్దె ఇంటి ఇలా చేయటం తప్పదు అంటే యజమానిని కూడా క్షమించాలి కోరుతున్నా. అక్కా సుషమావినయంగా వచ్చే వరకు



మృశదేహం వద విలపిస్తున, శలిదండూలు

నేను చనిపోతాను.. నువ్వు బాగ్రత్త.. ఆచరణ..
మంచిగా చూసుకో.. నేను కళ్ళను దాచేటే చెప్పా
కా నెంబరుకు లాల్ చేయి.. నా కళ్ళు ఎవరికైనా ఉప
గమదాలి. ఫోన్ నెంబరు 94400 55777 అని ఆ లో
గాతాది.

సూసివ్ నోట్స్ ద్రామాలాడిన పోలీసులు



తెలంగాణ కోసం చనిపోతున్నానని

[illegible]

స్వాత్ర్తర ఆదీన వ్రామాకు తెరపడింది. మృతదేహాన్ని పోస్టు
మాన్యం నిమిత్తం ఉస్మానియా ఆసుపత్రికి తరలించారు.
చేతికందిన కొడుకు ఒంటరిని చేసి వెళ్లిపోయాడు:
శనిదండ్రులు

తల్లిదండ్రులు
చేతికందిన కొడుకు ఆశ్చర్యబలిదానం చేసుకోవటంతో ఆ
తల్లిదండ్రులు మృతదేహాన్ని చూసి బోరున విలపించి

[illegible]

'ఆత్మబలిదానం వద్దు.. తేగించి పోరాడుదాం'

ప్రత్యేక తెలంగాణ రాష్ట్రం కోసం విద్యార్థులు ఎవ్వరు అభ్యుదయిదానాలు చేసుకోవద్దని, తెగించి పోరాడాలి అంటే ఎవరి రాష్ట్ర ప్రధాన కార్యదర్శి చెప్ప సరిచేతుమని పిలుపునిచ్చారు. దీనిపై ప్రతి అభ్యుదయిదానం చేసుకున్న విషయాన్ని తెలుసుకున్న ఆయన చంపేపాపి మవనీపురి కాలనీలో ఆయన నివాళులర్పించారు. కార్యక్రమంలో జీఆర్ఎస్ కార్యకర్త జిలా యువకమిషనరీ విజయలక్ష్మి, జీఆర్ఎస్ కార్యకర్తలు పాల్గొన్నారు.



అందోళన చేస్తున్న నాయకులు

మాధవరం నర్సింహరావు, ఎల్.బీ.నగర్ పాలిటెక్నిక్
వేదిక నేత బేసీ రంగాయ్య, చలారెడ్డి, సైదాబాద్ మండల
తెలంగాణ వేదిక కో కన్నెనగర్ లోయరు భూషేందర్, సైదా
బాద్ డివిజన్ బీఆర్ఎస్ అధ్యక్షుడు కాబేటి దర్శరాజు,
గుర్రం శ్రీరాంరెడ్డి, నాగార్జునగడ్, కృష్ణామదారి,
నవీర్, భాస్కర్, సుధాకర్ తదితరులు పాల్గొన్నారు.



వరంగల్ జిల్లా జనగాన పట్టణంలో రాల్స్ నిర్వహిస్తున్న కళాకారిణ విద్యార్థులు



కలంనగర్ ఇందిరాపార్క్ జరిగిన ఘనంగా పాల్గొన్న ప్రజలు

గర్వనవ్వేపే అడుగులు

- పోలీసులు లప్తమత్తం
- లక్ష్మకర్ణా తనిఖీలు, పికెట్లు
- కొనుదీర్చికి మద్దతుగా రాష్ట్రాంతరాలు
- వరంగల్లో కొనసాగుతున్న దీక్షలు
- కేయూ విద్యార్థులకు బెయిల్
- తెదేపా ఎమ్మెల్యేల ఆమరణ దీక్ష
- కరెంటు తీగల్గి వట్టుకున్న యువకుడు

తెలంగాణ రాష్ట్ర సాధన కోసం వైదరాబాద్లో నిర్వహిస్తున్న విద్యార్థి గర్వనక కిల్లం నుండి విద్యార్థులు రాకుండా పోలి సలు అడ్డుకుంటున్నట్లు తెలుస్తోంది. విశ్వవిద్యాలయాల ద్వారా ప్రత్యేక పోలీసు పతాకం ఏర్పాటు చేయడంతోపాటు వైద్యకేంద్రాలకు, బ్యాంకు వద్ద పోలీసులు నిహిం అందారు. కొన్ని ప్రాంతాల్లో పికెట్లను ఏర్పాటు చేసి రాజధానికి దారిగిరి రహదారిపై నిహిం అందస్తు చెబుతోంది. ఈ పరిస్థితి వరంగల్, జమ్మం, కలంనగర్, నల్గొండ కిల్లల్లో నెలకొని ఉంది. ఇటీవల కోమటిరెడ్డికి మద్దతుగా నల్గొండ కిల్లల్లో ఆయన ఆధీనాసులు సీఎం దిక్కిలమ్మను దహనం చేశారు. నిజామాబాద్లో తెదేపా ఎమ్మెల్యే జోగరావుపై ఆయనదీక్షను ప్రారంభించారు. చాలా కిల్లల్లో నిరసనలు, అణకెత్తుతున్న పరిస్థితి, రాల్సలు జరిగాయి.

మరంగల్ జిల్లా: జిల్లా వ్యాప్తంగా రిలే నిరాహార దీక్షలు, రాల్సలు, రాల్సలేకలు యజాపదిగా కొనసాగుతున్నాయి. కేయూలో విద్యార్థులు చేస్తున్న ఆమరణ నిరాహార దీక్షలను శుభ్రపరచి రాల్సలు పోలీసులు వచ్చిన రోజుననే శనివారం నుండి విద్యార్థులు రిలే నిరాహార దీక్షలను ప్రారంభించారు. ఆమరణ దీక్షలో పాల్గొన్న విద్యార్థులపై పోలీసులు కేసు నమోదు చేశారు. వీరికి కోర్టు శనివారం బెయిల్ మంజూరు చేసింది. రిలేని నిమిత్తం విద్యార్థులను ఎంకిఎం ఆసుప్రెలోని ఉంచారు. బాబా రాష్ట్ర అధ్యక్షుడు బండారు దత్తాత్రేయ, తెలంగాణ జాగ్రత్త వేదిక కన్వీనర్ కెంక దిక్షా కిల్లల్ నుండి నంద్యాలకు వెళ్తున్నారు. ముఖ్యమంత్రి ఎమ్మెల్యే సీతమ్మి, ఆలో కళా కుడా ఎంకిఎం ఆసుప్రెలో దీక్షలు కొనసాగుతున్నాయి. తెదేపా రాష్ట్ర కార్యదర్శి నారాయణ గుండు సుధాకాణి చేస్తున్న ఆమరణ దీక్ష ఆయనతో

రోజుకు చేరింది. చంద్రబాబు కాళ్ళ మొక్కి నాలుగు కోట్ల తెలంగాణ ప్రజలను అవమానించారంటూ తెదేపా పోలీసు బ్యానో సభ్యుడు ఎల్లెల్లె దయాకారరావుపై వరంగల్ కిల్లల్ న్యాయవాదులు ఆగ్రహం వ్యక్తం చేశారు. ఈ వివాదానికి ఆరాత్మీయన దయాకారరావు న్యాయవాదులకు మరలం ఇచ్చే ప్రయత్నం చేశారు. చంద్రబాబుకు పాదాభిషేకం చేసే దాన్ని నిరసనగా దయాకారరావు దిక్కిలమ్మను ముందులో దహనం చేశారు.

★ జేపీసీ విద్యార్థి గర్వనక కిల్లల్ నుండి విద్యార్థులు వెళ్లకండా అడ్డుకోవడానికి పోలీసులు విశ్వప్రయత్నం చేస్తున్నారు. వైదరాబాద్ రూట్లో వెక్సెల్స్ ను ఏర్పాటు చేశారు. అల్లరాల్లి తర్వాత విద్యార్థి నాయకులను అరెస్టు చేసే ప్రయత్నాల్లో పోలీసులున్నారు. రైల్వే స్టేషన్లు, బస్స్టాండ్లలో నిహిం ఏర్పాటు చేశారు.

కలంనగర్ జిల్లా: ఉప్పానియా విద్యార్థి గర్వనక కిల్లల్ నుండి ఎవరూ వెళ్లకండా పోలీసులు విద్యార్థులను ముందుగానే అదుపులోకి తీసుకుంటున్నారని. ★ సుల్తానాబాద్ మండలం కనకలలో శుభ్రపరచిన నిర్వహించిన తెలంగాణ రాల్సల్లో పాల్గొన్న శనివారం కొమరయ్య గుంజెపాణిలో వట్టు చెబుతారు.

★ వేములపాడలో గీత కాల్పులు తాటి, టవర్ కల్లు కుండలలో కుప్పరి చారు బండ్లపై కుండలు చేస్తూ ప్రదర్శన చేశారు.

★ లీంవేదరెడ్డి మండలం మంకనూరు, హుజూరాబాదు మండలం భర్తరాజాపల్లిలో రహదారిలో రాల్సలు నిర్వహించి, అణకెత్తుతున్నారని. నాలుగు గంటల పాటు సిగ్నల్లు-హెచ్చరికలతో రోడ్లపై బైకాయించారు.

★ మల్లాపూర్ మండలం గుండుపల్లిలో తెలంగాణకు మద్దతుగా రోడ్లపై రక్తచాన కిల్లల్ ఏర్పాటు చేసి 15 మంది రక్తం ఇచ్చారు.

ఖమ్మం జిల్లా: విద్యార్థి గర్వనక నంద్యాలింది జమ్మం కిల్లల్ పోలీసులు ఏమిదో ప్రాంతాల్లో 80 మందిని అదుపులోకి తీసుకున్నారు. మహిళలపై బండ్ల ప్రదానం కిల్లల్ పట్టు కొనసాగిందని, వైదరాబాద్లో దారిగిరి ఆసుప్రెలోని రహదారిలో అణకెత్తుతున్నారని, నిహిం ముమ్మరం చేశారు. అన్ని జిల్లాలలో విద్యార్థుల ప్రయోజనం పోలీసులు దృష్టి పెట్టారని.

అందిరాబాద్ జిల్లా: అందిరాబాద్లో తెలుగుదేశం ఎమ్మెల్యే జోగు రామన్న ఆమరణ దీక్షకు కూర్చున్నారు. ఆయనతోపాటు తెరాస నేత భరణివాహుర్, కాంగ్రెస్ నేతలు శ్రీరంజి, సలీంపాషా, కొంగులంబ రామయ్య, బాబి, దీప్తి, ఎల్లారెడ్డి, బాల్కొండ ప్రాంతాల్లో పలు

శ్రీమే, అంజనేయులు, రమేష్ తదితరులు దీక్షకు కూర్చున్నారు. దీనితో మొత్తం 15 మంది జిల్లా అందిరాబాద్లోనే ఆమరణ దీక్షలకు కూర్చున్నట్లుంది. మహిళలపై బండ్ల పిలుపుతో మారుమూల ప్రాంతాలకు జమ్మం నడవలేదు.

★ ఉమ్మారులో ఎమ్మెల్యేని ఆసుప్రెలోని ఆమరణ దీక్షలను పోలీసులు బిగ్గం చేశారు. అన్నత్రముండు విద్యార్థులు అల్లనగ్గ ప్రదర్శన నిర్వహించారు. మరంగల్ లలో మహిళలు అణకెత్తుతున్న రాల్సలు తీశారు. విద్యార్థి ఉల్లేఖలు హెటారుస్టేజీలో రాల్సలు నిర్వహించారు.

★ జేపీసీ అధ్యక్షుల్లో బాసర్ రైల్వేస్టేషన్ వద్ద, బాబి వద్ద రాల్సలేకలు.

★ జోగల్ హన్మంతపూర్ నాటకాలు, తోపం ఉపాధ్యాయులు విద్యార్థుల గర్వనక రూ. 2500 దిశాళం.

★ తలమమగి మండలం కేంద్రంలో విద్యార్థి బిల్లూ కొనసాగి వట్టు అడ్డుకున్న బిల్లూను నిల్వలపై గ్రామ స్థులు గ్రామ పంచాయతీ ఆదేశాలలోని చెట్టుకు కట్టేశారు. తెలంగాణా పట్టణ వరకు వట్టులు, బిల్లూలు కట్టిపెట్టే దంపతు రేగిపెట్టారు.

నిజామాబాద్ జిల్లా: హైదరాద్ మండలం గుమ్మర్లపాడు



బియ్యం గింజెట్టు బంగారుపై తెలంగాణ

గ్రామానికి చెందిన బంగారు వ్యాపారి శ్రీరామేశ్వర్ మారుతి 0.5 మిల్లీ గ్రామం బంగారుతో వారు రోజులపాటు కన్న పడి బియ్యం గింజెట్టు బైకాయించిన నాడు, తెలంగాణ రాజధాని లక్ష్మణం పాటు గిన్నెజ్ బుక్లో స్థానం సంపాదించడానికి తాను ఈ ప్రయత్నం చేసినట్లు మారుతి చెప్పారు.

★ తెరాస నాయకుడు హరివర్ధన్ తెలంగాణ యూనివర్సిటీ విద్యార్థులను కలిశారు. ధర్మల్లో జేపీసీ నేతల అరెస్టుకు నిరసనగా పోలీసు స్టేషన్ ను ముట్టుకుని కామాకర్షి ఎమ్మెల్యే గంప గోపన్న సహా జేపీసీ నాయకులు మోకాళ్ళపై సదీది నిరసన తెలిపారు.

★ కామాకర్షి, అల్లూర్, బోధన్, బాన్సువాడ, నిజామాబాద్, దీప్తి, ఎల్లారెడ్డి, బాల్కొండ ప్రాంతాల్లో పలు

చోట్ల పర్యటించి, రాష్ట్రాంతరాలు, అన్నదానాలు, భూదాన కార్యక్రమాలు, రిలే నిరాహార దీక్షలు జరిగాయి.

నల్గొండ జిల్లా: సుల్తానాబాద్ మండలం దీక్షలపై వట్టు జమ్మం అడ్డుకున్నారని.

★ బోమ్మం రామారావు గుండు యాదగిరిగిట్టు వరకు జేపీసీ నాయకులు పాదయాత్ర చేపట్టారు. ఎమ్మెల్యేలు ఉమామాధవరెడ్డి, దిక్కిలమ్మగోడ్, యువజన నాయకులు జిల్లా బాలశిక్షారెడ్డి, నగేష్ పాల్గొన్నారు.

★ నల్గొండలో ఏపీసీ విద్యార్థులు మహిళా క్షేత్ర ప్రదర్శన నిర్వహించారు. వీజీసీ అధ్యక్షుల్లో బోనాల పండుగ నిర్వహించారు. కోమటిరెడ్డికి షికావ్ జమ్మూర్ని నిలసిస్తూ కాంగ్రెస్ నాయకులు అడ్డుకో- నాల్గోవల్లి రహదారిపై రాల్సలేక నిర్వహించి సమైక్యవాదుల దిక్కిలమ్మను దహనం చేశారు.

★ కోమటిరెడ్డికి మద్దతుగా తిప్పర్ల మండలంలో అడ్డుకో- నాల్గోవల్లి జాతీయ రహదారిపై కాంగ్రెస్ నాయకులు రాల్సలేక చేశారు. సుమారు ఏడు కిలోమీటర్ల పైగా ప్రాంతాల్లో స్థాపించింది. సీఎం దిక్కిలమ్మకు శపథ యాత్ర నిర్వహించి దహనం చేశారు. విద్యార్థులందరూ కోమటిరెడ్డి యూత్, యువజన కాంగ్రెస్ అధ్యక్షుల్లో సీఎం దిక్కిలమ్మను దహనం చేశారు.

★ దీపిడిలో తెలంగాణకు మద్దతుగా విద్యార్థి నాయకులు కిల్లముండుం చేయబడుతున్నారు.

★ సుల్తానాబాద్ విద్యార్థి గర్వనక విజయవల్లి విద్యార్థి సుమారా నాయకులను పోలీసులు అడ్డుకున్నారు.

★ భువనగిరిలో ఏపీసీ రాల్సలేక నిర్వహించింది. భువనగిరిలో రిలే నిరాహారదీక్షలను జేపీసీ రాష్ట్ర అధ్యక్షులు దత్తాత్రేయ, ఎంసీ కోమటిరెడ్డి రాజగోపాల్ రెడ్డి, ఎమ్మెల్యేలు ఉమామాధవరెడ్డి, మోక్షపల్లి నల్లంబాబు, జిల్లా రైల్వే కమిషనర్ నారాయణరెడ్డి సంబంధించి, జిల్లా పరిషత్ జిల్లా పరిషత్ సమావేశం తెలంగాణ రాష్ట్రాన్ని ఏర్పాటు చేయాలి తీర్మానించింది.

జిల్లా రైల్వే కమిషనర్ నారాయణరెడ్డి, నల్లంబాబు, జిల్లా పరిషత్ జిల్లా పరిషత్ సమావేశం తెలంగాణ రాష్ట్రాన్ని ఏర్పాటు చేయాలి తీర్మానించింది. జిల్లా రైల్వే కమిషనర్ నారాయణరెడ్డి, నల్లంబాబు, జిల్లా పరిషత్ జిల్లా పరిషత్ సమావేశం తెలంగాణ రాష్ట్రాన్ని ఏర్పాటు చేయాలి తీర్మానించింది.

★ సీపీఎంకు చెందిన అరుణ్ (28) 'బైకాయించా' అంటూ నిరాకారం చేస్తూ విద్యార్థుల తీరులు ముట్టుకొని ఆత్మాభిమానం యత్నించారు. పరిస్థితి విషమంగా మారడంతో వైదరాబాద్ కరలించారు.

★ జిల్లా అంతటా నిరాహార దీక్షలు, అలా పాటా కార్యక్రమాలు జరిగాయి.

- న్యూస్ డిలీవరీ

Unrest continues for Separate State

ఓయూలో తెలంగాణ జాతర



మిన్నంటిన సంబరాలు
ఆర్ట్స్ కళాశాల వేదికగా
అమరవీరుల సంస్మరణ సభ



రైడరలూన్, డిసెంబరు 10 (ఆన్లైన్-నీటీఎస్): ఉద్వేగమల ఉప్పొంగుతో... గురువారం తెలంగాణ నడుం లాంఛనం చేపట్టింది. తెలంగాణ రాష్ట్ర ఏర్పాటు ఉద్వేగ మార్చి 11 రోజులుగా కొనసాగుంది. దీక్షి మనసు మళ్లిన ఏర్పాట్లూ... భారీ వత్సర సంబరాలు ఆరంభమయ్యాయి. తెలంగాణపై ఉద్వేగపాఠశాల మోసే పోటీలకు తూటాంటే ఆరువారం పొసేసిన సర్వార్థ విద్యార్థి శ్రీ మండు రిలీఫ్ దినం. 10 వ తేదీ విద్యార్థుల అసెంబ్లీ ముగిసిన పిమ్మట పాఠశాల వేదిక వత్సర విద్యార్థులు కాలిగి జరిగి తీరారు. దీంతో సర్వార్థ విద్యార్థి అసెంబ్లీ కీర్తి ఆరంభం. తెలంగాణ రాష్ట్ర ఏర్పాటు ముసుక వత్సరం చేసింది. ఈ వేదిక కేంద్ర పాఠశాల ముగిసిన దినం నాటి నాటి ప్రజల సేవకు విద్యార్థులు అందరినీ సేవకు తెచ్చారు. 10 వ తేదీన అమరవీరుల కాలిగి రైల్వే స్టేషన్ ముందుగా ప్రజల సేవకు విద్యార్థులు జేసిన కాలిగి రైల్వే ఈ తెలంగాణ ఉద్వేగంలో వేసిన అంతు. అమరవీరుల సేవకు సర్వార్థ విద్యార్థులు తెచ్చారు. ఓయూ ఉపాధ్యక్షులు, ఇతర తెలంగాణ ప్రజా సంఘాల నేతలు, విద్యార్థులు, ఉద్యోగుల సమూహ నాయకులు ఉద్వేగపాఠశాల స్థలం పూర్తి చేసి అందరినీ సేవకు తెచ్చారు. అనంతరం భారీ వత్సర వాతావరణం సృష్టించారు.

రైలు, మేధావులు అంకా అమర వీరుల సేవకు అందరినీ సేవకు తెచ్చారు. అనంతరం విద్యార్థులు ఉద్వేగపాఠశాల వేదిక వత్సర సంబరాలు ఆరంభమయ్యాయి. తెలంగాణ రాష్ట్ర ఏర్పాటు ఉద్వేగ మార్చి 11 రోజులుగా కొనసాగుంది. దీక్షి మనసు మళ్లిన ఏర్పాట్లూ... భారీ వత్సర సంబరాలు ఆరంభమయ్యాయి. తెలంగాణపై ఉద్వేగపాఠశాల మోసే పోటీలకు తూటాంటే ఆరువారం పొసేసిన సర్వార్థ విద్యార్థి శ్రీ మండు రిలీఫ్ దినం. 10 వ తేదీ విద్యార్థుల అసెంబ్లీ ముగిసిన పిమ్మట పాఠశాల వేదిక వత్సర విద్యార్థులు కాలిగి జరిగి తీరారు. దీంతో సర్వార్థ విద్యార్థి అసెంబ్లీ కీర్తి ఆరంభం. తెలంగాణ రాష్ట్ర ఏర్పాటు ముసుక వత్సరం చేసింది. ఈ వేదిక కేంద్ర పాఠశాల ముగిసిన దినం నాటి నాటి ప్రజల సేవకు విద్యార్థులు అందరినీ సేవకు తెచ్చారు. 10 వ తేదీన అమరవీరుల కాలిగి రైల్వే స్టేషన్ ముందుగా ప్రజల సేవకు విద్యార్థులు జేసిన కాలిగి రైల్వే ఈ తెలంగాణ ఉద్వేగంలో వేసిన అంతు. అమరవీరుల సేవకు సర్వార్థ విద్యార్థులు తెచ్చారు. ఓయూ ఉపాధ్యక్షులు, ఇతర తెలంగాణ ప్రజా సంఘాల నేతలు, విద్యార్థులు, ఉద్యోగుల సమూహ నాయకులు ఉద్వేగపాఠశాల స్థలం పూర్తి చేసి అందరినీ సేవకు తెచ్చారు. అనంతరం భారీ వత్సర వాతావరణం సృష్టించారు.

ఓయూలో భాగస్వామిగా వాత్స సంబరాలు జరుపుకుంటున్న విద్యార్థులు

అమరవీరులకు సత్కారం...
ఉప్పొంగుతో తెలంగాణ ధూం..ధూంలా సాగింది. ఉదయం నుంచి పాట ఆలయంలో సాగిన సభలో మద్యపానం విద్యార్థులు తెలంగాణ ఉద్వేగంలో మరలించిన 31 మంది అమరవీరుల స్మారక స్మారక కార్యక్రమం చేసి వీర కీర్తి సేవకు తెచ్చారు. విద్యార్థులు భూమిపై రాజకీయాల సేవకు తెచ్చారు. అమరవీరుల సేవకు తెచ్చారు. అనంతరం విద్యార్థులు తెలంగాణ ఉద్వేగంలో మరలించిన 31 మంది అమరవీరుల స్మారక స్మారక కార్యక్రమం చేసి వీర కీర్తి సేవకు తెచ్చారు. విద్యార్థులు భూమిపై రాజకీయాల సేవకు తెచ్చారు.

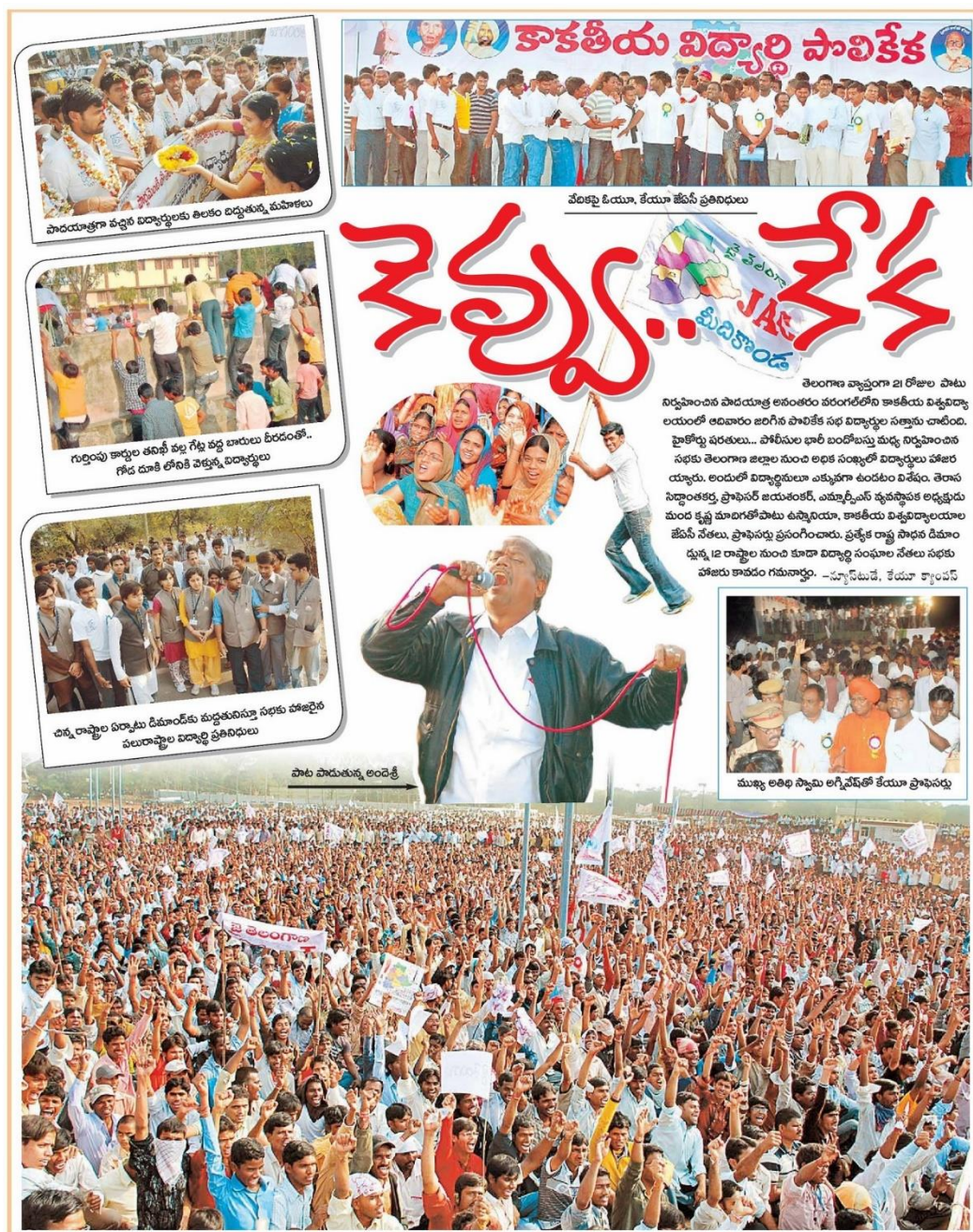
అమరవీరులకు శ్రద్ధాంజలి
విద్యార్థులు నిర్వహించిన అమరవీరుల సత్కారం సభలో ప్రముఖ స్వాతంత్ర్య సమరయోధుడు కొండా లక్ష్మణ్ బాపట్ల వద్ద శ్రద్ధాంజలి పురిచారు. తెలంగాణ రాష్ట్ర పత్రిక మొదలు పెడతామని కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వం చేసిన దీని రికార్డు కేంద్ర ఆధ్వర్యంలో తెలంగాణ ఉద్వేగంలో మరలించిన 31 మంది అమరవీరుల స్మారక స్మారక కార్యక్రమం చేసి వీర కీర్తి సేవకు తెచ్చారు. విద్యార్థులు భూమిపై రాజకీయాల సేవకు తెచ్చారు.

బీజేపీలో తెలంగాణ ధూం..ధూం..
రైడరలూన్, డిసెంబరు 10 (ఆన్లైన్-నీటీఎస్): బీజేపీ శ్రేణులు తెలంగాణ సంబరాలను ధూంధూంగా చేసుకున్నాయి. భారీగా రైల్వే నిర్వహించిన సత్కారం చేపట్టింది. మొదటి నుంచి తెలంగాణ రాష్ట్ర వేదిక అమరవీరుల కాలిగి రైల్వే స్టేషన్ కేంద్రం చేసి అందరినీ సేవకు తెచ్చారు. అనంతరం భారీ వత్సర వాతావరణం సృష్టించారు.

తెలంగాణపై బీజేపీ మైనారిటీ మార్గ పార్టీ
రైడరలూన్, డిసెంబరు 10 (ఆన్లైన్-నీటీఎస్): తెలంగాణ ఏర్పాటు కార్యక్రమం అమరవీరుల కాలిగి రైల్వే స్టేషన్ వద్ద వత్సర కీర్తి ఆరంభం. తెలంగాణ రాష్ట్ర ఏర్పాటు ఉద్వేగంలో మరలించిన 31 మంది అమరవీరుల స్మారక స్మారక కార్యక్రమం చేసి వీర కీర్తి సేవకు తెచ్చారు. విద్యార్థులు భూమిపై రాజకీయాల సేవకు తెచ్చారు.

ఉప్పొంగుతో తెలంగాణ విజయోత్సవాన్ని జరుపుకుంటున్న నీటీఎస్ విద్యార్థులు

State formation celebrations in Osmania University



State formation celebrations in Kakatiya University

MARTYRS LIST

(Source: www.etelangana.org)

- 1.K. Srikantha Chary S/O Venkatachary, who had studied Physiotherapy course in ISO Junior college,Tarnaka, became an activist in LB Nagar area. Shocked by the arrest of KCR on 29th Nov., Srikanth dowsed himself with petrol and set ablaze (died on 3rd Dec).He belongs to Mothkur mandal of Nalgonda Dist, but was living in Chaitanyapuri. When Kamineni Hospital refused him treatment., he was taken to Appolo Hospital with 71% burns. Later he died on 3rd Dec. in the same hospital. During the period of treatment in thehospital till last breath, he went on uttering “Jai Telangan...JaiTelangana”. TRS activists and students organized funeral procession inHyd and later the body was placed at Gunpark Martyrs stupa for a while to pay homage. For performing last rites, body was taken to his native place. (The Hindu &AJ)
- 2.. Laxminarayana, 45, handloom worker belonging to Karimnagar Dist, Sircilla, who was visiting his sister in Medak Dist.died on 30th Nov, by heart attack with the news of KCR’s arrest. (Sakshi)
- 3.. Bhukya Praveen,24, belonging to Gopal Thanda in Warangal Dist. He studied B.Sc, B. Ed, and has been actively working with TRS, shocked by the arrest, Praveencommitted suicide on 30th Nov. and died. (AJ)
4. Srikanth ,25, Medak Dist, Duddeda Mandal committed suicide on 30th Nov, shocked by the arrest of KCR. (AJ)
- 5...D.Yadaiah ,...,Dec 1st 2009,By Heart attck,Appajipet Village ,Mandal & dist NLG.
6. Police Kishtiah , a constable of 1992 batch, climbed on the Mobile Phone 18. Tower inKamareddy Town on Ist Dec, and shot himself with the revolver and died instantly. He was frustrated with administration, and only in separate Telangana he will get justice, according to suicide note. Several police officers visited Kamareddy, Nizamabad District and paid homage (The Hindu).
- 7.. Prithviraj, 22, Dec 2nd 2009, belonging to Valgonda village of Mallapur Mandal in Karimnagar Dist committed suicide shocked by the arrest of KCR(AJ)
8. Smt.VadderaLakshmi w/o Parshuramulu,40, Dec 2nd2009, By Heartattack, Kondapaka village & Mandal, MDK.
- 9.. Naluka Rajiah50 Dec2 Thimmapur, Knr, Heart Attack
10. Mallineni Rajkumar,3rd Dec 2009, a student studying Inter, belonging to Keshavapur village, Warangal Dist committed suicide by hanging demanding separateTelangana. (AJ)
11. Chinna Bapanna Dec 4 Surgnapur , Adilabad Fast&death
12. 12.. Bhaskara Chary Dec 4 Bhainsa , Adilabad Suicide

- 13.. P.Vinay s/o Late Ramesh,21,Dec 4th2009,By accident at Rally, Pragnapur Village& Mandal,MDK
- 14.. Pesaru Kattiah, Dec 04, by Heart attack, Lenkalapalli villge,Nallabeelly-Manadl, Warangal Dist..
- 15.. Bolla Omkar,Dec 04,bysucide, Bollavani palli villge,Nallabelli mandal, Warangal Dist..
16. Vitagani Madhukar, 11, Dec 04 th 2009, Kantaipalem village,Thorrur mndal , Warangal dist,
17. Pabba Eshvaraiah,75, Dec 04 th 2009, suicded, Madapuram Village, NLG.
18. Inukonda PrabhakaReddy,22, Dec5th 09, Kothapallyvillage, Thimmapurmandal, KNR.
19. Smt.Manjula,25, Dec 5th 2009, By taking pesticide, Katkur Village, Vemulawada mandal. KNR.
20. Dosapalli Sattaiah, Dec 5th 2009, By Heartattack,SingaramVillage, Rajapetmandal, NLG.
21. Gyara Jagadish s/o Yadagiri,35,Dec 5th 2009,By Heartattack,Patelgudem Village, Alair Mandal, NLG.
- 22.. Cheruku Anjiah Goud 32, Dec 5 th2009, belonging to Warangal Dist, Palakurthy Mandal, Palmidi Village an active TRS activist stopped eating food after KCR's fast and when parents abused him, committed suicide on 4th Dec by holding electricity live wires. He left behind a wife and three children. Who will rescue his family(AJ)
- 23.. Sudhakar Naik, Dec 6, Gogulagutta Thanda ,NGA Suicide
- 24.Bommineni RRajender, 49, Dec 6, 2009, By Heart Attack, Filmnagar, Hyderabad
- 25..Shiva charan,24, Dec 6th 2009,PHC, Attempted on 6th with kerosene flame in Ramajipet Village, Yadagiri gutta Mandal,NLG.
- 26..Elagandula Lakshminarayana a/o Balakishtaiah,60,Dec 6thn 2009,By Heartattack,Tangutur village , Alair Mandal,NLG.
- 27.. Dhravath Sudhakar Naik,23,ST,Engineering student,Dec 6 th 2009, By Hanging,Rampur Village , Gogulgutta Thanda ,Thurakapally Mandal,NLG.
- 28..Narsmhulu,32,Dec 6th 2009,ByHeartattack,Bhumpally village, Mirudoddi Mandal,MDK,
- 29..Laxminarayan, of Illanthakunta mandal, Karimnagar Dist committed suicide.
- 30..Gangaraboyina Guraviah, 45, TRS worker hanged himself to a tree on 6th Dec. at Makhdoomnagar village, Nanganur Mandal, Medak Dist. Protesting against delay in

formation of Telangana State.(AJ)

31..T. Naga Raju, 20, TRS student wing committed suicide, by holding high tension live electric wire, at Sudanapally Village in Korvi Mandal, Warangal Dist. On 6th Dec, he left a note blaming Congress Govt in forming separate Telangana State,he also expressed in his note that at least with his death telangana agitation would be further strengthened.(AJ)

32. Kaatha Balamallu,50, TRS worker, who is a construction worker, belonging to Komuravalli village, cherial Mandal, Warangal Dist. Having heard the rumour that KCR died in Hyderabad, suffered from heart attack and died on 6th Dec. (AJ)

33.. Baregalla Ashok, 23, TRS activist, who was active in organizing bandh etc, poured kerosene on his body and set ablaze at Narayanapuram Village, Yellareddy pet Mandal, Karimnagar Dist, and died in hospital, on 6th Dec(AJ).

34. Arelly Krishna, 18, an ITI student committed suicide by consuming pesticide in Jammikunta mandal, Rachapally village of Karimnagar Dist, having believed the rumour that KCR went in to Coma on 6th Dec.(AJ)

35.. Kontha Chinna Malliah, belonging to Dubbaguntapalli of Karimnagar Dist a TRS activist having been humiliated and attacked by congress workers, seemed to have consumed pesticides on 6th Dec, and died.(AJ)

36..NalukaRajaiah,50,Dec 6th2009,By HeartAttack,ThimmapurVillage,KNR.

37..Cheekatla Komaraiah, Dec 7th 2009,ByHeatAttack,Gunipathy village ,Kamalapu mandaal,KNR.

38...Bolli Sayaiah,40,Dec 7 th 2009,Basvapur,suicided,KNR. 39.Kadai Yellamma, 36, Dec 7th 2009, By Heat Attack,UPPAL, KNR.

40..KodipunjulaShankaraiah s/oLingaiah,50, Dec 7 th 2009, By Heart Attack,Kothapetvillage,Velgatur madal,KNR.

41. G.Venkateshwarlu, 45, TRS activist hanged himself to death on 7th Dec. at hishome town inAnde Villaga, Mirdoddi Mandal, Medak Dist. He left a suicide note demanding telangana state.(TOI)

42 Narsing Naik,36, hanged himself on 7th Dec .from a tree at Mamidipally in Sangqareddy, Mandal, Medak Dist(TOI).

43.. Satish Yadav,TRS activist hanged himself on 7th Dec., after participating in a rally demanding separate state, Bhongir, Nalgonda Dist(TOI)..

44..Lingiah of Nemmikallu in Atmakur Mandal, Nalgonda Dist, consumed Pesticides on 7th Dec, latter he died in hospital.(TOI)

45.. Mallesh, belonging to Palaram village in Nadigudem mandal, Nalgonda Dist consumed pesticide on 7th Dec. to end his life. He died shouting Jai Telangana slogans.(TOI)

46..Poodari Narendra Goud, 32, died of heart attack on 7th Dec, after viewing TV clippings of KCR's health, deteriorating.He belongs to Medak Dist, Vargal Mandal, Gouraram village..(AJ)

47. Veeranagulu,26, TRS activist, belonging toNalgonda Dist, Palaram village, after participating Candle light procession, consumed pesticides, when he was being shiftedto Kodad hospital he died on 7th Dec.(AJ)

48..Gunti Satish,23, TRS activist, belonging to Nalgonda Dist, Bhongir Mandal Rayagiri village committed suicide by hanging, and died on 7th Dec.(Sakshi)

49.. M. Janarthan,45, belonging to Warangal Dist, Shivanagar, hamali, hanged himselfto death on 7th Dec. (Sakshi)

50 Vakidi Buchiah,47, TRS Leader, Dec 7 2009, Jaggiahpet, Wgl, by Heartattack.

51. Devulapalli Shantha ,46, Dec7 2009,Village & Mandal-Regonda, Wgl Heart Attack.

52. Gondaboina Bondiah 52, Dec7 ,2009, Village & Mandal-Regonda, Wgl, Heart Attack.

53.. Oorlinga Krishna Murthy,41, belonging to Warangal Dist, Maddur mandal, died of heart attack by watching TV, deteriorating health condition of KCR. (Sakshi)

54...Vatika Buchiah, 43, belonging to WarangalDist, Jaggiahpet village, participated in a Telangana rally, and later died of heart attack,on 7th Dec. (Sakshi)

55. Dec 7 Bolli Sariah, 40, Baswapur, Knr, committed Suicide.

56..Devaraye Ramesh, 23, Dec7th 2009, a PG student, an ABVP activist is battling for life at NIMS after he jumped from a water reservoir at Bachannapet mandal, Warangal Dist. He painted Jai Telangana slogans all over his body. (AJ)

57... Chinnam Mallesh,16, Dec 7th2009, belonging to Bhuvanagiri Mandal, Veeravalli village, Nalgonda, consumed pesticides, he was rushed to Hospital.(AJ)

58.. Jana Bai, a tribal girl, Dec 7th 2009, set herself on fire during a TRS rally, at Gauraram,Gandhari Mandal,Nizamabad Dist.. She suffered 80% burns, condition serious in Banswada hospital.(TOI).

59. Raju, Dec 7th 2009,TRS activist held high electric wire at Turkapadagam, Kandimandal, Medak Dist.Even he experienced serious shock, he was shouting Jai Telangana Slogans ——(TOI).

60. Tirupathi, 18, Dec 7th 2009,student at Mallapur, in Illanthakunta Mandal,Karimnagar Dist, poured kerosene over his body and set a blaze. (TOI)

61. B. Sudhakar, 40, Dec 7th 2009, TRS activist at Mutyampet, Mallapur Mandal, Karimnagar immolated, condition critical, latest situation——(TOI)

62. Sampath , 30, Dec 7th 2009,TRS worker jumped from a flexi hoarding inKarimnagar,

suffered serious injuries. Latest condition—(TOI)

63.A.Lingiah, 40, Dec 7th 2009,died on his way to TRS rally at Isaipet, Machareddy mandal, Nizamaba Dist, died of hear attack.(TOI)

64..Dec 8 More Pulla Reddy, 50, Melapalli, Wgl, Heart Attack.

65.. Kola Ravi ,25,Dec 8 th, Yallareddipalli, Knr, committed ,Suicide.

66..Bairi Sudarshan, Dec 8 th 2009,By suicide,Nittur village,Peddapally mandal,KN.

67...Enuganti Lachaiah s/o Bakkaiah,45,Dec 8 th2009,By HeatAttack,Velchala village , Ramadugu mandal,KNR.

68... Vangala Raju, 24,Dec 9 th 2009, belonging to Velli village, Raghunathpally mandal , warangal Dist , TRS activist, committed suicide by pouring kerosene on his body after knowing the critical condition of KCR, died in MGM hospital.,WGL. (Sakshi).

69...Jaatothu Somla, 36, Warangal Dist, Kodakandla mandal, Pedda vangara village, committed suicide by climbing on a big tree and falling from top, on 9th Dec,(Sakshi) waarangal Dist.(Sakshi).

70. GuvvaPrabhakar, 45, Dec.9,suicide by consming pesticides,Neredu Pally village ,Shyampet mandal,Warangl dist...

71.. Sarva Sreenu, 30, belonging to Warangal Dist, venkatapuram mandal, salempeta village, TRS activist died of heart attack, after viewing the serious condition of KCR in TV.on 9th Dec.(Sakshi).

72. Fakruddin, 65, belonging to Station Ghanpur, retired railway employee and whowas associated and liked KCR very much died of hear attack on 9th Dec after seeingKCR in critical condition in TV (sakhi).

73. Eegela Madhukar, 10, participated in in Kagadala rally, and kerosene fell on his body on 5th Dec, with flames accidentally, in Kanthaipalem and died in Gandhi hospitalon 9th Dec.(Sakshi).

74. Kashiah, 55, belonging to Nizamabad Dist, Gandhari mandal, TRS activist died of heart attack on 9th Dec after watching TV and KCR.(saksi).

75.. Ranganaboina Ramesh,32, Dec 9th 2009, belonging to Medak Dist, Mirudoddi Mandal, Dharmaram Village died of heart attack, learning about the serious condition of KCR(saksi).

76... Manjula, 25, belonging to Karimnagar Dist, Vemulawada committed suicide by consuming pesticides on 8th night, died in the afternoon of 9th Dec.(Sakshi).

77..Goli Sreenivas,35, belonging to karimnagar dist, peddapalli mandal, in Rangapur village committed suicided by consuming pesticides and died on 9th Dec, with a suicide note to intensify Telangana Agitation. (Saksi).

78. Bala Narsimha Goud, 55, belonging to Maddikunta village in Mustabad Mandal of Karimnagar Dist, died of hear attack on 9th Dec, after watching Telangana and KCRnews in TV.(Sakshi).

79. Raja Goud, alias Basha Goud, 55, belonging to Adilabad Dist, Chennur mandal, TRS vice president, died On 9th Dec by committing suicide by hanging himself(Sakshi).

80. Boddu Krishna, 41, belonging to Tilaknagar Colony, Mancheria, Adilabad Dist died of hear attack.(Sakshi).

81...Jaatothu Somla, 36, Warangal Dist, Kodakandla mandal, Pedda vangara village, committed suicide by climbing on a big tree and falling from top, on 9th Dec,(Sakshi).

82..Dec 9 , D. Ravi,30,village Palempeta, Venkatapur Mandal, Wgl, Suicide Throughout 9th Dec, there was heavy tension about the health of KCR, there were rumours that Congress party and groups within were conspiring for the death of KCR so that after arresting the turmoil , Jagan could be restored as CM.This impression gained ground, when MPs were meeting Veeappy Moili, Jagan was also present, both with Andhra, and Telangana, MPs. All employees Associations, and various Telangana forums were unanimous that KCR should end fast, he should not become a victim of Congress party's game plan. Both the houses of Parliament appealed KCR to end the fast. Similar appeals were made by the AP Assembly. By 5pm onwards, forward movement started in New Delhi. CM rushed to New Delhi. Series of meetings were held in New Delhi, and positive signals in the direction of formation of Telangana state were tickling Core Committee of AICC held series of meetings, . Union Home minister initiated dialogue with KCR, and finally Home Minister announced that Process is initiated, CM has been requested to move the resolution in the Assembly, requested KCR to end the fast and also ordered the CM to lift all charges framed against all those against students, and others in connection with the agitation with the arrest of KCR on 29th November 2009. Jubilations started, Prof. Jayashankar and all others joined in giving lime juice to KCR, in NIMS signaling the end of Fast in the midnight of 9th.Dec. Jubilation, did not long last.As an anti climax, about 100 MLA from Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema submittedresignation letters to Assembly as a protest. Deadlock was created. Tension and. suspense was continuing. Lagdapati Rajgopal, and JC Diwakar Reddy have taken initiative, Chandra Babu Naidu and Chiranjeevi joined the Chorous, and made U turn.. .

83.. Anasi Ramesh, 25, belonging to Karimnagar Dist, Peddapalli mandal, Chandapalli village, who celebrated the news of Chidambaram's announcement regarding T-State. Subsequently after watching news emanating from Andhra leaders, felt shocked and comitted suicide by consuming pesticides and died on 10th Dec, 09.(AJ)

84. Dabeta Narsimhulu,32,Dec 10, 2009 by Heartattack,Elakrthyvillage,Dubbaka Mandal,MDK.

85.. Manda Sayanna,35,Dec 11 th 2009,by HeartAttack Anepuram village,Maripeda mndal,Warangal dist.,

86..Gujja Shankraiah,52,by suicide,Dec.12 th2009 ,Malkapuram village, Stn.Ghanpur mandal, Warangal dist..

87..Kommu Laxmi Rajyam, belonging to Karimnagar, Chandurthi mandal, Kishtam pet Village died of heart attack in the early hours of 12th Dec., fearing Telangana may notbe possible.(AJ)

88.GuggillaSridhar,17,Inter student,Dec 12 th 2009,By ssuicide,Deshayipet village,Medipally mandal,KN.

89..Dommati babu,48,Dec 12 th 2009,By HeartAttack,Raypatnam village,Dharmapuri mandal,KNR.

90..Goli Srinivas,40,Dec 12 th 2009,By pesticide ,Rangapur village,Peddapally mandal,KNR

91..Ponnam Ahok, 23, recently completed B.Ed., having felt whether Telangana wouldbe reality or not, consumed pesticides and hanged himself on 14th Dec. He belongs to Warangal Dist, Bachannapet Mandal, Mansanpally village, he expressed in his suicide note that all telanganites should fight unitedly for Telangana Stathood (AJ).

.92..Ranganayakulu, died of heart attack on 14th Dec. fearing that Telangana may notbe a reality having watvhed TV continuously.(AJ).

93. . Ilineni Bheemiah, 35, auto driver of,Godavakhani, Karimnagar died of heartattack, on 14th Dec.

94..NomulaShankar ,40, Tailor,Dec 15 th 2009,By Hanging due to PRP decision, Sanjeevaraopet village , Naryankhed Mandal,MDK.

95..KanneboyinaAilaiah ,25,TRS,Atteptedsuicide by kerosene flame on Dec 8th but died on 16 Dec 2009,Kondapaka village & Mandal,MDK.

96..Kanche Sreenu s/o Yellaiah,35 ,Dec 16 th 2009, By Heart attack, Yerravally Village, Kondapaka Mandal,MDK.

97..Patti Hanumanthu, S/O Narsaiah,28, Dec 16 th 2009, By Heartattack,Varadarajpur Village,Jagdevpur Mandal,MDK.

98. Sudada Srinivas Reddy, 40, Dec 17, by heart attack, Veldana, Narmetta mandl, Warangal.

99.. . Pokala Bikshapathi,62,Dec.17,1969 leader,By HetAttck,Thurupukota,Khila Waangl,Warangl dist..

100.. .Y.Dayakar reddy,35,Advocate,Dec17 th 2009,by By Hanging,Dacharam Village,Mothkur Mandal, NLG.

- 101.. Pottabattula Narender s/o Lakshminarayana,34,Dec 17 th 2009, By pesticides,Kattangur Village & mandal,NLG.
- 102.. Basukula Yadagiri,35,S/o Venkaiah,Mndal Stn Ghanpur,Chaagal village, having enjoyed the good news about T state, counter agitation by Andhras pushed him to anxiety and tension, stopped eating food, and finally died of heart attack on 18th Dec.(AJ).
- 103.. Moutam Kumara Swami, 25, TRS activist, belonging to Karimnagar Dist, Kamalapur, committed suicide by consuming pesticides, on 18th Dec, being rushed to Warangal Hospital, died on the way.(Vaartha).
- 104..Kesugani Srinivas s/o Lingaiah,24,Dec 18 th 2009,By cosuming pesticide,Pthugallu village,Musthabad mandal,KNR.
- 105..Smt.Sirigiri Lachamma w/o Chandraiah,52,Dec 18 th 2009,ByHeartAttack,Charla pally village,Velgatu mandal,KNR.
- 106..Sri.Anjaiah,30,TRS cader,Dec 18th 2009,by consuming pesticide,enikunta village,Thimmapu mandal,KM.
- 107..Kadie Balanarsu Gaud s/o Malliah,55,dec 18 th 2009,By HeartAttack,Maddikunta village,Musthabad mandal,KNR.
- 108..Maloth Vasuram,40,Dec 18 th 2009,By HetAttack,Jillelagadda village,Husnabaad
- 109..SriGiripally narsimha,32,Dec 18 th 2009,By Kerosine flame,Kolthur Village,Shamirpet Mandal.RR dist.
- 110.. Mamidala Narayana s/oRajamallu,40,Dec 18 th2009,By Heartattack,LaksettipetVillage & Mandal,,ABD.
111. Jalagam Baburao, 40, of Warangal Dist, Jangaon, tapi mestri, suffered from mental agony apprehending Telangana may not be achieved, died of heart attack, on22nd Dec. (AJ).
- 112.. Poreddy Gangadhar, 48, belonging toNizamaba Dist, Mallapur Police Station, Head Constable, shot himself and died , fearing that High Command is not interested in creating Telangana 22nd Dec night.(AJ)
113. Nara Simha, 23, died dueto lathi Charge onDec 23,Hyderabad.
114. Thodeti Yadagiri,35,Dec 24 th 2009 , By Heartattack , Mulugu Village & Mandal, MDK.
115. Eediah, 22, by suicide, Dec 24, Hyderabad.
- 116.. Battini Narsimlu,50,Dec 24,Gabbet,Wrngal dist..Thirteen people died on 23 night and on 24 th Dec, after Second statement by Chidambram.

- 117..Tirupathi Raghupati, 45 Warangal Dist —Heart Attack.118.. Kaleala Sammiah, 50 Warangal Dist —Heart Attack.
119. Ireddy Krishna Reddy, 50 Warangal Dist —Heart Attack.
120. Nagaraju, 37, Medak Dist, Zaheerabad, Hotike Villegge, suicide, pesticides and died.
- 121.. Rajiah 43, Medak Dist, Kondapaka mndl, Muddaram,village Suicide, ,pesticides, died.
- 122... Bucha Malla Reddy, 60, Medak Dist., Siddipet Mndl, Chinnagundavelli, Heart Attack.
- 123.. Samara Naik, 60, Medak Dist, Narayan Khed Mandal, Chellagi Thanda, Heart Attack.
- 124.. Yadagiri, 39, Mulug mandal, Heart Attack.
- 125.Dhanji Naik, 40, Karimnagar, Mahamuttaram, pegadapalli village, Heart Attack.
- 126.. Malleshham, farmer, Karimnagar, Illantakunta Mandal, Anantagiri village,Pesticides.
127. Besta Rangiah 35, Mahabubnagar, Balamoor , Kondanagula village, Heart Attack.
- 128.. Kiran, 30, Adilabad, Indravalli mndl, Dhanora village, died by hanging.
129. Ch. Sreenivas, 38, Adilabad, Khanapur, Vidyanagar village, Heart Attack
- 130...NyathariRaju, Dec 24 th 2009, by kerosene ablazing,Ithaaupally village,Sulthanabad mandal,KNR.
- 131.. Gorre Iliah, 60, Karimnagar, Elkaturthi Mndl, Damera village, Heart Attack.
- 132... Pittala Laxmi Rajam, 50,Dec 25 th 2009, Karimnagar, Dharmaram maandal, Dongathurthi village, Heart Attack.
- 133 . Thodeti Lachiah, 50,Dec 25 th 2009, Karimnagar, Choppadandi mndl, Bhoopalpatnam Village, Heart Attack.
- 134.. Pamula Narsiah, 27 ,Dec 25 th 2009, Karimnagar, Sarangapurmndl, Tungurvillage, Heart Attack.
- 135.Narsaiah,30, Dec 25 th 2010,By pesticides,Lingala Village,Kadam Mandal,ABD
- 136..ChinthkumaraSwmy,35,Dec 25,Devannapet,Waangal dist.

137.Sri Samuel, 70, 25 th 2009, by Heart Attack on watching TV, West Marred Pally,Secunderabad.

138.. Mogili, 45 , Dec 25, Kalvasreerampur mndl, Pegadapalli village, Heart Attack.139...

Kurra Narsiah, 40, Dec 25, Karimnagar,Sircilla area, consumed, pesticide.

140. .MachaGattaiah,24,Dec 26 th 2009,By Hanging,Rayadandi village,Ramagundam mandal,KNR.

141.. .KanakamShankar,38,Dec 26 th 2009,By HeartAttack,Gattududdenapally village , Manakondur mandal,KNR.

142..Smt.Padmamma,45, Dec 26 th 2009,By HeartAttack,Narayanapet Village & Mandal,MBNR.

143 Yadaiah,45,CPI,Dec 26th 2009,Rmannapet Village &Mandal , NLG.

144..BhanothNaresh,23,Dec 27th 2009,By HertAttack,Cheruvu mundu Thanda,Akkannapet village,Husnabad mandal, KNR.

145...Nidraveni Rajaiah,60,Dec 27 th 2009,By Heart Attack,Rampur village,Huzurabzd mandal,KNR.

146.Pittala Shankar,30,Dec 28 2009,By HertAttack,Rayaptnam village,Dharmapuri mandal,KNR.

147.. Kotha Kapu Narayana, 50, TRS activist belonging to Medak Dist. Faridapur village died of heart attack on 28th Dec.

148. Borla Kunta Linganna, 32, Telangana activist, Adilabad Dist, Bazar Hathnur Mndl, Degama village, died of heart attack on 28th Dec.

149.. Tumma Mogili, 42, Karimnagar Dist, Julapalli mndl, Kummarikunta Village, died ofheart attack on 28th Dec.

150 Muniganti Mondiah, 55, Karimnagar Dist, khasimpet Village,Bejjanki mandal, died of heart attack on 28th Dec.

151..Boini Malliah, 48, Karimnagar, Husnabad Mndl,Mahmadabad Village, died of heart attack on 28th Dec.

152. Katmuri Chandu, 30, Karimnagar Dist, Chandurti mndl,Madapalli village, died of heart attack on 28th Dec.

153. Gaddam Ramiah, 70, Karimnagar Dist, Koheda mndl, Tangallapalli village, consumed pesticides on 29th Dec.

154 Kongara Narsiah, 35, Warangal ist, Sangem mndl,Venkatapur village, died of heart attack on 29th dec.

- 155.. Sadanandam, 38, Warangal Dist, died of heart attack on 29th dec.
156. Nagaraju, 20, Inter student at Achampet college, Mahabubnagar, poured kerosene on 26th evening, was brought to Osmania Hospital, Hyderabad, for treatment, latter died on 29th Dec.
- 157.. Vishwanadula Yadagiri,45, Nalgonda Dist, Shivanagar village, attempted suicide by self immolation died on 29th Dec.
- 158.. Swamy, TRS activist, 35, belonging to Hyderabad, Addagutta, hanged himself on 29th dec.
159. Rampalli Ramana Chary, belonging to Karimnagar, Elkaturthy mndl, Kothulanaduma village died on 29th Dec by heart attack.
160. Nookala Naga Raju, 33, Adilabad Dist, Lakshmana Chanda mndl, Kodanapalli village, died of heart attack on 29th Dec.
161. Ettam Manohar, 40, Adilabad Dist, Laxettipet Mndl, Utkur village, died of heart attack on 29th Dec.
162. Prashanth Student, Nizamabad Dist, Tadwai mndl, Sirikonda village died of heart attack on 29th Dec.
163. Battula Raju, Nizamabad Dist, Tadwai Mndl died by consuming pesticides. on 29th Dec.
164. Bhimai Shankar, 36, Dec 30 th 2009, by pesticides, Rachala Thimmapur village, Yella Reddypet mandal, KNR.
165. Kommu Lingaiah, 50, Dec 30 th 2009, Mallapur, KNR.
166. Pochaveni Balaiah, 35, TS cadre, Dec 30 th 2009, By Heat Attack, Tagudu village, Sirisilla mandal, KNR.
167. Shek Hussain Saheb, 54, Dec 30 th 2009, By Heart Attack, Gundi village, Ramadugu mandal, KNR.
168. Kashipaka Mallaiah s/o Pochaiah, 50, Dec 30 th 2009, By Heart Attack, Khilla Vanaparthi village, Dharmaram mandal, KNR.
- 169.. Pasha Miya, 40, December 30, 2009. Medak, Zaheerabad, Satwar village, Heart Attack.
- 170.. Sri Vinod kumar, 23, A Homeguard, Dec 30 2009, By hanging, Keruru Village, Jogipet mandal, RR dist.
171. Tulasi Ramesh, 18, Medak Dist, Rajipata village died on 30th Dec, by hanging to a tree.

172. Gaddapati Ramalingiah,43,Dec 30 th 2009,By Heartattack,Kalimora village, Kattangur Mandal ,NLG.
173. Narayan Reddy,50 TRS cadre,Dec 30 th2009, By Heartattck,Valluru Village ,MalnurMandal, MDK.
- 174..BakkaReddy,34,Congresss cadre,Dec 30 th 2009,By HeartAttack,Alugolu Village, Zaheerabad Mandal, MDK.
- 175.BuruguRamMurthy,36,Dec 30,Thtikonda,StnGhanpur Mandal,Warngl dist..
- 176..Guguloth Ramul Naik,40,suicided by pesticides,ChaplaThanda,ThllaVukaallu Village,Maripeda Mandal,Warangal dist.on30th Dec.2010.
- 177..Arsham Nadipi Veeraiah,55,byHeartAttack on 30 thDec,NerukullaVillage,AthmakurMandal,Warngal dist.
- 178...Budde Suman, 17, Inter student,By pesticides, Dec 30 th 2009,Konurnagaram Village,Kasipet Mandal,ABD.
- 179.. Yadagiri, 39, Mulug mandal,Warangl Dist. Heart Attack 115/4.Kurathota Bucchaiah,45,By Heart Attack on 31 st Dec.DuggondiVillage&Mandal,Warangal dist.
- 180..DulamRamdasu,45,BYHeartAttack, 31st Dec, Mchpuam Village, Geesukonda Mandal, Warangal dist.
- 181.. Kalai Sreenivas, 35,Dec 31, Medak, Regonda mndl, died of Heart Attack. immolation.
- 182.Devula palli Pandiah, 60,Dec31, Nalgonda, Suryapet, died of heart attack.
- 183.. Boini Anthiah, 58,Dec 31, RR Dist, Pargi Mndl, Laxmidevipalli village, died of heart attack.
184. G. Ramulu, 22, Dec 31, drowned himself in a well, near Nacharam, Hyd. The family belongs to Warangal Dist, Pembarthi village, came to Hyd for livelihood , 10years back.
- 185..Kishan Reddy, 18,Dec 31, Warangal,Cherial mndl, Chityala village, Heart Attack. . Rampalli Ramana Chary, belonging to Karimnagar, Elkaturthy mndl,
- 186.Ileni Narsimha Reddy, 46,Dec 31, Karimnagar, Bejjanki , died of heart attack.
- 187..Yadagiri, 42, Dec 31, Karimnagr Godavari Khani, Construction worker, died by self immolation.
188. Vengala Lakshminaayana s/o hanumaiah,45, Dec31st 2009,Electrical Mechanic,by Heartattack,GopalRaopet Village,Ramadugu mandal,KNR.

189. Gadagoni Rajaaiah,37,Dec 31st2009,By Heartattack,Govardhanagii village,Husnabad mandal,KNR.

190..Kompally Mogili,50,Dec 31st2009,By Heartattack,Mahmadapur village,Husnabad mandal,KNR.

191. Goe Ailaiah,60,1969 activist,Dec 31st 2009, ByHeart attck,Damera Village,Elkathurthy mandal,KNR.

192..Dhamapuri Mangaiah,45,Dec31st 2009,By Heatattack,Sultaanabadvillage,Husnabad mandal,KNR.

193.. .Cherala Mallaiah,42,Dec 31 st 2009,Odel village,Husnabad mandal,KNR.

194...Kallem Mallesham,22,Dec 31st 2009,By Heartattack,Telugupally village,Husnabadmandal,KNR.

(According to Andhra Jyothi, 6 people died on New Year Day 1-1-2010 ,but since details were not available they are not given numbers, and included in the list.)

195. Poosangi Rajiah, 48, TRS activist, Nizamabad, Sadasivnagar mndl, kannapur village, died of heart attack on I st January 2010.

196. Akula Chinna kumara Swamy, Warangal Dist, Sangem mndl,Narlavai village, died of heart attack on Ist January 2010.

197. Boora Ramesh, Warangal Dist,Atmakur mndl, drowned in a well and died on Ist January 2010.

198. Saidulu, 28, Nalgonda Dist, Tipparti mndl, Yaragadla village, died by consuming pesticide on Ist Jan, 2010.

199..Varelli Deviah, 40, Karimnagar Dist, mallapur mndl,Chittapur village, died of heart attack on Ist Jan, 2010.

200. Bhoom Reddy, ex- upa sarpanch, , Medak Dist, Alla durgam Mndl, Mupparam village, died of heart attack.

201. Enugula Rjaiah,55, By HeatAttack,1st Janury,VechareniVillage,Cheriyal Mandal,Warangal dist.

202..Naregudem Kishtaiah,45, A MIM cadre,Janu 1st 2010,By Heartattack,Chittigidda Village,RR dist.

203.. Chinna Malliah/Ramaiah, 55, JAC Jagan Father,Mahabubnagar Dist, Kondurgu mndl, Srirangapur village, died of heart attack on Ist Jan. 2010, after watching on TVthat his son Jagan was on hunger strike in OU campus, and was worried about his health. (Sakshi)

204. Upparapalli Arun, 28, Medak Dist, Siddipet, Nasarpur village, held high tension wire, shouting Jai Telangana, We will sacrifice for Telangana and Achieve Telangana he was shifted to Gandhi Hospital, Secunderabad, Jan 2, 2010. (AJ)

205. Sana Jaggiah, 60, Medak, Shankarampet Mndl, Ambajipet village, died of heart attack on 2nd Jan.

206..Nallagonda Swamy, 20, 2nd Janu 2010, Karimnagar Dist, Illanthakunta mndl, Ogulapur village committed suicide by consuming pesticides. (AJ)

207.. Shanigaram Komuriah, 40, Karimnagar, Sultanabad mndl, , kanukula village, died of heart attack on 2-1-10. (AJ)

208. Nyalapatla Hanmiah, 55, Karimnagar, Bejjanki mndl, Kondapur village, died of heart attack, on 2nd Jan.

209. Elliah, 65, Medak Dist, Dubbaka mndl, belonging to congress party SC, leader worried by differing statements of the party died of heart attack on 2nd Jan.

210..Edule Yakaiah, 48, By Heart Attack, 3rd January, Pttipaka Villge, Nekkota Mandal, Warangal dist.

211..Thammadi Satyam, 35, by Heart Attack, 3rd January, 2010, Mustiyal Villaage, Cheryal Mandal, Waangal dist.

212.. Pendela Rajiah, 35, Warangal Dist, Regonda mandal, Bagdaripeta village, died on 3rd Jan, by consuming pesticides.

213...Jinuka Krishtopher, 38, By Heart Attack, 3rd Jan., 2010, Lakshmi puram Village, Duggondi Mandal, Warangal dist.

214 Kothuri Raju, 19, Warangal Dist, Vardannapet mndl, Iyivolu village, committed suicide on 3rd Jan.

215. Gurai Sathiah, 45, Warangal Dist, Cherial mndl, Mustyala village died of heart attack on 3rd Jan.

216..Vanguri Ramulu, 35, Janu 3rd, 2010, By Heart attack, Janampally Village, Ramannapet Mandal, NLG.

217, Kasturi Srikanth, 26, Karimnagar Dist, Husnabad mndl, Potlapalli village committed suicide on 3rd Jan., by hanging.

218.. Gaddam Ramana Reddy, 27, Karimnagar Dist, Bhojannapet village, BJP worker, died on 3rd Jan., by consuming pesticide.

219..Bandari Rajanayi D/o Narayana, 19, B.Sc 3rd student, Janu 4th 2010, By Kerosine flame, Peddapadishala village, Gundala Mandal, NLG.

220-227.. In karimnagar District eight people have died of heart attack after massive

rallies and agitation on 5th January 2010, when Delhi talks were in progress. .Further details were not reported.. (AJ 5-1-10)

228-230..In Nalgonda District, Sreenivas died of heart attack, in Chalkurthi Sreenivas Reddy, a student, in Banda Kotha palli Ms Dhana Laxmi, committed suicide (AJ)

231. Mandala Kanakiah,22,Janu 6 th 2009, By Hanging,Padmanabhunipallyvillage,DubbakaMandal, MDK

232.. Enugu Bhooma Reddy, 24, belonging to Adilabad Dist., Ichoda mndl, Borgam village, a student in Multi Media Course, died on 6th Jan, by hanging himself to a ceiling fan.In his suicide note to Smt. Sonia Gandhi, expressed his anguish, and fely if Telangana is not separated now, it would not be done in next hundred years.(AJ)

233...Narayana, 60,RR dist, Tandur, died of heart attack on 7th Jan. (AJ)234-236.... 3 people died of heart attack, on 7th Jan., in Karimnagar

237.. Kumar, 18, committed suicide by consuming pesticides.in Medak on 7th Jan.

238. Nizam Sagar, mndl, one person died of heart attack. On 7th Jan.

239..Veldandi Suman,24, with a suicide note, went against running train and died on7th Jan.in Warangal Dist.

240. Bongu Narsiah, 35, belonging to Adilabad, Dist, Jabrali mndl, died in Dubai, by falling from Cell Tower and committed suicide on 9th Jan.

241..Nama Natraju,21, Janu 13 2010,Nizam college Degree student, suicide, by fear psychosis of Police atrocities.....,Gollepallyvillage,Veligonda Mandal,NLG.

242.. Surekha, student, belonging to Adilabad dist, khanapur mndl, pembi village,Died of heart attack, frustrated that Telangana may not be achieved 13th Jan..

243... Narsiah, 30, belonging to Adilabad, Muthole Mndl, Borigam village died of heart attack on 15th Jan..

244. Ravula Chinniah, 44, Adilabad Dist, Dilwarpur Mndl, Jemsuri village died of heart attack on 15th Jan. Jan, out of anguish, over the delay in separate Telangana

245. Ramavath Naresh Naik, 20, Student, Jan.16, 2010, Kerosine flame,Peddagattu Village,PA Pally Mandal,NLG

246. Domala Shankar, 55, realor, belonging to Warangal Dist, Hasanparthy, committed suicide by jumping in front of running train near Moula Ali rly station, on 17th Jan night. In the suicide note he strongly pleaded for separate Telangana, and expressed his anguish over the delay(Hindu).

247..Pilli Ravinder, 40, belonging to Warangal Dist, Chennaraopet mndl, Ameenabad

village, died on 20th Jan, by self immolation, with a suicide note demanding Telangana state, poring kerosene, died in , MGM Hospital.

248.. Musugu Karunakar,23, Vangapdu villge,Warngaldist.,who committed suicide byself immolation , died in MGM hospital on 23rd Jan.

249.. Sailu, 65, CPI activist, belonging to Warangal, Palakurthi mandal, Dardepallivillage, died of heart attack on 23rd Jan.

250-251.. Banothu Balaji,21, MCA student,KU,Gandhipuram Thanda, Mahaboobabad Mandal, died by falling under running train,KeralaExpress, on 27th Jan, and Padaboina Kanakiah, in Akunoor, died by consuming pesticides on 27th Jan, both of them belonged to Warangal Dist.(AJ)

252 Pochaveni Balaiah, 35, TRS Cader, Dec 30, 2009, by Heart Attack, Tagudu Village, Sircilla mndl, Kaimnagar Dist.

253...Thodeti Lingaiah s/o Narsaiah,45,TS activist,Janu 3rd 2010, By Heartattack.Bhupalpatnam village,Choppadandi mandal,KNR.

254..Chandaboyina Rambabu,35,Janu 4th 2010,by pesticides,Maripallygudem village,KNR.

255. Kakkerla Madhusudhan,23,TRScadre,Janu 7th 2010,by pesticide,Begumpet village ,Mantheni mandal,KNR.

256. Narsingoji Rajendar,26,Janu 7th 2010,by pesticide,Eklaspur village,Kamanpur mandal,KNR

257-258 Vaman Rao & Surya, belonging to Adilabad Dist, Sonala mndl, died of heart attack on 14th Jan..

259.. Similarly, in Adilabad Dist, Boath mndl, Chintala bori village, one more person died of heart attack on 16th Jan.

260. Chinda Narender, 45, belonging to RR dist, Basheerabad mndl, Kommaripet village , hanged himself to mango tree, and committed suicide on 16th Jan.

261. Chintha Narender,46,Janu16 th 2009,By Kerosineflame, Zaheerabad Town MDK,

262...Pachala chandashekhar,24,Janu 16 th 2010,byKerosine flame,Maddulapally KNR.

263..Ramancha Sammaiah,34,Janu 18th 2010,byHeartattack,Narsingapur village,Veenavanka Mandal, KNR.

264..ThodetiShankar,24,Janu 18th 2010,By Heartattack,Narayanpurvillage,Thelareddipet mandal,KNR.

265. Suvarna, 20, Degree student belonging to Mahabubnagar Dist, Kothakota mndl, Mirasipalli village, committed suicide by self-immolation, kerosene on 19th Jan.

266. Venugopala Reddy, belonging to, Dosapahad village, near Suryapet in Nalgonda Dist, MCA student of , committed self-immolation on 19th Jan. in OU campus, and died. The family shifted to Habsiguda for livelihood. This incident has caused naturally serious commotion in the OU campus, leading to serious agitation once again, resulting in Lathi Charge, firing etc. Spontaneous Bandh was observed on 19th, and Students JCA declared 20th & 21st January, Telangana Bandh.. Severe pressure is being mounted on all legislators, MPs, Ministers to resign by the evening of 20th January, the time of funeral at his native village. Or else, they will face social boycott, and other serious complications would follow.

267. Soora Nehru, 55, belonging to Borgam village of Nizamabad Dist, committed suicide by consuming pesticide on 19th Jan.

268. Sunavat Kishan, 45, Medak Dist, Chegunta mndl, Gollapalli village consumed pesticides and died on 19th Jan.

269. Salamma, an active TRS activist, in Adilabad Dist, died of heart attack after watching Venugopala Reddy's demise on TV on 20th Jan..

270. Chinniah, belonging to Kyathanpalli, Adilabad Dist died of heart attack due to mental agony, over the delay in announcement on Telangana, on 20th Jan.

271..Easu, 40, lorry driver, belonging to RR dist, Hayathnagar, died of heart attack for similar reasons on 20th Jan, according to his family members.

272-274...Boddula Rajiah, 47, died of Heart Attack , Gattu Bhutkur; Village, Kannam Hanmiah, 45, belonging to Vadkapur, .Dasari Bhanu Chander, student, 17, Amballi village, all the three belonging to Karimnagar District died on 20th Jan, fearing that Telangana may not be achieved. Further, Bhanu chander stopped eating food for thelast fifteen days.

275-276Two persons died in Medak District on 20th Jan, due to heart attack. Ramchander Rao Patil, 65, Kangli ex- Mndl President, and Shanigaram Kishtiah, 55, ofNarayankhed., only due to mental agony.

277....R. Raju, 40, Gram Sarpanch, of Dasaram village, Illantakunta mndl, Karimnagar Dist, self immolated on 21st Jan, after initial treatment was shifted to Gandhi Hospital, Secunderabad, and died in the early hours of 22nd Jan. Etela Rajender, KT Rama Rao, N. Laxman Rao all legislators visited mortuary and expressed their condolences.

278..Dashrath, 37, an auto riksha driver, belonging to Nalgonda Dist, Suryapet, Chintala chervu, locality, hanged himself to death on 21st Jan,. In his suicide note, according to family members, God is there, Telangana will be achieved. Dejected by thedevelopments, he stopped working, and vowed to work only in separate Telangana.(Hindu)

279. Nagaraju, 28, a congress party activist, belonging to Nalgonda dist, Atmakur mndl, committed suicide by consuming poison, on 21st Jan, he was only aspiring forTelangana.

280. .Kadem Ramesh, 22, Nizamaba dist, Kamareddy town, committed suicide on 21st

Jan, by hanging to a ceiling fan. Highly disappointed over the delay in Telangana formation, took this extreme decision.

281... Vasigolla Gopal,52,Jan21,2010,by Heart Attack, Bejjanki Village &Mandal, KNR District.

282. Busaveni Nayakaiah ,50,Jan21,2010,By Heart Attack, Lingannapet Village, Gambhiropet Maandal,KNR District

283. Nalla Gangadhar ,25,Jan21,2010,By Heart Attack, Nakkalapalli Village, Dharmapuri Mandal, KNR Dist..

284. R Raju, 40, Gram Sarpanch, of Dasaram village, Illantakunta mandal, Karimnagar Dist, self immolated on 21st Jan, after initial treatment was shifted to Gandhi Hospital, Secunderabad, and died in the early hours of 22nd Jan. Etela Rajender, KT Rama Rao, N. Laxman Rao all legislators visited mortuary and expressed their condolences.

285. Gudisella Mallaiah,65,Jan23,2010,By Heart Attack, Garjanapalli Village ,Yellareddipet Mandal,KNR Dist.

286. Revoju VeeraBrahmam,38,Jan23,2010,By Heart Attack, Tangallapalli Village, Koheda Mandal,KNR Dist.

287... Karre Rajesh,25,Jan23,2010, By Hanging, Gopalpur Village ,Elkaturthi Mandal, KNR Dist.

288. Bade Durgaiah, 48, Jan23,2010,By Heart Attack, Koheda Village & Mandal, KNR Dist.

289. Neelam Komaraiah,55,TRS BC Cell Village president,Jan23,2010,By Heart Attack,Mallaram Village ,Bhimadevarapalli Mandal, KNR Dist.

290. Smt. Muthyam Lachavva,48,Jan23,2010,By Heart Attack, Mudimanikyam Village, Chigurumamidi Mandal, KNR Dist.

291. Munugu Karunakar, who committed suicide by self immolation , died in MGM hospital on 23rd Jan.

292. Sailu, 65, CPI activist, belonging to Warangal, Palakurthi mndl, Dardepalli village, died of heart attack on 23rd Jan.

293-294... Ravi Kanth 22, of Utnoor, andShankariah, 45, of Mandamarri, in Adilabad District died of heart attack on 23rd Jan.

295. Shekhar Reddy, belonging to LB Nagar, Hyderabad, with mental agony over the delay in Telangana formation, who self immolated by pouring Kerosine on his body, died in the Osmania General Hospital in the night of 26th Jan, after two days of treatment. Post mortem and funeral rites were done on 27th. Local MLA Mr Sudheer Reddy, many Telangana activists participated, and paid homage to him.(AJ)

296... Mogiliah, 25, belonging to Nizamabad Dist, committed suicide in Nizamsagar, on 27th Jan.(AJ)

297.Achipelly, Venu, 30, belonging to Jinnaram of Adilabad Dist, died of heart attack unable to bear the developments and delay in the state formation, on 27th Jan.(AJ)

298..Kaadivendiaju,S/o Veerachary,20,student,suicided by jumping in to Tank &drowed,Janu,27 th,2010,Pragathisingam village,Shayampet mndal,Warangal dist..

299.Domidi RajkumarChary, 21, belonging to Warangal Dist, Narsampet, actively participated in Dharnas, Relay Hunger strike camps, hoped for greter employment opportunities, suffered from mental agony over the delay, self immolated himself.

Admitted in MGM Hospital, latter shifted to Secunderabad Gandhi Hospital, but died on27th night. Important JAC leaders visited mortuary and paid homage

300... Vennavelly Shekhar Reddy, 20, belonging to Manoharabad, Medak Dist, committed suicide on 27th Jan.(AJ)

301. Balla Komariah, belonging to Kodimyal of Karimnagar Dist, died of heart attack on 27th Jan. (AJ)

302.. Karmati Raghupathi,50, Jan28,2010,By Suicide, Khanapur Village ,Sarangapur Mandal ,KNR Dist.

303. Chirra Jivan Kumar,20, Jan28,2010,By Fan Hanging, Gandhinagar, Jagityal Town,KNR Dist.

304. Danam Chandriah, a farmer belonging to Warangal Dist, Palakurthy mandal, Pothulabad village, died of heart attack on 28th Jan.

305. Shankar, a student of X class, belonging to Warangal Dist, Cheriya mndl, committed suicide on 28th/29th Jan, and died over the delay in Telangana formation.(Vaartha)

306..Badiri Ramulu,23,Janu 29 th 2010,MRPSactivist,Suicide By pesticides,Bhudhan Pochampally Village & Mandal,NLG

307. Suvarna, Inter student, Mahabubnagar Dist, Miraspally village committed suicideon 30th Jan.(Vaartha)

308. Shyamala, X class student, belonging to Mahabubnagar Dist, Guruvannapetvillage, died by hanging on 30th Jan.(Vaartha)

309. Shankar, 13, student of VII, belonging to Mahabubnagar Dist, Gopalpet mndl, Nagapur village, hanged and died on 30th Jan.(Vaartha)

310. Nagaraju, Inter student, belonging to Mahabubnagar, Amnabad mndl died by self immolation on 30th Jan.(Vaartha)

311-320... : Andhra Jyothi on 31st January reported that several people have sacrificed their lives, expressing disappointment in their suicide notes, and also demanding that

the Bill be tabled in Parliament. Further it reported that on 30th January, Saturday alone 10 more people have died—5 in Karimnagar, 2 in Nizamabad, one girl in Warangal, one in Medak already died one more is in serious condition. No more details are available. When will these sacrifices would stop is a million dollars question.

321....Gotte Kalyan,19,tudent, Janu31st 2010,by pesticides, Konaraopet village & mandal, KNR.

322..Bandaari shyamala,26,Janu31 2010,Cheryal mandal,Wrangl dist.

323 S.Janardhan,31,Janu 31st 2010, by pesticides,Sonala village,Bazar Huthnoor Mandal,ADB

324..Murali, 25 ,Photographer, Feb 1st,2010,By poison,Dubbaka Village & mandal,MDK.

325. ShaikAnwar , 29 ,Feb 1st 2010,By hanging,Choutuppal Village &Mandal, NLG.

326..GaddmidiRamesh,35,feb 01st 2010..Warangal dist..

327. Halavath Rajender, 17,Inte student, warangal Dist, Geesgonda mndl, DasruThand/Nandanaik Thanda died of heart attack on 2nd Feb.

328. Gandham Poorna Chander, 15, a student belonging to Warangal, Enumamula surroundings, died of heart attack on 2nd Feb.

329..Avaneni Jyothi, 16, belonging to Karimnagar Dist, Konraopet Mndl, Ramannapet village committed suicide by pesticides, on 2nd February 2010.

330. Mounika, 13, Medak Dist, Dubbak Mndl, Chellapur village died of heart attack on 3rd Feb, with slogans Jai Jai Telangana.

331. Rajitha , a student of X class, belonging to Nizamaba Dist, Sadashivnagar mndl, Tukkojivadi, died of heart attack on 3rd Feb, with mental agony.

332-336..In karimnagar Dist, 5 more people have died of heart attack on 2nd February—
- Elagandula Ramesham, 70, at Metpally; Bathini Malliah,52, at Bhimdevarapally mndl, Mallaram village, Ankena Babu, 30, Mustabad mndl, Turkapally village, Basheer Rahman 17, student of Jagtial; P. Dushwanth, 15, Gandhari mndl, Gouraram village.. All of them died of heart attack due to mental agony.

337...Dhood Ram,65,Feb 2 nd 2010,By HeartAttack,Pittalawada ,ADB Town

338...Smt.Shobharani,22,House wife,Feb 3 rd 2010,By pesticides,ADB.

339..Bhogiamesh,25,Feb 03rd 2010,Shayampet , Warrangaal dist.

340.. Nagaraju,23,Feb 4th 2010,by attempt with Kerosine flame on 1st Feb & diedon 4th Feb 2010,SultanpurVillage ,Patncheruvu Mandal MDK.

341-342; Lakshmi Rajyam, 32, belonging to Konaraopet, Lingiah, 45, belonging to Shivalingala palli, both of them belonging to Nizamabad died of heart attack on 5th Feb.

343-345..In Adilabad District three people died on 5th Feb. Dattu hanged himself, Ravi consumed pesticides in Bhainsaa, Mahesh died of heart attack after participating in Telangana Rally in Chennur.

346..Galipally Nampally s/o Narsaiah,50, Feb 5th 2010,by Heart Attack, Achampally village, Gangadhar Mandal,KNR.

347..Devarakonda RRamesh,30, Feb 5th, GandhiNaagaram, Warrangal Town.

348. Sri Yakaiah,38, Feb 6th 2010, Telangana activist, suicided by jumping from a building, Palakurthy village&mandal, Warangal dist..

349. Savidi Krishna Reddy, 50, Belonging to Warangal Dist, Maddur mndl, Salakpur village, disturbed by the incidents in Kakatiya University, on 7th Students meet, attempted to commit suicide, latest condition is not known (AJ)

350. Ramulu, 39, Feb 7th 2010, By Heartattack, Thandaka pally Village, Siidhipet Mandal,MDK.

351. Rondla Sathish Reddy,17,SSC. student, Feb 7th2010,by pesticides, Muppidipally village, KNR.

352 Chetpally Narsaiahs/o Gangaram,55, Feb7th2010, By kerosene flame, Kodimiyal village& Mandal, KNR.

353. Chrla Sudarshan,38, An Employee, Feb 7 th 2010, By HeartAttack, Koda village ADB.

354. Pawar Praveen,31,TRS cadre, Feb 7th 2010, By HeartAttack, Utnoor Village & Mandal, ADB.

355 Tari Goppula Saidu, belonging to Warangal Dist, Bachannapet mndl, West Keshavapur village, attempted suicide by consuming pesticides, on 8th Feb.. Latest condition, not known. (AJ)

356 K. Satish Kumar,20, a final year student of Govt Degree College, Adilabad in the early hours of 8th Feb, .hailed from Barmapur village in, Talamadugu mndl, committed suicide. He expressed his anguish in suicide note that while students were dying, politicians are clung to their posts for personal gains. (The Hindu, Feb 9). He is reported to have died by hanging .

357 .Savidi Krishna Reddy, 50, Belonging to Warangal Dist, Maddur mndl, Salakpur village, disturbed by the incidents in Kakatiya University, on 7th Students meet, attempted to commit suicide, latest condition is not known (AJ)

358 Siddulu, 19, belonging to Warangal Dist, Vardannapet mndl, Kratyal village

attempted suicide by consuming sleeping pills, on 9th Feb, latest condition not known. (AJ)

359. .Siraj Ahmad, 42, belonging to Adilabad Dist, Laxettipet died of heart attack on 9th Feb 2010.

360. Errolla Babu, 25, belonging to Karimnagar Dist, Kataram mndl, Gundraipalli village, having participated in Dhoom Dham programme, died of heart attack on 9th Feb, fearing Telangana may not be possible. (AJ)

361. Shyam Sunder, 40, belonging to karimnagar Dist, Chandurthi, died of heart attack on 9th Feb. (AJ)

362. addi Elamiah, 17, belonging to Nizamabad dist, Lingampet died on 9th Feb, by hanging. (AJ)

363 Srinivas, MBA student, of Vatsalaya Engineering College in RR dist committed suicide and died by falling under running train, on 9th Feb, according to TV news. Similarly one more person died in Sircilla, in Karimnagar Dist, details not known., TV news

364 .Kavadi Krishna, 33, Feb 10th 2010, By suicide..., Gudur Village BB Nagra Mandal, NLG.

365 .Sri. Sampath ao, 25, by suicided by..., Feb 10th 2010, Rangapu village, Mogullapally mandal, Waangal dist.

366. Kumari Pavani, 19, Degree student, Feb 10..., By pesticides, Siripuram Village Ramannapet Mandal, NLG.

367. Smt. K. Andalu w/o Srihari, 35, Feb 10, suicided by pesticides, Kallem village, Lingala Ghanpu mandal, Warangal dist..

368. Veera Swamy, 27, a businessman belonging to Karimnagar Dist, Jagtial self immolated by pouring kerosene over his body. He was immediately shifted to Hospital.

369 Sreenu Naik, 22, belonging to Warangal Dist, Gudur mndl, Teegala veni village committed suicide by consuming pesticides, on 10th Feb.

370 Krishna Reddy, 60, belonging to Warangal Dist, Chevella took poison, shifted to NIMS for treatment, subsequently fell jumped from hospital and died on 12th Feb.

371 Yogesh, X class student of Adilabad Dist, Bhainsa consumed pesticides on 12th Feb, and died in Nanded hospital. He worked very actively for Telangana and advocated to be prepared to give their lives if necessary, and he had put into practice, shouting Jai Telangana. Entire village moved by this act.

372. Mangali Bhoopati, 45, belonging to Medak Dist, Dubbaka village, hanging himself and died on 11th Feb.

373. .Mothe Venkataiah,45,Feb 11,Kondapu,WGL.
374. Mettupalli Bhumaiah,50,Feb12,2010,(Attempted suicide on Jan25,2010),Dabbaka Village ,Ibrahimpattanam Mandal, KNR Dist.
375. Kum. K.Swapna 17,Inter Student,Feb12th 2010 (Attempted suicide on 6 Feb), By Kerosine Flame, Sanjay Nagar Godavarikhani Town ,KNR Dist.
376. S.Parameshwar,40, belonging to Warangal Dist, Raghunath colony, came to attend Telangana Jatra at Hyderabad and committed suicide at secunderabad Rly station by falling under running train on 14th feb.. In a suicide note addressed to KCR, , requested him to drastic action for Telangana Statehood.(The Hindu, AJ)He requested further that the suicide note should be sent to Sonia Gandhi.
- 377...NarsimhaReddy,Sucide attempt on 14 th & died on 14 th Feb. 2010 In Gandhi Hospital,Vemulaghat Village ,MDK.
- 378 . Mamunuri Sandeep,22,Feb 15,Thahepu,WGL.
- 379.. .EdulaPabhaka,28,M.Sc. student, Feb 15, by Heart Attack,Jogampallyvillage,Shayampet mandal,WGL..
- 380..Aelli Srinivas,25,Degree student ,JAC member,Feb 16, by Heart Attack,Vardhannapet village,&mandal,WGL.
- 381...Dharmsoth Halya Naik,40,Feb 16,bandimidi Thanda, WGL
382. Kishtiah, 45, tapi mestri, belonging to Mahabubnagar Dist, Kalwakurthi, committed suicide by consuming pesticides on 16th Feb.(Surya)
383. Mallesh, 22, Ex-student, degree college, belonging to Mahabubnagar, Jadcherla mndl, Bodaparthi village committed suicide on 16th Feb, by consuming pesticides (Surya)
384. Jamli Bai, belonging to Medak Dist, Kalher mndl, Khajapur village died of heart attack on 17th Feb.
- 385Arepalli Sushma, 23, MBA Student of Osmania University, belonging to Warangal District, Hasanparthy, died by consuming pesticides on 18th Feb. She was disturbed by Lathi Charge over OU,KU students and on Media, and also fearing that Telangana may not be achieved.
386. Srinivas, 23, B.Tech final year student. of Private Engineering College, Warangal consumed poison Friday night in his house in Alair, Nalgonda Dist, having watched TV for a very long time and having been distressed that Telangana may not be achieved this extreme step. He died while being shifted to the Government hospital, Bhongir on 20th Feb.

387. Yenagandula Srinivas,22,Eng student,Feb 20 th 2010, By pesticides,KranthiNagar,Alair Town & Mandal, NLG.

388. Ramagiri Tirupathi ,35,Ex-Army personnel, TRS cadre, By Heart Attack Flat No.20-3-549, Surya Nagar ,Godavarikhani Town KNR Dist.

389Siripuraam.Yadagiri, (Yadiah), 19, , belonging to RR dist, Maaheshwaram Mndl, Nagaram village, self immolated himself at OU gate on 20th Feb(his plan was to immolate in Assembly premises), after initial treatment at Gandhi Hospital, Secunderabad, shifted to Appollo Hospital Kanchanbagh. He died in the morning of 21st Feb, and police shifted his body, very secretly, to his village for final funeral rites. His death has once again created political turmoil. He regretted for having voted to Sabita Indra Reddy. He was actively participating in T movement. He lost his both the parents, living in an orphanage, working in a small café on petty salary, and was helping others He strongly believed, that he would get a job in Telangana only.

390. katlakunta Rajeshwar.,35,Feb21,2010by Pesticides,Badankurthy Village,Khanapur Mandal,ADB.

391. Sri Sagar,22,student,suicided by.....,Vangapadu village,Hasanparthy mandal,Waangaldist..

392..Bhashapaka-Bhaskar aged 23 years died on 22,feb2010. He belongs to Gavicharla village Sangem mandal of Warangal district .He consumed pesticide on 20 th feb, He was taken to MGM hospital . & died on 23 rd feb .He kept a suicide note in his pocket stating that the SriKrishna committee appointment is a deceitful act to Telangana..

393. Eshwar, 11 a student of VIII class, belonging to Adilabad dist, adbd mndl, Pippalthari village, committed suicide for Telangana falling down fro tree. on 22nd Feb.

394 Swamy Chari, a Xclass student, belonging to Medak Dist, Dubbak mndl, Chellapur village, has been actively participating in Telangana agitation, disturbed by recent developments committed suicide by consuming poison in a village temple, before 108 services could be availed died on 22nd Feb.

395 Arige Saritha, 19, a student of Inter, in Sindu college Mehdipatnam. A telangana activist, disturbed by TV news, committed suicide by hanging in the house, when alone in the house on 22nd Feb, at Aziznagar, Moinabad, RR Dist. She watched the Tv news about Yadgiri's self immolation on TV and blamed Sri Rosiah, CM, and Chandra Babu Naidu in her suicide note for these suicide deaths who are obstructing the formation of Telangana..

396. Dasu,40, Rayaparthi, died of heart attack on 24th Feb.

397. Laxmiah, 28, belonging to Medak Dist, Zaheerabad, mndl, Motkur village now working in BHEL self immolated on 25thFeb, having been disturbed by the fast changing developments. In the suicide note, he blamed the Govt of India, Sri Krishna Committee, growing unemployment in the youth, immediately he was shifted to GandhiHospital, Secunderabad with 80% burns. Subsequently he died on 26th Feb.

398. Srinivas Naik, ...,Mar4th,2010, By taking pesticide (suicide), Husnabad Village & Mandal KNR Dist.

399Eedula Sumalatha,17, Inter student, Mar5th,2010, By pesticide (Jai TelanganaSuicide note in hand),Jabithapur Village Jagityal Mandal, KNR Dist.

400-401 Mamata, Aliyas Rajitha, belonging to Karimnagar Dist, Jagtial, Jabitapur a student of Inter, Committed suicide fearing Telangana may not be a reality, because of the delay being caused, on 5th March. Her friend Ramya, belonging to Laxmipur, 14, a student of High School, jumped in a well and committed suicide. Within 24 hours two friends in Jagtial Mandal of Karimnagar Dist died. The gloom prevailed in the nearby villages because of the death of two friends for the cause of Telangana, on 6th March. 402..K umar Swamy, 19, belonging to Karimnagar Dist, Elkaturthy mndl, Palakurthy village, committed suicide by consuming pesticide, suffering from trauma, Jai Telangana suicide note, rushed to MGM hospital died enroute on 6th March. Trs activistsand TVV activists of Karimnagar Dist. Visited and paid homage.

403.. Vadhuri Ramulu,22, DSC Candidate,Mar8th2010, By heart Attack, Vedira Village Ramadugu Mandal ,KNR Dist.

404. Sunil Kumar, 25, Journalist belonging to Warangal Dist, Hanamkonda, Pochamma kunta, committed suicide, by hanging on 8th March, giving a call in a suicide note to all leaders to awake and rise to the occasion for the cause of Telangana.

405. Sai Kumar, a Student of Chemical Engineering student, OU, belonging toNalgonda Dist, Kodad mndl,Kapugallu village, Committed suicide by hanging to a ceiling fan on 9th March. In his suicide note, he blamed politicians for the delay in Telangana Statehood

406.Naveen (29), an auto riksha driver belonging to Gouthamnagar, Nizamabad committed suicide by consuming pesticide. He also informed his desire to Sri Y. Laxminarayana former MLA who rushed with an ambulance. He died on 15-03-2010even before he reached Pragathi Hospital.

407. Palluri Venkatesham,22,March 22 nd 2010,By pesticides at Amarveerula Sthupam,Bonal Village ,Chegunta Mandal,MDK.

408.. Narala Thirumalesh, 28, RR Dist, Ibrahimpatnam mndl, Upperguda village, having completed Engineering three years back, did not get a suitable job. Srikrishna Committee would not help in resolving Telangana, at least his suicide would help in the process of Telangana formation, in a suicide note he expressed his grief, committed suicide by hanging on 24th March in his house.

409. Somidi Naveen, MetPally,Nizambad dist suicided for T-cause on 2nd,april,2010.AJ reported on 3rd april.

410. JettyNaresh,23,Teacher,belongs to Bapuji Nagar,Khajipet,Wraangal dist.suicided byHanging,Reported by AJ on 9th April,2010..

411.. Gatlakunta Saipriya S/O UmaMaheshwar,16, X class Student, studying in Korivi mandal,Suicide attempt on Dec 18 th 2009, but died April 03rd 2010, she belongs to Kanvai GudemVillage, KodakondlaMandal, Warangal Dist, Uppugudem Grand (mother'svillage), attempted self-immolation, with 50% burns, rushed to MGM hospital. AJ)

411/1. T. Sudhakar, Suicide, 12-4-2010 (AJ)

412... Dara Hari, 22, belonging to Warangal Dist, Narsampet Mndl, Maaheshwram Village committed suicide by hanging, on April 13, 2010,.in his suicide note he demanded that agitation should continue till Telangana is achieved

413.NaddiRamReddy, 27,ABVP activist,PG Holder,April 14 th 2010,By pesticides,Peddagundavalli Village,Dubbaka Mandal, Siddipet, Mdk Dist. apheniding Telaangana may not be possible,14 th,April,2010..

414...Anisetty Raj Kumar, 21, Warangal, LB nagar, committed suicide on15th May, by hanging. He was protesting against the attitude of some Telangana leaders who were supporting YS Jagan. He said in his suicide note that he would not get job in United state. Separate Telngana is the only solution for unemployed youth. TRS leader VinayaBhaskar and others gathered at his home and there was tense atmosphere in WarangalTown.OU JAC students burnt the effigy of YS Jagan in Hyderabad protesting his tour in Telangana.

415..Surya Prakash S/O Kamuni Yadiiah & Gonavva, 27, consumed pesticides on 28th night as a protest against Jagan's tour in Mahabubabad, Warangal Dist, but died on 29th May.. He was more distressed, because some of the vested interests in Telanganawere supporting Jagan, also discussed this issue with his friends before consuming pesticides.Achieving Telangana, he felt, would be difficult. He belongs to Medak Dist, Toguta Mndl, Kungal Village. In his suicide note, he mentioned that his death should be an eye opener to the Telangana Congress leaders in the State and Center.

416.Gopu Rajeshwar ,45 , afterviewing TV on may 28th night and felt that Telangana would not come . Later ran out of the house with slogans 'JaiTelangana,JaiTelangana 'and jumped in to the well.His body was found in the well on 29 th Saturday morning. He belongs to Ambati Village,Kuntala Mandal of ADB(AJ)

417..Nalimela Rajanna,36 , suicided by cutting his throat . Before cutting throat he gave slogans 'JaiTelangana' ,informed bylocals. He belongs to Bhimaram village, JaipurMandal of ADB.(AJ)

419.Venkateshwarlu, 18 , s/o Busa Sambiah,a studentof InterII year, Govt Jr College Hanamkonda,belonging to Warangal Dist, ParkalMndl, Kanthatmakur village, committed suicide by pesticides in the afternoon of 12th June,2010 rushed to GovtCivil Hospital, Parkal, died in the Hospital. Agitated by the stand of Congress and TDP who have decided to contest Bye elections,took this extreme step. In his suicide note, which was found in his pocket revealed" Jai Telangana, Jai Jai Telangana, .my life isdedicated to Telangana. I am sacrificing my life for Telangana. In the ensuing bye elections, Congress and TDP should not Contest.My desire is to achieve Telangana..

It is really tragic and pathetic that nearly 419 people have sacrificed their lives for the cause of Telangana Statehood. These deaths could have been easily averted if there were to be unity in Telangana political leadership, irrespective of party affiliations.

Andhra leaders, who during the last 60 years exploited Telangana resources, shown greater solidarity for perpetuation of injustices, and demonstrated unity of purpose, in the name of Samikyandhra.. The central Government cannot escape from the blame for these constant suicides. May God give all concerned, responsible for these deaths, wisdom to avert deaths in future? Our deep-felt condolences to the members of the bereaved families. We urge up on the students, youth and all others to restrain from such suicides & sacrifices. Let them fight for Telangana and survive to see, happy and prosperous Telangana.

We express our sincere thanks to Mr.N. Somaiah, Retd.DGM, ECIL, Mr DP Reddy of TDF, TRS, and others for help and cooperation in updating this

Source: www.etelangana.org

PHOTOGRAPHS - CULTURAL FESTIVALS OF TELANGANA



Telanagana Dhoom Dham in Osmania University Campus



Alai Balai after formation of Telangana



Bathukamma at Tank Bund - Hyderabad



Folk festival of Bonalu



Sammakka Sarakka - Medaram Jatara



Offering Jaggery at Medaram Jatara



Folk Performance of Telangana – Oggu Katha



Gonds Peacock Dance Performance

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Development and Society : Emerging Trends, Issues and Challenges



Sudhakar Babu Saripalli

INDIAN DIASPORA: A STUDY ON HISTORY OF U.S.A IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND INDIAN EMIGRATION

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Introduction

Migration is the process of moving people from one residence to another residence [Sundari 2005:2295].¹ It is a part of human experience for better humankind was essentially nomadic due to the lack of knowledge in the advances agricultural techniques as well as the sorting out the problems in the stressed conditions. According to the National Geographic Society²evidence (2005), this human migration was started from East Africa. These migration histories are hidden with truth for the migrant's individual development. However, migration may or may not yield good results. In this context, compared to Gulf countries, migrants to the US were somehow found to be satisfactory. Prior to Indian independence, the indenture workers moved to British colonies on the contract base in virtue of gaining high wages. The indenture worker had faced many problems such as existing problems, environmental problems; communicating problems have been highly experienced³. After the completion of the contract period, there were free to go anywhere. The individuals have sound knowledge on the above-mentioned criteria's from the colonial period. Soon after independence in 1947, some of the Indian migrants had returned to the home country and some thought to stay back there as host citizens. Nevertheless, the completed Indian immigration was found to be followed from the Indus valley civilization. Similarly, Indian communities migrated all over the world.

Culture and Politics: A view on Gond and Lambada Tribal Conflict*- Sivannarayana Bandela, Research Scholar, Centre for Folk Culture Studies, University of Hyderabad.*

This paper attempts to study different cultural aspects of the Gond and Lambada Tribe in Telangana State. These two local traditional folk culture communities have been used in their community people and others for their benefits since Pre and Post Telangana era. In what way the political interventions are making a cultural change in their lives.

Introduction :

India maintains traditionally been a place of diverse customs and souls. Integration in multifariousness remains one of the prominent standard characteristics in the personalities of India. Amidst the diversified community, a central part comprises the tribal people, the aboriginal occupants. The tribal culture concerning India, including its folklore traditions, permeates nearly all Indian culture and civilization features. In India, one can attain most of a different language, customs, and individual after walking 50 km under each heading. Besides, the tribal community is too very extremely discrete and varied. Tribal communities are the most advanced well-known communities in civilized history. "According to the 2011 Census Report, the Tribes of India estimate 109 million, including figure 8.6 per cent of the nation's entire population. Article 342 of the Indian Constitution holds a schedule of the Tribal communities that survive economically and socially deprived".

Conceptual Framework of Tribe :

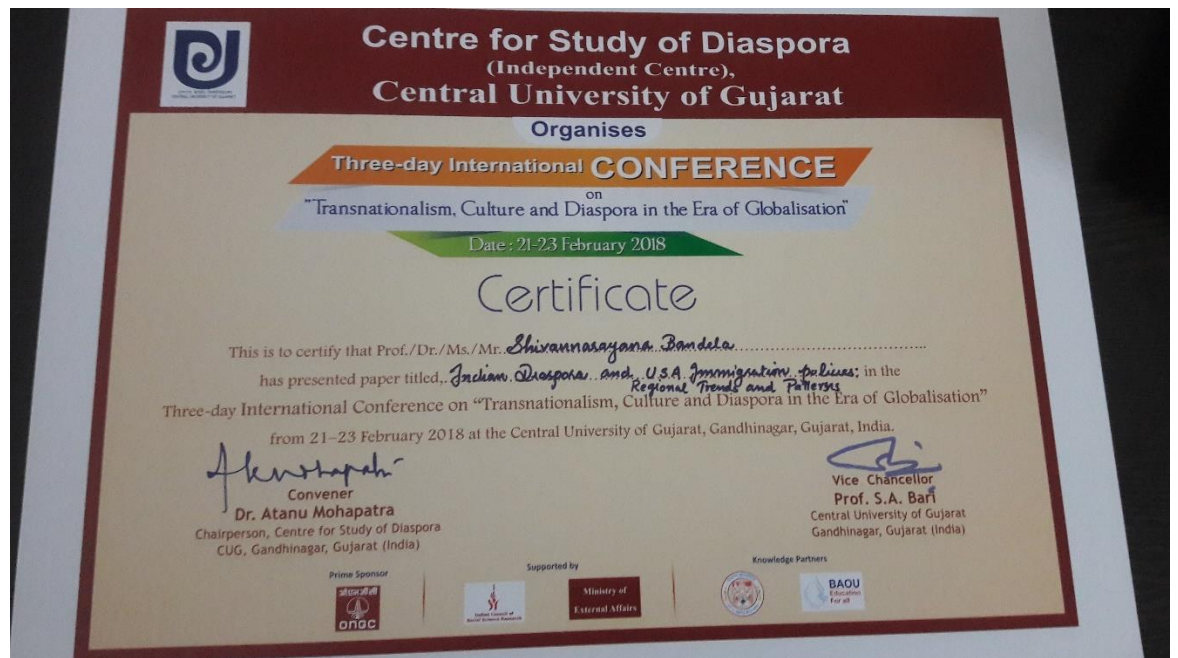
Knowing coeval tribal communities need a necessary recognition of ancient means that ought to circumscribe the way of progressive

reform also influenced India's commons, including the tribal inhabitants, which held uniformly controlled by the persistence of development: socio-cultural, economic, ideological and political under their manifestations. Considering the size of the Indian sub-cultural multitudeness concerning its personages, one can barely theories that those ancient practices would transpire as a variable to various characters. At the same time, their intercommunications with their environment, besides the socio-political factors, all might hold confronted from case to case. Here time, including the space structure, is crucial to guessing the tribal communities correctly.

Definition of Tribe :

To define the concept of the term 'tribe' is an old attempt. However, the attempt made by different scholars at different points of time often overlap. While defining, scholars have emphasized on universality, validity, and applicability of the term. The word tribe has arisen from the Latin word *Tribus*. It was appropriated to indicate three distinctions amid the ancient Romans. Following on, it was employed to denote the 'poor' or the 'masses'. The word appeared in the sixteenth century in English literature and represented a community of people challenging origin from a shared relation. However, the common ideas of the tribe seemed just with the augmentation of colonialism and the consequent evolution of racist customs associated with the characters of Africa and Asia. Before colonialism, pilgrims, missionaries and travelers to these landmasses talked of communities, kingdoms etc., and only espe-

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