POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS TELANGANA PEOPLES MOVEMENT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Mr. Jagannatham Begari worked under my supervision for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science, University of Hyderabad. His dissertation entitled **"POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS: TELANGANA PEOPLES MOVEMENT"** presents his individual, independent work, at Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad. No part of this work has been submitted for the award of any degree, to any institution.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work presented in this dissertation entitled **"POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS: TELANGANA PEOPLES MOVEMENT",** has been carried out by me, under the supervision of Prof. G. Haragopal and Prof. G. Sudarshanam at the Department of Political Science, School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, India and that this work has not submitted for a degree or diploma, at any other university.

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I dedicate

This work to

My

Late Parents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

Freedom is the supreme good, for without it development of personality is impossible
-Bertrand Russel

This study tries to understand the overall trends of democracy and people's movements. It attempts to conceptualize democracy, human rights, civil society, development and people's movements and see the differences, interrelation and interdependence among them. It also analyzes role of political associations and tries to analyze formal and substantive democracy. It examines emergence of struggles and traces evolution of the notion of rights, liberalization process and its impact on Indian Polity. In this backdrop it looks at the separate statehood agitations and more specifically separate Telangana movement in post independent India and looks at relevance of people's movements to a democratic society. It also looks at dynamics of an evolving democratic polity in a transitional society and polity.

Human rights and democracy have historically been presenting varied notions and parallel concepts but they are basically interrelated and interdependent. Democracy refers to government by the people, and human rights refer to universal rights that apply to all individuals in all societies. However, both human rights and democracy as concepts are dynamic and diverse, and both the ideas have led to a discourse that recognizes their mutual relation. Definitions of democracy have expanded beyond the traditional procedural democracy to the ideals of a substantive democracy. Likewise, human rights framework has begun to further develop conceptions of social, economic, and cultural rights, in addition to civil and political rights. Thus, the notion of human rights expands to human security and freedom at the collective as well as individual levels. These expanded definitions present opportunities for recognizing the convergence of the theories and fields related to human rights and democracy.

I

The term democracy has been used as a generic term and the term has undergone a series of changes in meaning. Democracy as evolved by the Greeks in the 4th century B.C. meant direct rule of the assembled people. Democracy was then widely projected as a

form of government which provided a just society.[1] As it entails a system which ensured the participation of the ignorant masses and decisions are made on the basis of the majority decision. This majority principle was not considered as a substitute to the system of rule by the Monarchs. After the American and French revolutions human society arrived at the principle or form of representative government. The modern democracy often equated with liberal democracy. It developed in the Age of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century in opposition to the divine rule of the Monarchs and the idea that all people are created equal questioned the foundation of political authority based on noble blood. One of its main concerns was promotion of individual rights. Its corner stones are equality, liberty, justice and limited government. This modern form of liberal democracy has been enlarged mainly by capitalism and its commitment to and promotion of individual rights. However, since democracy is used as a generic term it cannot be equated with liberal democracy. George Sorenson pointed out that democracy is a "dynamic entity that has many different definitions" as a result of which "its meaning remains subject to debate". Democracy has come to acquire the most widespread ideological legitimacy in the world as a form of government by the end of the twentieth century. Despite of its worldwide appeal, it is not free from controversies. This is so, since democracy is invariably a work in progress.[2]

The concept of 'democracy' includes the principle of self-determination of people and an expression of the people's sovereignty. In Democracy, people hold the right to set up any political system with their sovereign power and the people's will is expressed through free and fair elections. The citizens exercise their right to elect representatives and also the right to be elected. The people also have the right to freedom of expression, press and association. The rule of law is considered essential to ensure respect for fundamental freedoms and human rights. Unless the will of the people is satisfactorily expressed, the free elections and elected Government will not be effective and meaningful. One way that democracy could be rendered effective when human rights attempts to strive for human dignity and create human rights culture in society which allows people to develop fully.

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[1] Eva Erman, Human Rights and Democracy: Discourse Theory and Global Rights Institutions, Ashgate Publishing Company, Burlington, 2005, p.4.
[2] ibid. p.4.

With the help of human rights, qualities like pursuit of knowledge, development of talents and sharpening of conscience of humans would develop and satisfy his or her material and natural needs. Human Rights are based on mankind's increasing demand for a life in which the inherent dignity and worth of each human person receives respect and protection. In the language of United Nations, human rights defined as rights that are inherent in our nature and without which one cannot live as a human being. In this background, the interrelationship between democracy and human rights is determined by effectiveness of the state structure, the political system, enforcement of human rights and ensuring a democratic spirit.[3] Both the democracy and human rights are important. It is argued that realization of human rights is possible in democratic state as rights discourse has been barrowed from liberalism and rights are new to humanity as the evolution started from the ancient Revolutions against the feudalism and the bourgeoisie dominancy. These developments gave the scope for the United Nations Organizations and UDHR which are striving for the promotion of rights of all nations, institutions and individuals.

Since representative institutions of politics-political parties, elections, legislatures, etc.- have lost the initiative of responding the growing demands to the issues of redefinition and renegotiation of relationships are being raised and fought outside the pale of institutional politics. D.L. Sheth says, "Contesting in micro politics (grassroots movements, social movements, non-party political formations, mass-based organizations, social–action groups and movement-groups) have become significant in redefining nationalism and achieve national society".[4] He also argues, "When the global discourse of democracy has become unidimensional, the neo-liberal model of market democracy became universally a desirable model. In India a majority of people are opposed to it. When the Indian State has begun to link itself to the vertical hierarchy of global economic and political power, strong counter political and social movements have emerged in India at the local and national levels. The people's movements are very active

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[3] Antony Birch, The Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracy, Rutledge press, London and New York Press, 1993, Pp.45-46.
[4] D.L Sheth, The Crisis of Political Authority (ed) in Suhas Palshikar and Rajendra Vora, Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2004, pp. 70-71.

in different parts of the country for over three decades working on various issues. He further argues that "the long-term goal of micro-movements to democratize, transform the democracy".

In 1990s, many micro movements have aligned together and have formed larger alliances to protest against the Indian state on the issue of globalization even as they get in direct confrontation with the institutions and organizations which represent the global economic and political power. The micro-movements in India represent a varied and much more complex phenomenon. There are several movements in India like gender, movement against globalization, regional and sub-regionalism started by the grassroots activists. Thus, scholars like Suhas Palshikar argues that regionalism demands for linguistic states, autonomy movements and separatist struggles constitute an important terrain of agitations. Their analytical response is to treat all such agitations as essentially democratic expressions. The second type of response would be to look at such movements as expressions of contradictions among ruling classes. And the third response treats autonomy movements as expressions of ethnic identity. Historically, movements for the formation of states constituted appropriational aspirational democratic claims and only a mild transformative element.[5] Deepak Nayyar advocates that exclusion from markets at different levels: individuals, social groups, regions and nations, landless, illiterate, the lower classes, the handicapped, etc., who are at a disadvantage are subjected to systematic exclusion from livelihood. Deepak Nayyar further argues that exclusion reflects the limitations of representative politics.[6] The scholars who adhere to the theory of political development consider that the rising aspirations of the people are not adequately met by existing political institutions which are rigid or incompetent. As the gap widens between the two, it results into 'political instability and disorder' leading to a mass upsurge. The parliamentary form of government, as a political institutional device, has proved to be inadequate to continue or expand concrete democratic rights of the people. The movements and protests of people will continue till adequate political

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[5]Suhas Palshikar, op.cit., 2004, p.142.
[6] Deepak Nayyar, On Exclusion and Inclusion: Democracy, Markets and People, in A.K. Dutt and J. Ros (eds) in Development Economics and Structuralist Macroeconomics, Elgar Cheltenham, 2003, pp.94-106.

institutional forms for the realization and exercise of concrete democratic rights are found.[7]

In this regard, it is indeed to stress on the limitations of representative governments. It is necessary to acknowledge that the electoral process is losing out on credibility because of the ominous trends emerging in the conduct of free and fair elections. Unprecedented cases of booth capturing, the increasing number of election-related killings, the incidence of malpractices, and the uncontrolled use of money and mafia power witnessed during the last few general elections are eating into the vitals of the electoral system. The entry of confirmed criminals into state legislatures representing various political parties seems to spoil some of the grandeur and dignity inherent in the democratic image of India. The criminalization of politics continues to gain political legitimacy its unlawfulness notwithstanding. The menacing trends in the electoral practices are however not a threat to the very survival of parliamentary democracy because it is still localized and manageable. In reality, these drifts are expression of expanding nature of democratic participation. Hence, there is a scope and the need for participatory politics.[8]

To further comprehend democracy, it is essential to elucidate the concept of participatory democracy. Political participation signifies the active involvement of individuals and groups in the governmental processes affecting their lives. In other words, when citizens themselves play an active role in the processes of formulation and implementation of public policies and decisions, this activity is characterized as political participation.[9] Participation is manifestations of a collective consciousness of public interest. According to O.P. Gouba, within the political participation, there are two kinds of participations: conventional and unconventional. Unconventional participation is nothing but protest. It is a statement or action expressing disapproval of or objection to something. It is also an organized public demonstration expressing strong objection to an anti public policy adopted by the State and civil disobedience. For instance, signing a petition, attending a peaceful demonstration, joining a protest march or forming a human chain so on, are

[7] Ghansham Shah, Social Movement in India, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2004, pp. 26-27.
[8] M.N, Karna, Democracy, Pluralism and Conflict, Rawat Publications, New Delhi, 2006, p.11.
[9] O.P. Gouba, Introduction to Political Theory, Macmillan Publications, New Delhi, 1981, p.445.

parts of political participation. It argues public protest sometimes in a non-democratic set-up like passive resistance and civil disobedience and sometimes peaceful way. In the former, participation could be interest group activity, political campaigning, initiative and recall. Conventional participation includes voting, standing for office, campaigning for political parties ruling or opposition, organizing elections, public hearing, forming advisory councils and referendum, national festivals, republic day parade, cleanlineness drive, essay competitions, debates, forming human chains, illiteracy-eradication movements, community development, etc.[10] Since the study focuses on politics of participatory democracy, it is necessary to assess the notion of the freedom.

Understanding the notion of Freedom:

The word 'freedom' with its synonym 'liberty', has a strong admiring connotation and freedom also synonym of self determination. It has therefore been applied to whatever actions, policies, or institutions may be deemed valuable, from obeying the law to attaining economic affluence. There are several freedoms: freedom of choice, social freedom, economic freedom, political freedom, cultural freedom, religious freedom and so on.[11] Freedom is the constitutive value of European political life, in that slaves, lacking freedom, must submit to a master, while free men, being equal in respect of being free, constitute for themselves a government which secures order by law, and not by the unchecked will of a master. Freedom, argued Thomas Hobbes, is 'the silence of the law', and in this tradition, by contrast, took freedom has always resided in the ability of individuals, as judges of their own best interests, to order the lives within a structure of rules which are clear, predictable and known to all.[12] The issue of right is important because it has become the ratchet of European social and political development, philosophers and politicians alike make use of slogans and images developed from the contrast between slave and freed. 'man is born free and everywhere he is in chains' begins Rousseau's social contract , while Marx and Engels end the Communist Manifesto by telling workers that they have nothing to lose but their chains. Hegel argued in his

[10]ibid.p.445.
[11]H.P. Chattopadya and S.K. Sarkar, Global Encyclopedia of Political Sciences, Vol. 2, Global Asian Publications, Calcutta, pp.683-684.
[12]Adam Kuper and Jessica Kuper, The Social Sciences Encyclopedia, Rutledge Publications, London, 1985, pp.314-315.

Philosophy of History that a universal freedom has been the great achievement of the modern Germanic world. This doctrine launched the idea of liberation. But whereas freedom and liberty refer to the removal of arbitrary interferences with the way an individual governs his/her life, liberation was the project of removing all conditions though to frustrate human satisfaction. It stands for a vision of human life in which desire flows freely and uninterruptedly into satisfying action.[13]

Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek, in general, to be himself, at his best' is one of the pioneering observations by no less than a person like Harold J. Laski. There is no denying the fact that human rights are an essential element of human life. Without this, a man is no more better than a slave. It plays a dominant role in the process of humanization. Justice is a key word for every society and human rights are integral to the concept of justice. Justice implies fairness. Dealing fairly to a person is what justice is. There is upholding of rights if there is justice. In fact, without justice, a society is covered with darkness. According to Felix Wilfred, 'Human Rights are a question of regulating right relationships in society among individuals or group's relationships-which are humanizing, and hence fair and just. It may be said that human rights is not a new coinage. It is pertinent to evaluate the meaning and definition of the concept of human right. Human beings are rational beings and by virtue they posses certain rights which are commonly known as human rights. Since these rights belong to them because of their existence, they become operative with birth. Human rights, being the birth rights, are, inherent to all individuals, irrespective of their caste, creed, religion, sex and nationality. These rights are absolutely essential as they are concerned with the freedom and dignity and are conductive to physical, moral, social, and spiritual welfare. They are essential as they provide conditions for material and public upliftment.[14]

Mill analyzed the domain of individual liberty. He regards utility as the ultimate appeal on ethical questions. In his famous essay On Liberty, Mill describes a principle which argues that "the sole end for which mankind is unwarranted, individually or collectively,

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[13]ibid. pp.314-315.
[14]Manas Chakrabarty and Ruchita Chakrabarty, Human Rights and Indian Democracy,(edit) Anil Bhuimali, Democracy and Human Rights, Serial Publications, New Delhi, pp-53-54.

in interfering with the liberty of action on any of their number, is self protection which should determine the extent of legitimate control of the society over the individual". This principle purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others is own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant". Mill further regards that the society, whether on the plea of popular ethos or majority rule, should not interfere with the free development of the capacities of individuals to exercise their rights. If this capacity is exercised with courage and imagination that one may know the best that life has to offer only by an independent thought and creative power. Mill assumes that every individual has capacity for rational thought and action. While certain individuals might have greater opportunity to develop, the potentiality for such development is distributed throughout the entire population. Hence, Mill's emphasis on education as an integral part of the political process.[15]

Mill, therefore, regards liberty of thought and discussion as an important aspect of individual's rights. "If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than, he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind". Hence Mill's argument is that freedom of thought and discussion entitles us to hold an opinion with some confidence is the knowledge that it has withstood searching hostile criticism. Thus, the pursuit of truth is made to coincide with enlightened pursuit of self-interest. He pleads for free development of individuality, free from the tyranny of popular opinion and social customs. Each individual should be free to form his own opinions and work out of his own plan of life.[16]

Karl Marx has developed a cogent view of human rights. His writings contain only a passing reference to human rights. It is however, true that Marx has not written an elaborate treatise on human rights but on the basis of his early writings it is possible to evolve a comprehensive picture of Marx's views on human rights. Marx completely

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[15] Adam Kuper and Jessica Kuper, op.cit., 1985, pp.314-315.
[16] Prakash C. Sarangi, Liberal Theories of Rights, PGDHR, Hyderabad, pp.106-108.

departs from the liberal traditions in dealing with human rights. The liberals view rights as an end in itself and examine rights in isolation from the social conditions in which they are located. Marx rejected such an understanding of human rights. He developed an elaborate critique of the liberal argument and presented his views on freedom in opposition to the liberal perspective.[17] Marx defines freedom as is the ability to use labour power creatively as an end in itself, in co-operation with other individuals, under conditions collectively planned. Freedom consists in using one's own labour to do things that gives satisfaction. Productive activity is not taken under the threat of deprivations. But such freedom cannot be realized as long as inequalities exist in the civil society. According to Marx abolition of classes creates an egalitarian society and only working class can eliminate classes. But mere overthrow of the dominant classes is not sufficient but the working class too has to dissolve itself into a universal class or a classless society. Marx has completely rejected liberal theory of rights because rights in an unequal society would only legitimize inequalities. Of course he agrees that rights contribute to the destruction of structural inequalities but rights failed in emancipation of individuals from the power relations of the capitalist society. Rights are best granted only freedom to pursue their interests within the framework of capitalist relations. As Marx said, "man was not freed from religion, he received religious freedom. He was not freed from property, he received freedom to own property. He was not freed from egoism of business, he received freedom to engage in business". Marx, therefore, argued that real freedom ie., freedom to realize one's own potentialities through social support is possible only when a classless society is established. [18]

The study also intends to look into the notion of freedom. As Howard Davis observed, in contemporary times, the concept of "freedom" in a political context is ardently contested and debated. The definition of the term "political freedom" simply allows individuals and groups to influence the development of the law or government policy either directly or indirectly through public opinion. Political freedom is exercised both by the people voting in elections and by taking part in marches and demonstrations of various kinds.

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[17] A. Kodandaram Reddy, Human Rights: View of Karl Marx, PGDHR, Hyderabad, p.126.
[18]ibid. p.130.

These matters are fully dealt with by works on elections and in works devoted to the main stream of civil liberties and human rights law. Political freedom is characteristically conducted collectively. Of course, individuals can conduct their own personal campaigns, but political success and prominence invariably involves organized parties, pressure groups, corporate activity, charities, local councils, trade unions and other public bodies. This means that individuals rarely have personal control over the political causes they espouse but need to pursue them through organized activity and accept collective decisions on political matters. Political freedom includes not only speeches but also other forms of action.[19]

It is also postulated that human beings enjoyed unrestrained freedom in the state of nature. Surrender of a part of the freedom was a part of the contract. This surrender was in exchange to security. Thus guaranteeing right to security, in a way, has come to define the basic function of the State. It is precisely for these reasons that State has been given the power to use the force but the force can and should be used only the way that the procedure mandates. The procedure is evolved in pursuance of the objectives for which the State came into being. Therefore essence of any law should necessarily be the concern for the right to life and security of every individual. And every law is an expression of that part of human nature, which privileges the security over unrestrained freedom.[20]

The jurisprudential equilibrium rests not only on the nature of the State which is dependent on quality and character of the rulers but also on the levels of contentment, quality of life, the nature of social institutions and instruments of civil society in mediating the relationships in the society. However, it has been the human experience that the 'equilibrium' is never ever lasting. It is always open to challenge and therefore, the possibility of disequilibrium. It is not that the restlessness in the society is new to human experience. It has always existed in one form or the other; what distinguishes the

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[19]Howard Davis, Political Freedom: Associations, Political Purposes and the Law, Continuum Publications, New York, 2000, Pp.1-2.

[20] G. Haragopal and B. Jagannatham, Terrorism and Human Rights: Indian Experience with Repressive Laws, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.XLIV, No. 28, July2009, p.77.

contemporary means of expressions of restlessness are the levels of force and forms of violence. The invention of fire arms and their wide spread availability in the global market brought in altogether new challenges to the system maintenance. One of the significant but anticipated fallouts of these trends has been end of the State monopoly of force (which distinguishes the state from other institutions). In liberal theory the origin of the State is conjectured as a product of social contract arrived at through the consent of the individuals. The contract was necessary as relations between human beings were mediated through force and it was that arbitrary force in the state of nature that was brought under the regulation of law. It also maintains that every human being is endowed with reason and since reason is superior to raw emotions and uncultivated impulses it has been possible to arrive at the acceptance of supremacy of law.[21]

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II

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Evolution of the notion of rights:

The question of rights and its discussion can start with the origin or nature of the earlier rights? The theoretical and philosophical debates suggest that natural rights were the earliest form of rights. What are these natural rights? In simple terms, the right to life was the earliest right to be recognized or that which human beings became conscious of. This right came to be considered as an inalienable right. As Jacques Maritan put it, "the human person has rights because of the fact that it is a person, a whole, a master of itself and its acts and which is not merely a means to an end, an end which must be treated as such by virtue of natural law, the human person has the right to be respected, is the subject of rights, possesses rights. These are the things which are owed to a man. This "inalienable" rights over a period of time acquired deeper meaning and larger dimensions.[22] The consciousness of freedom and therefore of rights stems from the ability of the human being to confront the nature. For none of the other species is endowed with the ability to comprehend the laws of the nature nor can take advantage of these laws of the nature as human persons do. The inalienable rights called natural rights came into existence when human life was vulnerable and there was no protection whatsoever. Survival of life itself

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[21] ibid. p.76.
[22] G. Haragopal, Political Economy of Human Rights, Himalayan Publications, Bombay, 1992, p.4.

was a problematic at this stage. The problems leading to the solutions, resolutions throwing up the problems got linked with the nature of production. Then, he added, "It was this logic that led to the formulation that rights are not natural but social".[23]

The rights existed in a limited form in the early Greek and Roman civilizations or even in the ancient Asiatic civilizations but the beginnings of the rights as understood in the modern sense could be traced to Magna Carta of the early 13th century. The human history witnessed the modern revolutions that were fought by the people to assert their rights and liberties. In the process, they had to oppose the then existing orders and achieve their rights. The puritan revolution gave the Magna Carta for the humanity in the year of 1613. The English Revolution in the 17th century had shown how constitutional liberties were achieved through the bill of rights, levying taxes and raising army could be done only with the consent of parliament. This revolution naturally influenced other revolutions all over the world. The American war of independence gave the Declaration of Rights. It proclaimed that 'all men are created equal and emphasized inalienable rights, popular sovereignty and right to revolution. French revolution can be considered as a significant step towards the establishment of individual liberties. This revolution was against the absolute monarch of the feudal oppression of French aristocracy. It gave rise to middle class and universal values like doctrine of equality and it gave the popular sovereignty and right of the people to govern by themselves. First World War and Second World War further strengthened rights discourse. All these revolutions and wars have played an important role in the emergence of human rights. Further, Industrial revolution gave new momentum to human history. It gave scientific discoveries: like flying schuttle, spinning Jenny and power loom helped the industry to grow steady and Davy's safety lamp and cotton industry etc., and renaissance and reformation. They are mainly to maintain peace and order. All these revolutions, peace agreements, pacts and conventions took place.

In the year of 1945 United Nations Organization came into existence for world peace and Universal Declaration of Human Rights came into existence which provided the foundation for the modern concepts of human rights. It further strengthened universal

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[23]ibid. p.4.

values like freedom, equality and dignity of human being, right to life, liberty and security of person, annihilation of all forms of slavery and strict prohibition of arbitrary interference of State into the privacy of family, freedom of movement and equality of rights of men and women. Apart from all, there are freedom of opinion, freedom of expression, peaceful assembly, right to social security and right to work. In the changed world political economy, it was necessary to enact the international Covenant on Civil and Political rights (1976), international Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1976) and Developmental Rights (1986). The Vienna Declaration, adopted at the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993, further expanded the notion of human rights.[24]

This philosophical and historical scenario explains that all the revolutions and wars strived for the promotion of rights, upheld the dignity of general masses against feudalism, monarchy. These further encouraged other nations and individuals and institutions to fight, protect and promote the rights. [25] With this backdrop, it intends to explore the evolution of human rights in India.

III

Indian democracy: Emergence of Struggles and Notion of Human Rights:

There are scholars who argue that the evolution of human rights was not merely confined to western countries but the roots are there in Ancient India too. Ancient Kings, poets, writers, ancient Philosophers upheld the rights discourse. Technological progress too added to India's human rights evolution.

Mahendra S. Singh argues that large section of the society, particularly, Asia and Africa raised doubts about universality of human rights and argue that their concerns are different from that of the West and argue for reconsideration, rethought and redraw the universality of human rights which arises from Christianity. In India, the religious traditions such as Judaism, Islam, Confucianism, Buddhism and Hinduism spoke about the human rights and values before the west talked about them. He argues that a few studies on human rights demonstrate the relevance of religious tradition in understanding

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[24] John Charvet and Elisa Kaczynska-Nay, The Liberal Project and Human Rights: The Theory and Practice of a New World Order, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, pp-83-93.
[25]ibid. pp.83-93.

the idea of human rights. It is argued that the issue of religion coincides with the social and cultural traditions. Indian culture gives priority to duty and not of rights. This is in contrast to universal rights as they give priority to rights rather than duties. He further argues that Indian civilization is a surviving and existing civilization and its history witnessed over four thousand years whereas no other country on earth has such a long cultural continuity. People from different areas around the world migrated to India. Intermixing of so many racial, ethnic, religious and other identities resulted in the creation of a unique culture, which can be called broadly the Indian identity. Indian Constitution designates it as "the rich heritage of our composite culture". Apart from its territorial and demographic dimensions, the identity reflected in the Vedas between 6000 to 100 BCE and then onwards a continual flow of rich literature from Brahmanas, Upanishads, Smritis and Puranas. These diversities of India gave the scope for human rights before western Nations developed the idea.[26]

Hinduism in India consisting of oldest ancient texts of Vedas, Agamas, and Upanishads, continually stress on divine truth. They are universal and the religious beliefs are the way of life. The *Manava Dharma Sutra* (Treaties of Human Duties) address the existence of good and evil, wisdom, duty (dharma) and good conduct *(sadachara)* toward others suffering. Indian culture too stresses on selfless concern, charity and sympathy for the hungry, the sick, the homeless, and the unfortunate. All the human life is considered sacred, to be loved and respected. The other traditions such as Judaism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity and Islam together make significant contributions to the evolution of international human rights. Indian culture also stresses on values, normative standards and ideals; second, universal sense of obligation toward humankind, discussions about rights and duties. Mahendra S. Singh quoted Paul Lauren, "the seeds of human rights exist as much in the ancient Indian tradition as in any other, even though their expression may be different". The current usage of the Sanskrit word "*adikara*" is used for "right" and "*manavadikara*" for "human rights". The *dharmasastra* speaks more of human duties than of rights. The concept of dharma is equivalent to the notion of right.

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[26] Mahendra S. Singh, Human Rights in Indian Tradition: An Alternative Model, NUJS Law Review, Vol. 11, No.2, West Bengal National University of Juridical Sciences, Kolkatta, 2009,pp.148-175.

He also explained *varnashrama* and *sadharana* dharma. Though *varnashrama* reflects inequalities but *sadharana dharma* strives for truth, humanity, self control, ritual purity, uprightness, generosity, compassion, discrimination, forbearance, absence of envy, abstention from violence, freedom from anger, abstention from theft, restraint of the appetites and freedom from meanness. Despite its rather anemic social history, common dharma still provides strongest ideological plank from within the tradition to all those marginal, weak, exploited, and protesting. In the absence of performance of that duty, no right could be expected. He also argues that the spiritual aspects of Indian tradition, *sadarana dharma*, stresses on living in harmony with nature and other beings, not being guided all the time by self interest but caring for the interest of others. Indian tradition, Mahindra S. Singh, argues, strive for solving conflicts rather than creating conflicts. The evolution of the idea of human rights in Hindu religion has something to contribute to human rights. For that, political action required for the realization of human rights in India and morality is the basis of all rights and duties in all the traditions expressed in religious texts, philosophical writings or otherwise. Dharma in Indian tradition creates the moral base for the rights. [27]

The long tradition of accepted heterodoxy in India has many other sources. It is necessary to see how much heterodoxy there has been in Indian thoughts and beliefs from very early days. A Buddhist emperor of India, Ashoka in the third century BCE, emphasized the need for toleration and the richness of heterodoxy and gave the scope for conducting debates and disputations on oldest rules with the opponents on all occasions. Though India's tradition is dominated by male but still women in both political leadership and intellectual pursuits has not at all been negligible. This can be seen in Upanishads that were composed about the eighth century BCE. The arguments presented by women speakers in epics and classical tales conformed to peace-loving but they encouraged women.[28] Indeed, the challenge to religious orthodoxy has often come from spokesmen of socially disadvantaged groups. Brahminical orthodoxy was challenged by Buddhism and Jainism as well and their literature contains expositions of protest and resistance.

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[27]ibid. pp.148-175.
[28] Amartya Sen, Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian Culture, History and Identity, Penguin Books, London, 2005, p.9

This response is not only reflects human equality and captures the nature of the arguments used to undermine the claim to superiority of those occupying exalted positions.[29] The tradition of medieval mystical poets and the exponents like Kabir, Ravidas, Mira Bai, Andal, Daya-bai, Sahajo-bai and Ksema from working class who were influenced both by the egalitarian of the Hindhu Bhakti movement and by the Muslims Sufis and they argued for rejection of social barriers.[30]

In the history of India, Buddhists had a great commitment in public reasoning and in social progress. The Buddhist councils tried to settle disputes between different schools of thought and also addressed the demands of social and civic duties, and furthermore helped to consolidate and promote the tradition of open discussion on contentious issues.[31] The toleration of diversity has also been explicitly defended by strong arguments in favour of the richness of variation. Asoka and Akbar contributed to the public reasoning.[32] Indian texts include elaborate religious expositions and protracted defence. They also contain lengthy and sustained debates among different religious schools. Kautilya's classic treatise on political economy and governance, Arthasastra, is a secular treatise.[33] Since the renaissance, the Industrial Revolution and the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, most of the scientific progress has actually occurred in the West. But these scientific developments drew substantially on earlier work in mathematics and science done by the Arabs, the Chinese, the Indians and others.[34] It is not hard to see that the possibility of scientific advance is closely connected with the role of heterodoxy, The history of scientific contributions across the world-the experiences of Copernicus, or Galileo, or Newton, or Darwin-shows many examples of the part that resolute heterodoxy had to play, in scrutinizing, and when necessary rejecting, the views that are accepted as standard. Indian science and mathematics that began in the Gupta period (*Aryabhata* in fifth century, *Varahamihira* in the sixth, and *Brahamgupta* in the seventh) benifited from the tradition of skepticism and questioning which had been

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[29]ibid.pp.6.10
[30]ibid.pp.10.11
[31]ibid.p.15.
[32]ibid. p.17.
[33]ibid. p.25.
[34]ibid.p.132.

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flourishing in India at that time.[35] From the early centuries of the first millennium the State of knowledge in the world is altered. Indian trigonometry and astronomy influenced the world. In fact, Indian mathematics and astronomy had a particularly profound impact on Arabs and Iranians. These astronomical advances also involved sharp departures from the established religious orthodoxy. It is in this broad context that one can see the importance of the contributions made by India's argumentative tradition to its intellectual and social history.[36]

Akbar spoke for religious neutrality on the part of the State four hundred years ago. The tradition of secularism can be traced to the trend of tolerant and pluralist thinking that begun to take root before Akbar. Amir Khusrau's writings (fourteenth century), devotional poetry of Kabir, Nanak Chaitanya and others got support by Emperor Akbar. Akbar also practiced as he preached-abolishing discriminatory taxes imposed earlier on non-Muslims, inviting many Hindu intellectuals and artists into his court. Akbar was precisely codifying and consolidating the need for religious neutrality of the State. Akbar emphasized in his defence of a tolerant multiculturalism the role of reasoning. He arranged for discussions involving not only mainstream Hindu and Muslim philosophers, but also involving Christians, Jews, Parsees and Jains.[37]

S.N. Sastry argues that the history of movements is not a new phenomenon; it had roots in ancient, medieval and modern that could be seen in pre-independent era. The transition from the medieval to modern period resulted in an exceptional change in the Indian history. With the advent of British rule in India, a new era started which created ripples in the political and legal spheres leading to imposition of British political and legal culture in India. There had been a long history of struggles in India that fought against the exploitation, colonial rule and cultural backwardness. With that experience along with the impact of International human rights discourse, India became a major partner in human rights organizations, Covenants and Conventions. The framers of Indian Constitution incorporated the human rights values in the Constitution. The British government in India

[35]ibid.p.26.
[36]ibid.pp.27-30.
[37]ibid.pp.287-288.

had not only deprived the freedom of Indian people but they also exploited the masses and ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. As a result, there was a strong resistance demanding fundamental freedoms- civil and political. It is proved that the British rulers discriminated Indians in matters of their political and civil liberties and rights. They resorted to arbitrary acts such as brutal assaults on unarmed satyagrahis, deportation etc., against Indians fighting for national independence, equal justice and economic equality.[38]

British rulers also enacted some laws against injustices. Under the regime of British government in India several laws have been enacted though their interests were involved in them like Punjab Alienation of Land Bill of 1899 to check the money lenders, factory act of 1891 which sought to limit the working hours of women and children, Bengal Tenancy Bill 1882 and it also initiated western education, employment and government of India Act 1919, government of India Act of 1935. Developing the roads and railways were encouraged and helped the people to develop and led to increasing consciousness of their rights[39]. After witnessing the colonial rule, it became compulsory for every Indian about the recognition, protection and implementation of human rights as they are not only basic issues and freedoms but also inalienable for them to lead a civilized life.[40]

After independence, India's Constituent Assembly drafting the Constitution, which was enacted and adopted the genius of the vision, need, recognition, protection and enforcement of human rights which lied in the freedom struggle for more than a century which culminated in the form of fundamental rights and directive principles of state policy. The Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of state policy, newly added Fundamental duties, reservations for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, special provisions for Anglo-Indians and OBCs are important Provisions in the Indian Constitution from the human rights point of view. The study of human rights with reference to Indian Constitution reveals that the Constitution enshrines almost all human rights provided in various international Conventions, Covenants and Treaties, such as

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[38] T.S.N. Sastry, Indian and Human Rights Reflections, Concept Publications, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 41-43.
[39] K. Murali, Civil Liberties Movement During Freedom Struggle, PGDHR, Hyderabad, pp.7-10.
[40] T.S.N. Sastry, op.cit., 2005, pp. 41-43.

Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, 1966.[41] Since the study focuses on democracy in general and Indian democracy in particular, it is necessary to focus on Indian democracy and its success, progress and failures.[42]

IV

Indian Democracy: Formal and Substantive

In this regard, study emphasizes on the Indian democracy and it's Constitution. What factors made to have a Constitution with the values like secular, justice, liberty, equality, fraternity and dignity of individual. It also further emphasizes problems and prosperity of Indian democracy and the gap between the formal and substantive democracy. In this backdrop, rights in India needs to be emphasized.

Rajeev Bhargava maintains that democracy came to India as a freedom struggle against the rule of England for centuries. Thus, Indians came to have their own Constitution. Thus, they barrowed some provisions from liberalism. Thus, it argued that the character of the democracy, in one significant sense, just had to be liberal not only because of its commitment to civil liberties bust also because of its vision of equality and social justice. The predominant of cultural character of nationalism, its traditional proclivity and the importance of collectivities forced the Drafting Committee of the Constitution to move beyond individualist liberalism, in order to understand the tension between constitutive attachments and personal liberty, between group disadvantage and personal merit. All these factors shaped the character of the emergent secular-democratic state of India. The written Constitution of India is the result of both of the deliberations in a round table conference and of political struggles. Indian democracy committed to civil liberties that flow directly from acceptable norms of dissent and availability of political liberty within the confines of a liberal state. As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, Rammohan Roy protested against a regulation curtailing the freedom of the press. He argued that a state that is responsive to the needs of individuals and ready for intervention on their behalf makes available to them the means by which such needs are

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[41]ibid. pp. 41-43.
[42]ibid. pp. 41-43.

communicated and therefore, must permit unrestricted liberty. Mahatma Jyotirao Phule has struggled for education for women and development of agriculture, etc.,[43] Assessing nature of democracy in India, it needs to explore its peculiarities, constitutive characteristics and differences with the west. The idea of equal citizenship and equal rights was linked up in the west with unfolding of modernity. It was premised on the constitution of a specific notion of the self as an autonomous, self-reflective, meaning-attributing, independent individual who could act according to her own wish and will.[44]

 Modern democracy was established on the ruins of an Ancient Regime in which rights and roles of individuals were always predetermined by their location within their social hierarchy. Democracy could not develop without emancipation of the individual from the elite communities.[45] In India, the battle for democracy is being fought not under the sign of individual rights alone; but it is powered by the struggles of oppressed communities. Javeed Alam analyses how the struggles of Dalits, Backward castes, Muslims and Women have critically shaped the nature of Indian democracy, redefined its meaning, structuring the peculiar political culture of its operation. The collective claims of these communities have provoked violent social conflicts and dramatic changes in political alignments. Alam argues how social issues are inevitably shape the politics of India.[46] India saw one of the longest freedom struggles in the world. Its limits were those imposed by the bourgeois outlook and preferences of the dominant leadership. Nevertheless, one significant feature of the national movement was the constant pressure exerted by the radical urge among the people within. The anti-feudal struggles of the peasantry formed the most important component of the radical impulse. The other has been the unending quest of the most wretched in India, Dalits to overcome untouchability and attendant disabling conditions which have disfigured the social personality of India. The spiritual and philosophical greatness of India remains diminished to the extent that untouchability remains in our midst. These two struggles of peasants in general and Dalits in particular-also provide a link with the agrarian disturbances and rebellions prior to the beginning of

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[43]Rajeev Bhargava, Democratic Vision of a New Republic (in edit) Zoya Hasan, Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy, Oxford University press, 2000, pp.26-59.
[44] Javeed Alam, Who Wants Democracy, Orient Longman Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p.8.
[45]ibid. p.8
[46]ibid. p. x.

the nationalist phase in Indian politics, all of which were repressed with little or no sympathy from emerging elite.[47]

Javeed Alam argues that India has not totally failed as Indian system is different from that of western countries as India is the combination of the caste, varied cultures, languages and different religions and regions. All these are the barriers for Indian democracy to become an egalitarian society. In this context, one has to understand Indian democracy. For the past six decades, India has been relatively successful at sustaining its democratic institutions. The country has held regular elections; institutionalized a multiparty system and divisive politics. Along with these features people of Indian democracy enjoy freedom of speech and free media. But another side of Indian democracy is that it failed to ensure the provision of minimum basic needs to all its citizens, which leads to a denial of the conditions under which the equal rights of citizenship may be meaningfully exercised.[48]

One could see Indian democracy, at one level exists a high level of abstraction: a commitment to democratic procedures, free elections, free press, and basic set of liberal rights such as freedom of expression but the point is that these are subject to opposing interpretations. But the other side of Indian society is the composition of several castes, ethnic groups and regional identities, their demands are always based on the necessities of their own and they may not think of other groups or regions. But the culture of democracy gives the right to freedom of association, writing an essay and they can even question the state machinery. These methods give compass for the deepening of democracy. The complex issues raised by regional identities in India became weaker. Whenever India has tried democratic accommodation, it has succeeded. State subverting ethnic violence, in places like Punjab and Kashmir, has invariably been fuelled by the authoritarian moments in the Indian state. Indeed, democracy's biggest triumph is that it has proven to be effective-perhaps the only –mechanism for holding India together. It is true that one of the reasons for the relative success of its democracy, and its hanging

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[47]Ibid. p.9.
[48]ibid. p.10.

together as a nation, has been profoundly due to the cross-cutting character of cleavages within Indian society that has made collective action on a large scale, to overthrow the state, quite difficult to mount. But democracy has both brought out conflicts into the open and provided an effective mechanism for accommodating them. Author says that India succeeded as Indian society is 'diverse in our unities' which means in Indian society, each one able to imagine the relation with others in his/her own way. The success of democracy is not depending on the presence of democracy alone, the role of creative political choices is also important. But conflicts are a way of getting different groups to participate and there is an immense process of incorporation of hitherto excluded groups.[49]   Other scholars argue in post liberalization, the problems of rural areas and professions got increased, poor became marginal and rich became richer, reservations got shrunk, backward regions have been neglected. Hence it is argued that inclusion of excluded sections remained unimpressive. It is also essential to study the politics in early post-independence India. Though many sections participated in the freedom struggle, but the elite sections dominated the politics. Hence it is important to asses them briefly.

After independence, the bourgeoisie gained the leadership position to take part in the development of future India. By aligning with the landed gentry, due to its structural weaknesses and fear of the radical impulse in society, the bourgeoisie has become the leading force. It also noted that the large landed-property owners in India were the reservoir of the most conservative trends in Indian politics, with a surplus of coercive power, which often gets mobilized to beat back the people. Thus the bourgeoisie-led leadership chose the limited, western-inspired modernization rather than emancipatory transformation. It was thus forced to rely on western capitalism which has now become rampant with the drive towards globalization. This remains the problem with democracy. Whether it is poverty, caste oppression or gender discrimination, the disabling inequalities have not been lessened. The struggles within democracy in India are therefore primarily for equality.[50] Javeed Alam argues that if democracy as a value translates itself as a set of practices informed by norms and procedures within an

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[49] ibid.p.10.
[50] Francine and Franklin, op.cit. 2004, p. 4

institutional set-up, then the question is, how can it get transcribed in Indian conditions? If the people, being poor, cannot acquire education and remain ill equipped to accomplish enough in way of culture, then how do democratic practices get affected? He says India is suffering from both the modernity and tradition. As Indian democracy has to uphold traditional beliefs and religious sentiments at the same time also has to claim as a part of modern democracy. Hence, he argues, Indian democracy is in a dilemma. It is not possible to see Indian democracy as a success State in a short span of time. This confused notion gave the scope for the people's movements once again.[51]

Indian democracy is facing five drawbacks: they are; one, there is great pessimism among the people and disappointment with the institutions; two, leaders who occupy positions in these institutions lack principles; three, there has been a decline of morality in public life, with rampant corruption and growing of an unclean political climate; four, there has been a sharp increase in social disharmony and therefore caste conflicts and casteism have become the bane of politics.[52] Denials and affirmations form a complex amalgam in Indian society. A Dalit may be denied access to the village well or an upper caste house or even a barber's shop. Woman may not be allowed to regulate her work. Nevertheless, the vote of a Dalit or women is not less worthy than a Brahmin's or a landlord's. This distinction between social existence and citizenship does impose on the functioning of an oppressed citizen but does not impose on the functioning of a space for struggles.[53] It is proved that the large number of people in India is living under severely disabling conditions: poverty, discriminations, and lack of facilities to realize their meager wishes. To overcome these social problems, struggle is a means of enhancing one's capacity to function as a citizen. When people also become conscious of numerical strength, they begin to feel more and able to influence things in their own favour. Indian democracy could become reality when democracy with its struggles, agitations, mobilizations and electoral participation break the rigidity of the enforcement mechanisms of the social structure.[54]

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[51] Javeed Alam, op.cit.,p.6.
[52] Javeed Alam, op.cit. p.6-7.
[53] ibid. p.6-7.
[54] ibid.pp.22-23.

Indian democracy witnesses both positive and negative aspects for the past two decades. India has made significant progress in fostering high levels of economic and industrial development, reducing poverty, and promoting the general well-being of the population. During the same period, however, democracy, human rights, and rule of law have been undermined in several parts of the country. Ethno religious violence has flared up in many corners and the tentacles of transitional terrorism have spread rapidly. Rapid economic progress seems to have unleashed violent class warfare in some areas. Ethnic conflicts in various forms have become an enduring feature of the Indian political landscape. [55] Although India is a constitutional secular democracy, violent conflicts between majority Hindus and minority Muslims have flared up and became a part of the problem, that has been the way secularism has been defined and the level of commitment that Indian leaders have had towards religion.[56]

Indian democracy has two descriptions: one) optimistic narrative of democracy: this narration says Indian democracy is producing an ever-greater politicization of social relationships; the discourses of equality and the assertion of agency are spreading to more areas of social life; impressive voter turnouts amongst the poor and dispossessed suggest that democracy has wider social basis-in particular, its character is ever greater for non-middle classes; two) pessimistic narrative of democracy: this narration emphasizes the enormous variability in the political structure: the high and constant rise of new social groups, the high turnover of incumbents on governments; the intensification of social struggle, the rising consciousness of rights. All these instances not only say that success of the movement but deepening of democracy. Even if democracy, as practiced today, has not allowed as spectacular an improvement of our material conditions as had hoped, it has at least managed to avoid total failure such as mass starvation. Even though the progress in India's democracy might be slow but it has laid the foundation for more enduring inclusive success.[57]

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[55] Rajat, Ganguly, Democracy and Ethnic Conflict in (edit) Sumit Ganguly and Marc F. Plattner, The State of India's Democracy, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltomore, 2007, p. 50
[56] ibid, p.57.
[57] ibid. p.57.

On the other hand, there is the severe narrative of decline, or at least crisis. Democratic mobilization, while it has produced an intense struggle for power; the broad framework within which practices of popular authorization can be carried out remain intact. But politics itself has become an area where norms exist only in their breach. The very mechanism designed to secure the liberty, well-being and dignity of citizens in representative democracy in which the laws that are supposed to enshrine republican aspirations are incapable of commanding minimal respect. But in reality those norms and values could not come to be reality. Other side, India witnessed corruption, mediocrity, indiscipline, venality and lack of moral imagination of the political class. These negative aspects of democracy give the compass to be incapable to strengthen democracy and the political process becomes violent, the lack of any ideological coherence. All suggest that democracy has become a hollow shell.[58] The political mobilization has placed on Indian institutions to the point that they have been rendered dysfunctional, producing a crisis of governability. Too many demands makes impossible for the state to make anyone happy. This situation leads to the 'crisis of governability'. In Indian political process, leaders continue to concentrate on power. Sometimes, state actions lead to crisis in governance. The state itself has taken on the character of a trading company and most public offices.[59]

The strength and weakness of Indian democracy is reflected in the range of movements that India passed through and continues to witness. The strength lies in the fact that there is political space for the people to organize, protest and articulate their interests and aspirations. The weakness lies in the fact that the rising unrest is a result of failure of the formal structure of democracy is not able to inspire confidence of the people in its capacity to politically resolve the endemic tensions. This failure leads to cumulative frustration resulting in prolonged agitations. Hence, demands for separate Statehood are one such problem reflecting failure of federal political arrangement of power. This impasse in Indian democracy witnessed as there is a gap between the spirit in formulation of policies and in implementation. Thus, study focused attention in this regard.

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[58]ibid.p.57.
[59]ibid.pp.20-21.

One crucial element of both the successes and failures of Indian democracy has been the civil society. In the success of Indian democracy, the role of civil society is self-evident as an element in the political framework of liberal-democratic institutions. But civil society is also a part of the narrative of the failures of Indian democracy: in the absence of political parties performing the sort of interest-aggregating functions that they do in established democracies, a large section of citizens remain outside the scope of organized civil society. These citizens become object*s* of civil society action, rather than those participants in civil society. Civil society also plays the role as civil society associations (social reform), counterweight to the state (political party), the development section (volunteer sector) and uncivil society (Religious fundamental groups).[60] In democracy, especially in India, people's movements play a vital role. They include Dalit, Women, environmental movement and so on. Along with these, we have the regional and sub regional movements. Since the study concentrates on the issue of separate Telangana, it is requisite to understand the historical, political and cultural aspects of Telangana and social and economic conditions of Dalits, Tribals and Minorities.[61]

<center>V</center>

The Studies on Democracy:

The study attempts to review the literature from the perspective of movements, Marxist, Ambedkarite, democratic and liberal perspective. Out of all the selected perspectives, the study emphasizes democratic and Ambedkarite perspective and try to look at Telangana movement from the rights perspective to access the potential of substantive democracy.

In the book "Democratic Theory: -Essays in Retrieval", McPherson has attacked the elitist –pluralist theory of democracy as espoused by Joseph Schumpeter and Robert Dahl and the entire range of scholars of modern political theory as well as the utilitarian theory expounded by Bentham. He has pointed out that the traditional or classical theory of democracy was erected on a moral foundation. It saw democracy as a developmental

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[60] Niraja Gopal Jayal, The Role of Civil Society, (in edit) Sumit Ganguly and Larry Diamond, 'The State of India's Democracy, Oxford University Press, New York, 2009, pp-143-144.
[61] ibid. pp-143-144.

process, as a matter of emancipation of humanity. The elitist –pluralist theory on the other hand, treats democracy as a mechanism whose essential function is to maintain equilibrium. Under this theory, democracy is reduced from its humanist aspiration to a market equilibrium system. The classical theory had throughout treated democracy as the cry of the oppressed, their claims for recognition as equal human beings–a means by which all men could enjoy and develop their human capacities. The exponents of elitist-pluralist theory have reduced democracy to a means by which men can register their wants as political consumers in the market. In contrast, McPherson has developed a new theory of democracy based on a humanist vision, it will emancipate human beings from the constraints of the prevailing competitive social order of the capitalist world and usher in a new society which will promote 'creative freedom'. In order to understand the real character of capitalism he has pointed to the exercise of two elements: one is the principle of utility maximization and two is the principle of power maximization. In order to explicate this theory, he has drawn a distinction between two types of powers: one is developmental power and next is extractive power. McPherson has pointed out the conditions under which non-owners of property are denied of what is due to them. He has also explained about the concept of possessive individualism and simple exchange economy.[62]

In the book 'Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy written by Barrington Moore Jr. explain the varied political roles played by the landed upper classes and the peasantry in the transformation from agrarian societies to modern industrial ones. It is an attempt to discover the range of historical conditions under which either or both of these rural groups have become important forces behind the emergence of Western parliamentary versions of democracy, and dictatorships; the right and the left; fascist and communist regimes. The first part of the book presents a discussion of the democratic and capitalist way to the modern age as this transformation worked itself out in England, France, and the United States. The other part of the text focuses on Germany and Russia in order to show how the social origins of fascism and communism in Europe differed from those of parliamentary democracy. As part of this process new social arrangements have grown

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[62] C.B. Macpherson, Democratic Theories: Essays in Retrieval, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1973.

up in certain countries by political leaders at different points in time during the first half of the twentieth century. The focus of interest is on innovation that has led to political power, not on the spread and reception of institutions that have been hammered out elsewhere, except where they have led to significant power in world politics. The analysis of the transformation of agrarian society in specific countries produces results at least as rewarding as larger generalizations. It is a necessary designation for certain violent changes that took place in English, French, and American societies on the way to becoming modern industrial democracies and the historians connect with the Puritan Revolution (the English Civil War), the French Revolution, and the American Civil War. A key feature in such revolutions is the development of a group in society with an independent economic base, which attacks obstacles to a democratic version of capitalism that have been inherited from the past.

The first way through the great revolutions and civil wars led to the combination of capitalism and Western democracy. The second route has also been capitalist, but culminated during the twentieth century in fascism. Germany and Japan are the obvious cases. In these countries, the bourgeoisie impulse was much weaker. Afterwards a relatively weak commercial and industrial class still dominant ruling classes mainly recruited from the land, to put through the political and economic changes required for a modern industrial society. Industrial development may proceed rapidly under such auspices. But the outcome, after a brief and unstable period of democracy, has been fascism. The third route is of course communism, as exemplified in Russia and in China. The great agrarian bureaucracies of these countries served to inhibit the commercial and later industrial impulses even more than in the preceding instances. The results were twofold. In the first place, the urban classes were too weak to constitute even a junior partner in the form of modernization taken by Germany and Japan, though there were attempts in this direction. And in the absence of more than the most feeble steps towards modernization a huge peasantry remained. This stratum, subject to new strains and stresses as the modem world encroached upon it, provided the main destructive revolutionary force that overthrew the old order and propelled these countries into the modern era under communist leadership that made the peasants its primary victims. The

fourth part of the book focuses on India that desires modernization. In India so far there has been neither a capitalist revolution from above or below, nor a peasant one leading to communism. On the other hand, at least some of the historical prerequisites of Western democracy did put in an appearance. A parliamentary regime has existed for some time that is considerably more than mere facade. Hence, author argues modernization has been weakest in India. It is especially useful in trying to understand .peasant revolutions, since the degree of rural misery in India where there has been no peasant revolution is about the same as in China where rebellion and revolution have been decisive in both pre-modern and recent times.[63]

D.N. Dhanagare, in his paper on "Civil Society, State and Democracy: Contextualizing a Discourse" held that rise of several post-colonial states was the most striking phenomenon of the second phase of the 20th century. As new nation-states were born, the air was full of excitement, filled with more hopes than despair. In the Third world countries who had succeeded in their anti-imperialist struggle whether by insurrectionary, or guerilla or peaceful, non-violence means, were in triumphant mood. Their right to self-determination had been conceded by history; efforts were now on to proverbial democratic form of governance, held the promise to fulfill the aspirations of people. Competing ideologies of modernity – capitalism and free market economy, socialism, fascism and democratic socialism were directly the reconstruction of measures in the new states. However, he said, the ruling classes in most post-colonial states formed democracy to be too slow to respond to the rising expectations of people. Civil liberties of people came under a cloud as military regimes replaced democratically elected governments one after another either by peaceful means for takeovers. Dhanagare further tried to comprehend democracy and civil society: the Indian experience. In this, he explains politics of post-independence, political trauma of pre and post 1970s and analyzed the crisis during the emergency period and explains the reasons for declining of congress strength. He argued that to see the effective democracy, he says, Universities, academics in India have to play a crucial role. He feels it is high time the role of

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[63] Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in Making Modern World, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.

Universities as forum of civil society and independent of state intervention has to be debated so that ideas are crystallized for actions aimed at strengthening the institutions of civil society in India. [64]

James S Scott's "Weapons of the Weak" is both a political and ethnography study based on research, perceptive fieldwork. Its emphasis is on individual human beings in their particular situations. He looked at ordinary, everyday peasant resistance and the reasons open revolts are so rare. Scott feels that unnecessary attention has been paid to the rare occurrences of open revolt by peasants, and too little to ordinary, everyday forms of resistance and their symbolic and ideological underpinnings. He also stresses the importance of placing individual agents, in their particular settings, at the Centre of analysis. In another chapter, Scot analyses the language associated with exploitation and the ways in which the truth is distorted to serve class interests. The rich rationalize their exploitation and refusal to abide by the traditional dictates of community feeling by such devices as claiming to be poor themselves or denying the morality of the poor; they do not attack the shared norms of the village directly. Several case studies are used to illustrate this: the landowners use to justify sacking tenants; a dispute over control of the village gate; and drastic bias in the distribution of funds handed out by the national government for a village improvement scheme. Scott then goes on to look at forms of resistance that go beyond words. Scott suggests that the ideological superstructure must always be seen as a product of struggle in Sedaka village, not as something predominant. As for hegemony, he also argues that elite values do not really penetrate into the lower classes; inevitability is not seen as implying legitimacy; hegemonic ideas are always the subject to conflict, and are continually being reconstructed; and resistance is rooted in everyday material goals rather than a revolutionary consciousness. He suggests that this analysis applies to the working class as well as to peasants, and that there is a clear need to rethink concepts of hegemony and ideological domination.[65]

Marc Williams in his paper on "social movements and global politics" envisaged that changes in political, security and economic structures in the past decade have given rise

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[64] Danagare, D.N, On Civil Society, State and Democracy in Jayaram. N (ed) Civil Society- Issues and Perspectives, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2005.
[65] James C, Scott, Weapons of the Weak, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1990.

to speculation concerning the current nature and future trajectories of world politics. Central to this debate has been speculation concerning the nature of agency and political behaviour in the contemporary world order. Before he explains about social movements and global politics, he mentioned of other scholars' argument, that is, the globalization of world politics has significantly transformed international relations. In the context of globalization, it has been argued that the state and governmental authority no longer fulfill the roles they once did. In this respect, authority relations are fractured, consensus is difficult and new forms of democracy becomes necessary. Whether the discussion is couched in terms of the death of the state, the move away of the state, the end of sovereignty or the birth of a post-sovereignty world, recent transformation in the global system indicates the role played by non-state actors in global politics is immense. Within this new global political space specific attention is given to the role of social movements. With this argument, author tries to attempt to explore one aspect of current global politics and focus upon globalization through an analysis of the role of social movements in world politics.

The paper does not test significance of social movements in global politics through an empirical assessment of the role of various social movement actors but rather assess evolution of processes whereby social movements have attempted to secure participation in relevant issue-areas in international relations. As such, this paper also expresses the manner in which transformation in the world politics have created a political space for representatives of civil society to play an enhanced role in international relations. It also explores the extent to which globalization is fulfilling its promise of creating a global community of interest and influence. He divides the article into five parts. First part tries to briefly outline the key characteristics of social movements. The second focuses on situating the emergence of social movements in the context of evolving global civil society. Third part explores the manner in which globalization is transforming global political space and the implications of this development. The fourth part focuses on the activities of global social movements. It also tries to give the meaning to the term 'new politics'.[66]

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[66] Marc Williams, Transitional Global social movements and global politics, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 1997.

Amartya Sen raised in his paper on "Democracy and its Global Roots" the question of democracy in Iraq, America's view of democracy, and poses the question that, is it democracy? He has taken democratic movements in Burma, Zimbabwe and enhanced today's democracy which reflects people's determination to fight for political participation and an effective voice. He also argues that voting is not only the way, but certainly it is an important way of making public discussion effective and to speak, to listen, without fear. But he said broader view of democracy could be beyond the freedom of elections and ballots. Amartya Sen places "democracy" in the broader perspective of public reasoning. It has to give a central place to free public discussion and deliberate interactions in political thought and practice- not just through elections nor just for elections but what is required, as John Rawls observed is the safeguarding of "diversity of doctrines. It calls for "pluralism", which is central to the "public culture of modern democracy" and must be secured in a democracy by "basic rights and liberties. He adds "to ignore the centrality of public reasoning, the idea of democracy not only distorts and diminishes the history of democratic ideas, it also detracts attention from the interactive processes through which a democracy functions and on which its success depends. The neglect of the global roots of public reasoning, which is a big loss in itself, goes with the undermining of an adequate understanding of the pace and the role of democracy in the contemporary world. Even with the expansion of adult franchise and free elections, free and uncensored deliberation is important for people to be able to determine what they must demand, what they should criticize, and how they ought to vote. When he talked about Indian democracy, he opines that although India is facing many problems, it still is a democratic country.[67]

Jean Dreze, in his article "Dr. Ambedkar and the future of Indian Democracy" opined that the future of Indian Democracy depends a great deal on a revival of Dr. Ambedkar's visionary conception of democracy. He argued Dr. Ambedkar 's vision of democracy was closely related to his ideal of 'global society'. Good society as based on liberty, equality

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[67] Amartya Sen, Democracy and its Global Roots, The New Republic, 6 October, 2003.

and fraternity. Ambedkar as he saw it was both the end and means of his ideal. Another crucial feature which he discussed is that 'While Dr. Ambedkar was far ahead of his time in stressing the link between political and economic democracy, perhaps he failed to anticipate the full possibilities of political democracy itself. He thought that in the absence of economic democracy, ordinary people would be powerless. Also, he thought of political democracy mainly in terms of electoral and parliamentary processes. Jean Dreze talked about Ambedkar's understanding of rationality, rational thinking, liberation and close affinity between rationality and equality and stressed about the domination of Hinduism and Brahmanism, and also on the morality and social order. He further focused about social, economic and political democracy; he saw political democracy alone could not be expected to go very far, if glaring economic and social inequalities remained. End of the paper author talked about the future of Indian democracy and maintained that Ambedkar's vision of democracy failed to materialize but he said a startling variety of social movements have flourished in India, creative initiatives keep on expanding the boundaries of political democracy year to year and he adds that Dr. Ambedkar had a visionary conception of democracy which needs to be " rediscovered " but going beyond that, we must also enlarge his vision in the light of recent developments and also, in practical terms, the best action may be to revive the directive principles of constitution and to reassert that these principles are fundamental in the governance of the country because governments are not respecting these principles much. He further argues that people of the country, would follow Dr. Ambedkar's advice to "educate, organize and agitate which is more relevant than ever.[68]

Suhas Palshikar and Rajendra Vora's 'Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices' is a collection of sixteen essays. They look Indian democracy from various perspective and ways to expand the meaning of democracy in order to make it more substantial. It focuses on Indian politics since the beginning of the 1990s: the crisis of secularism, backward caste assertion, the volatility of party politics, and the decline of social movements. Democracy, like so many other important notions like independence, socialism,

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[68] Drez, Jean, Dr. Ambedkar's Future of Democracy, Indian Journal of Human Rights, Vol.9 No., 2005, pp. 1-9.

secularism, constitutionalism, equality, liberalization, was thrust upon the Indian masses by their enlightened elites. The authors suggest that democracy is a result of consequence of the persistent failure by the ruling elites to solve economic problems which severely expose their claim to legitimacy. Authors argued that the elites in India realized that the economic problems could not be solved without endangering their own established interests and further emphasized on Indian socialism. It was a notion that was neither planned nor implemented with the required capacity. It was propagated for sometime after independence but what has happened is that India remained socialist in intention, but remained capitalist by inertia and default. This closet capitalism instigated socio-structural changes on a large scale in an insidious manner, which has been animated and expressed by the neo-market forces, which has catalyzed the dichotomy of the existing pluralities, like Brahmin versus Non-Brahmin, Hindu versus Non-Hindu, Sikh versus Hindu, Rich versus Poor, North versus South and so on. This has the real potential of fragmenting the political system and giving rise to neo-fascist movements and lend legitimacy that they would otherwise lack. Further, they also point out that a key cause for the crisis of secularism is the fact that those who are convinced of its benefits for each other and never for those who are not convinced.[69]

The authors further suggest that Substantialization of democracy can be best achieved by strengthening the formal structures of procedural democracy over a period of time that will enable the masses to improve the quality of their role in deciding matters. However, this will not be an easy task. The exhaustion of the democratic structures to accommodate the burgeoning interests of the masses means that grass-roots and local movements are required. These local movements are always marginalized over time. Nevertheless, the crisis of representation continues to be danger to democracy. Representative institutions no longer represent voters, who have been short-circuited and corrupted by an institutionalized system of bribery that only renders them responsive to powerful interest groups like big business houses and extra-constitutional organizations like the Sangh Parivar. It is argued that neither the left nor the opposition parties nor the marginalized

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[69] Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar, Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2004.

groups like Tribals have been able to effectively mobilize the public against the BJP government and counter its communal and cultural archaism or its neo-market hegemony. At the same time, the middle classes are kept hanging between a perpetual fear of unemployment on the one hand, and continual expectation of fantastic rewards once the new economy booms further on the other. Even though India adopted a democratic constitution in 1950, democracy as both a form of government and as an organizing principle of politics continues to be a controversial concept in Indian political discourse. A significant contribution of this volume is how Indian democracy has survived the challenges posed by widespread illiteracy, poverty, secessionism and communalism.[70]

Rajni Kothari's 'Rethinking Democracy' is a monograph on democracy and it revisits the core arguments that he has laid down in his varied writings in the past four decades. Kothari interrogates some of his earlier formulations on democracy, state and civil society, developing a new paradigm on the basis of his experience. Kothari makes a critique of current democratic theory and practice in the changing global as well as Indian context and concludes that democracy has failed to achieve its objectives of human emancipation. However, he says, this disillusionment with democracy does not deter Kothari from searching for an alternative model for a decentralized, participatory and emancipatory democracy. Rethinking of democracy offers once again what should be termed a Kotharian framework of political theory that combines empirical observations, critical analysis and far-reaching vision. The author tried to conceptualize democracy in the twenty-first century. Kothari develops some interesting perspectives that seek to transform the current pessimistic questioning of the democratic way of life into 'an agenda transformative politics, and social and cultural emancipation. Crucially, for Kothari, rethinking democracy does not mean rethinking politics or the role of politics. Rather, in response to the challenges posed by socio-economic inequalities, the workings of the late capitalisms, the ambiguous implications of globalization and fundamentalist communalism, democracy ought to be more than politics. He believes that it could be a tool of social and economic transformation by extending its concerns from functional institutional arrangements to a multiplicity of emancipatory drives that encompass a

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[70]ibid.

range of human behaviour and activities from productive capacities to moral development. Democracy is effectively seen as a function of contradictory process. On the other hand there appears to be a resurgence in democratic faith among the poor and the hitherto victimized', as projected by grass-roots movements of ecologists, feminists and tribal groups. The persuasive arguments that challenge the myth of representative democracy in the post-cold-war era notwithstanding, some important points do call for closer scrutiny. Kothari's model of transformative democracy depends on notions of 'pluralism' and the 'masses' that are non-conflictual and non-confrontational. Certainly remains as how irreducible difference allows for the emergence of such a democratic system in the first place. Rethinking Democracy is a statement of mission, informed and informative. Despite his disillusionment and the contradictions of Indian democracy, Kothari is of the view that India has forged a truly democratic future for itself and recognized the need to think beyond the merely 'political' and tap deeper psycho-spiritual dimensions of Indian reality.[71]

In the book "Indian Politics: Protests and Movements" Mohammed Yasin and Nanda Das Gupta, raise the question; why the protests have been taking place in India? They trace them to the phase when Indian political system witnessed a number of protests and agitations expressing the dissent against unjust conditions. They also hold that the roots of India's growing problems of governability are due to, and resulting from numerous protests and agitations which are political than socio-economic. They maintained that any protest could never be a sudden outburst; the root is to be found in the dynamic interaction of the socio-economic and political system. As such, the causes of protests in India could be rooted in the major contradictions of India's socio, economic, cultural, religious nd political life. David Bayley, referring to the Indian context, speaks of six primary forms of protests: one, processions and public meetings; two, *hartals*, boycotts and strikes; three, fasts; four, instructional, fife, courting of arrest and last is riots. Generally forms of protests can be divided into two main groups legal and illegal. And they have traced the breeding grounds for protests in India with different orientation and dimensions. These protests differ in nature sometimes they recede with in observable

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[71] Rajni Kothari, Rethinking Democracy, Orient Longman Publications, New Delhi, 2005.

time and space without challenge to the unity and integrity and the existence of the system, but sometimes protests pose substantial threat to the existence of functions of the political system[72].

In the article "Micro Movements in India: Towards a Politics of Participatory Democracy" D.L Sheth envisages the relevance of micro movements in the era of globalization. He argues when the global discourse on democracy has become undimensional, purveying the neo-liberal model of market democracy as the one and universally desirable model. When Indian state begun to link itself to the vertical hierarchy of global economic and political power, strong countervailing political and social movements have emerged in India at the local and regional levels. These micro-movements led by grassroots groups of social activities, have been active in different parts of India for over three decades working on different issues, albeit all concerning struggles of the economically marginalized and socially excluded population of the poor. But actually in the decade of the 1990s, many of these micro-movements have aligned together and formed larger alliances to protest against the Indian state on the issue of globalization even as they get in direct confrontation with the institutions and organizations representing the global economic and political parties. In this process of opportunity to globalization, the micro-movements in India have begun to raise a new discourse on democracy and invent political practices, expanding the arena of politics much beyond the representational institutions of elections and political parties. Thus, the micro movements have been fighting politically on several issues concerning the poor much before they joined the globalization; it is the challenge of globalization that has brought many of them together on common political forums at the provincial and national levels and making issues of participatory democracy a part of their ongoing struggles. This paper also analyzes the discourse and politics of micro-movements and their role in reinventing participatory democracy as a form of social action and political practice, creating new spaces and infusing deeper meaning to democracy in the globalizing world. He has taken several movements and tries to assess relevance of politics of participation

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[72] Mohammed, Yasin and Srinanda, Dasgupta, Indian Politics: Protest Movements, New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 2003.

and democracy, how it could be useful to strengthening and deepening of Indian democracy.[73]

All these works reflect the theoretical underpinnings of democracy and peoples movements in general in national and international levels. Many of these studies looked democracy, movements from perspective of state, nation and territory. Thus, this study focuses on democracy and human rights from the perspective of rights and state.

Scope and Methodology: this study has set itself the following objectives

Objectives

- Conceptualization of Democracy, Movements and Human Rights.
- Assessing Indian democracy: formal and substantive
- Assessing movements and see the trends of strengthening or weakening of democracy.
- Examining the Telangana Statehood movement: origins, issues and concerns.
- Assessing the role of political and societal organizations in Telangana movement.
- Focusing on Telangana people's Movement and electoral politics in the region.
- Assess the Telangana movement: Territorial Versus Democratic.

Scope and Limitations of the study

Indian State has been witnessing the people's movement for long time. Though, there were movements in 1970s but they gradually started increasing from 1980s as globalization and privatization process has been initiated during this period. It is argued that the State is gradually moving away from its responsibilities and private sector is taking over the public domain like industry, education and health sectors. This negative response of the rulers and State led to spurt in people's movements like Dalit, tribal, women, environment, student, farmers, regional and sub-regional movements. Telangana separate Statehood movement is one of them. All civil societal organizations and political parties have been debating directly or indirectly over this issue. A few studies argue that

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[73] D. L. Sheth, Globalization and New Politics of Micro Movements, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 39, No. 39, Jan-Feb, 2004, pp.47-59.

in the region of Telangana, a majority people demand separate State, hence, it is important to study the movement to understand politics of participatory democracy in the perspective of rights of marginalized sections. This kind of study and research in Political Science and Human Rights will fill in the gap and provide deeper meaning to the study.

The study on democracy, movements and human rights is not a new field in the academic world. Several studies have been done on those issues, but it is in fact further studies on those areas need to be explored. As India's democracy is in dilemma its successes or failure depends on the nature of functioning of democracy. There is in-depth debate that is going on among the scholars in the academic world. The 'Telangana Peoples Movement' provides a vantage point. To asses Indian democracy and its formal and substantive notions, this case looks at many social concerns, commitments, grassroots participation from all the sections. The demand of Telangana also includes rights of Dalits, Tribals, Adivasis, and Minorities which helps in exchanging the scope of the study.

The Telangana movement is a fit case to understand even the nature of the State vis-à-vis people's assertion. In the process, the study also tries to understand the interrelation and interdependence among them, and try to asses how grass-root movements could strive for deepening, substantialization of democracy and ultimately create human beings with human concerns. They study does not claim that it has achieved it but it believes that research should be carried on in that direction. The study interviewed activists who are a part of the movement. To cross check the views of the activists, study has also covered rural opinion makers in the three districts in Telangana region. In each district, one village has been selected. Researcher also observed public meetings, seminars, protests organized by the activists of Telangana region.

Hypothesis

"People's movements would deepen and transform formal democracy into substantive democracy in terms of enlarging the space for people's participation and assertion of human rights, particularly of the marginalized sections".

Methodology

The study looks at agitation that espoused the cause of Telangana and the methods that it adopted either as a part of the movement or parallel to the movement. The study covered cross section of the people that include political leaders, academicians and several activists. The secondary data includes various articles published in journals, Internet, regional and national news papers. Study also used exploratory methods, open-ended questionnaire and purposive sample to elicit relevant information. The Study interviewed the respondents from urban and rural Telangana, the limitations being that it interviewed only the opinion makers from three districts in the region; viz; Karim Nagar, Medak and Mahaboob Nagar but not the people. The villages covered are Huggelli from Medak, Venkat Rao palli. From Karim Nagar and Bandla Guda from Mahabbob Nagar districts. The districts are selected based on purposive sampling of opinion makers as they represent varied levels of involvement in the Telangana Movement. Venkarrao Pally from Karim Nagar district consists of three thousand population that passed through bye-elections twice suggesting peoples support in favour of the movement. Bandamedi Palli village consists of two thousand population and close to Mahaboob Nagar town. The involvement comparatively is marginal. Huggelli village in Medak district close to Hyderabad city has deeper involvement. Important leaders of Telangana movement from 1960s till today hail from this district. This, it is hoped, will give a fairly representative view of public opinion and also participation.

Chapterization

Introduction.

One chapter focuses on Democracy and Human Rights: Concept and Context.

Second chapter explores Politics of Participation: Deepening of Democracy.

Third chapter focuses on Indian Democracy: Vitalities and Vulnerabilities.

Fourth chapter deals with the Separate Telangana Movement: The Demand for Statehood.

Fifth chapter emphasizes on the Separate Telangana Movement: The Demand for Democratic Rights.

Last chapter presents findings and trends of the movement.

Democracy and Human Rights: Concept and Context

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

-Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Article 1.

The previous chapter tried to give overall view of democracy, development and rights by analyzing the evolution of rights from historical perspective and tried to assess the evolution of rights in Ancient India and tried to asses Indian democracy: formal and substantive briefly. To contextualize those concepts, this chapter tries to comprehend the essence of people's movements and their impact on democracy. It is intended to focus the theoretical concepts of liberal democracy, human rights, development and inter-connection among them. This chapter attempts to see the notion of democracy in a critical manner. The study intends to focus on Bentham's utilitarianism and Rawlsian theory of justice to assess the concept of individual and collective. This study analyses also further several perspectives of democracies: liberal, feminist and neo-liberal. It also focuses on human rights, their evolution and human rights movement in India, its prospects and challenges.

Before contextualizing the concepts of democracy and human rights, it is necessary to look the interconnection and interdependence between these two concepts: both have historically been regarded as distinct concerns, occupying different areas of the political sphere: one a matter of organization of government, the other a question of individual rights and their defense. When one speaks of democracy, one has to think of institutional arrangements such as periodic elections, multi party system, separation of powers and independent judiciary. These are essentially matters of constitutional order, the organization of public power. Human rights, on the other hand, take individual as their point of reference and ensure to guarantee individuals the minimum necessary conditions for freedom to pursue once own interests. Moreover, as the term 'human' implies that such rights have always been defined as universal in their scope and subject to international definition and regulation, whereas the constitutional arrangements of

government have traditionally been regarded as entirely an internal matter of the sovereign state. One has to explore the possibilities of stiching them together. It is often said that democracy is the system of government, 'most likely' to defend human rights, while democracy needs to be 'supplemented' by human rights. The core idea of democracy is that of popular control over collective decision-making. Its starting point is with the citizen rather than with the institutions of government. Its defining principles are that all citizens are entitled to participate in public affairs through the associations of civil society and through participation in government, and that this entitlement should be available on terms of equality to all. Control by citizens over their collective affairs and equality between citizens in the exercise of that control are basic to any democratic system.[1]

It is understood that Civil and political rights constitute an integral part of democracy and without them no liberal democracy can be thought of. The absence of freedoms of speech, association, assembly and movement, would make elections a facade rendering any political control over government impossible. Economic and social rights complete the notion of democracy. The widespread absence of economic and social rights lead to erosion of civil and political equality and the quality of life which may endanger viability of democratic institutions themselves. Democracy, on the other hand, constitutes a necessary if not sufficient condition for the protection of economic and social rights. The defense of cultural rights, finally, in the context of multi cultural societies, requires a re-evaluated conception of democracy and its procedures. Democracy in the contemporary age has to be understood not merely as political democracy, but social and pluralist democracy as well.[2]

Human rights constitute an intrinsic part of democracy, because guarantees of basic freedom are a necessary condition for people's voice to be effective in public affairs, and also to secure popular control over government. There are still deeper levels through which democracy and human rights are connected and that is in the assumptions about

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[1] J Norman, Human Rights and Democracy: Conceptualization and Application in Palestine, July 2005, Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group (PHRMG), July p. 5

[2] Eva Erman, Human Rights and Democracy, British Library Cataloguing Publication Data, London, 2005, p.4.

human nature on which their justification is founded. The philosophical justification for human rights agenda is based on an identification of the needs and capacities common to all humans, whatever may be the differences between them. In particular, the so-called liberty rights-to personal freedom, to the freedoms of thought and conscience. Democratic rights presuppose the same capacity in matters affecting the common or collective life. The right to vote or to stand for public office assumes capacity to take part in deliberation about the public, as well as one's private interests.[3]

Ramashray Roy argues that the idea of democracy and its expression in certain political institutions and practices today has taken definite shape though not all at once. These institutions and practices have developed over a long historical time spanning over about 2, 500 years. This long span of time has been marked, in many ways, by evolution and revolutions. They have affected rather profoundly the process of development of political ideas, institutions and practices. The changes occurring in the process of history meant succession of one historical era by another. The changes of historical era one after another brought to the fore certain forces that, in turn, deeply influenced the core ideas of democracy as it had developed in the Greek city-states in the fifth century BC. This core idea was transformed through process of segmentation and accretion. This means, first, that certain fundamental aspects of the democratic idea integral to Greek democracy were either dropped or modified beyond recognition. Second, certain other ideas appearing in different historical eras were added to the core idea of Greek democracy. The modern idea of democracy and its institutional expression are a result of this process of segmentation and accretion.[4] Hence it is necessary to define democracy.

The term democracy as rule by the people may sound innocently straightforward, but it immediately raises a number of complex issues. Who are to be considered 'the people'? What kind of participation is envisaged for them? What conditions are assumed to be conducive to participation? How broadly or narrowly is the scope of rule to be construed? If rule is to cover the political, what does this mean? It readily appears that a discussion

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[3] Ramashray Roy, Democracy in India: Form and Substance, Shipra Publications, New Delhi, 2005,p..4.
[4]ibid. p. 26.

of democracy must involve not only the theory about possible ways of organizing rule by the people but also philosophy about what ought to be (that is, the best way of constructing government) and an understanding of the practical experiences with the ways in which government has been organized in different societies at different times. [5]

Arthur Mac Ewan viewed democracy as the basis for an economic development along with political democracy. Political democracy is usually understood as elections, civil liberties and the right to organize. But beyond these essential forms of democracy (formal), there is something more than that, it is substantial democracy which enables people to participate in decisions about the effective exercise of political power over their economic lives. A democratic strategy also believes that benefits of development should go to the population generally and thereby enhance their power. As economic growth increases, goods and services increase and are available to people. It also involves something more important among them are the basic standards of living of great majority of the people, equal distribution of income; the maintenance and strengthening of social community about political, social and economic affairs.[6]

Different approaches to democracy

To understand the democracy, approaches to democracy need to be analyzed. There are broadly three approaches. One approach could be external and instrumental approach or political approach. It asks: what are the properties of this kind of political regime? How does it arise and maintain itself? This approach exists in several variants and concentrates on an existing designated set of concrete institutions, mechanisms, and political structures and investigates various properties. The second approach focuses not on such relatively instrumental advantages but on the purportedly inherent normal superiority of democratic procedures. It has become a part of the common phenomenon of adulatory self-description on the part of 'democracies'. According to moral right, a person be free and self-legislating and avoid such dependence on the will of others. The only way to avoid such dependence on a complex society is by a process in which people institute self-legislating political systems. Democracy deserves moral approval as in a democracy the

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[5] David Beetham, 2007, Op.cit. pp. 2-3.
[6] Arthur Mac Ewan, Neo Liberlism or Democracy: Economic Strategy, Markets and Alternatives for the 21st Century, Zed Books publications, London, 1999, pp. 2-3.

people have the political power and they form a self-legislating community by themselves. The third approach to democracy is one which comes in the modern period, pioneered by John Dewey. This approach emphasizes the epistemological significance of democracy as a form of organization of collective action. Among these three approaches, two approaches are based on inherent superiority based on democratic procedure and the last approach deals with the institutional and mechanical aspects with a focus on the collective action of association. [7]

Concept of Democracy: Different Perspectives

Joseph Schumpeter formulated the narrow concept of democracy. For him democracy was simply a political method and a mechanism for choosing political leadership. The citizens are given a choice among rival political leaders competing for their votes. After the elections, those who get elected will take part in the decision-making. If people are not satisfied with the performance of their representatives, they can replace then in the next elections. This ability of choosing the leaders among the contestants in elections is characterized as democracy. In Schumpeter's words, "the democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of competitive struggles for the people's vote. At the opposite end of the spectrum, we have a comprehensive notion of democracy suggested by David Held. Held combined insights of the liberal and Marxist traditions in order to arrive at a meaning of democracy that supports a basic principle of autonomy. He called it as democratic autonomy that requires both a high degree of accountability of the state and a democratic reordering of civil society. It foresees substantial direct participation in local community institutions as well as self-management of cooperatively owned enterprises. It calls for a bill of rights that goes beyond the right to cast a vote to include equal opportunity for participation and for discovering individual preferences as well as citizen's final control of the political agenda. It also includes the social and economic rights to ensure adequate resources for democratic autonomy. George Sorenson argues that "without social and economic rights, rights with respect to the state could not be fully

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[7]Adam Przeworski, Susan C.Stokes and Bernard Manin.. Democracy, Accountability and Representation, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, pp.280-281.

enjoyed; and without state, new forms of inequality of power, wealth and status could systematically disrupt the implementation of social and economic liberties". The narrow notion of political democracy suggested by Schumpeter and the extremely comprehensive understanding presented by David Held lies in the debate about what democracy is and what it ought to be. In narrow concept of democracy it is just about political but in comprehensive concept not only political but social and economic.[8]

A contribution by Robert A. Dahl is helpful in defining democracy as a political system. He emphasized the responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens, as considered them as political equals. In his view, it is a key characteristic of democracy. Such responsiveness requires that citizens must have opportunities to formulate their preferences, signify their preferences to their fellow citizens and the government by individual and collective action, and have their preferences weighed equally in the conduct of the government. These three opportunities, in turn, are dependent on the following institutional guarantees: Freedom to form and join associations, freedom of expression, right to vote, eligibility for public office, and right of political leaders to compete for votes, and free and fair elections. Policy making of government always depends on people's expressions of preferences through the voting. When these conditions are met, then, it could be argued that we have a political democracy. Based on their argument, it is understood that Schumpeter promoted political democracy whereas David Held emphasized not only political but also socio-economic democracy as well for participatory, inclusive and creative democracy. Out of these perceptions, study intended to take David Held's principles as the main bases to understand the people's participation or peoples movements in democratic culture. In formulating of policies, people's involvement is necessary.[9] In recent contribution, Robert Dahl stated that modern corporate capitalism tends to "produce inequalities in social and economic resources so great as to bring about severe violations of political equality and hence of the democratic

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[8] George, Sorenson, Democracy and Democratization, Westview Press, Oxford, 1998, pp.9-11.
[9] ibid. pp.3-5.

process. This view of the need to extend democratic decision-making beyond government, to economic and social life assumes considerable importance.[10]

Democracy can also be understood as a procedure for taking decisions in any group, association or society, whereby all members have an equal right to say and express their opinions. It encourages collective decisions at any level from the smallest group to society as a whole. Some times members may disagree with each other. Hence, procedure or decisional rule required to determine how such disagreements should be resolved, and who is allowed to take part in doing so. In most associational life, throughout the human history, the vast majority of those affected by collective decisions have been excluded from any participation in them. Decisions have been preserved by a very few people like the wisest, the oldest, the wealthiest, an expert, or physically strong at their disposal to coerce the rest. As forms of societal rule or government, these examples of rule by few have carried distinctive names such as aristocracy, meritocracy, oligarchy, and so on. And where decisions have been the preserve of a single individual, the system has historically been called a monarchy. With this kind of democracy, there is a scope for individual liberty, no scope for association, no scope for public meetings, debates and discussions. Politicians keep silence though there exists lot of corruption. In contrast to these, democracy involves the principle that all members of an association should have to take part equally in the decisions that affect them. Hence it could be the only solution that people want to choose participatory democracy where in democratic culture can be brought to create ideal society.[11]

David Beetham proposed key ideas of democracy: they are; one, all members have interests that are affected by collective decisions; two, everyone (adults) is capable of taking a view about what the best or least bad decision would be, both for themselves and for the association as a whole; three, the best decisions over the long run will be ones where all such views have been publicly debated; four, where debate and discussion fail to produce a single agreed outcome, decisions should be taken by a vote of all

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[10]ibid. pp.9-11.
[11] David Beetham, Democracy: A Beginner's Guide, Oneworld Publications, Oxford, 2006, p. 2.

participating members; five, the principle of 'one person, one vote, and one value' reflects a wider conception that all persons are of equal worth.[12] He also argued ancient Athens and its democratic allies in cities provided two key features which have been inspiration to democrats/democratic states ever since. The first was an effective example of a popular assembly, in which ordinary citizens debate, decide laws, enact and implement the policies for their society. Other democratic practices including the rotation of the citizens in turn, selected by group to serve on an executive body or council and of people who control their own common affairs and survived for a century and a half. He also demonstrated that public debate and disagreement were not incompatible with effective policy or decisive collective action. A second exemplary feature of Athenian democracy was the strong defense and where every individual, including poor people, are capable as the well to do of deliberating and voting on issues of public policy. Supporters of direct democracy argued that a capacity for a moral awareness and recognition of the public interest were common to all citizens as members of society and they shall not be examine sphere of any special experts.[13] Macpherson argues that the democracy in its original sense rule by the people or government in accordance with the will of the people. He further argued that most of the backward countries were in colonial backing to liberal-democratic states, and it was assumed that before being granted independence, they were to be brought along to the point where they would run themselves on liberal democratic lines. True, one substantial part of the world had rejected the liberal-democratic way as early as 1917, with the Russian revolution and the formation of the Soviet Union.[14]

To defend his argument, Macpherson proposes three Points: first, democracy is not properly to be equated with unique Western liberal-democracy, but there are liberal systems which prevail in the non-liberal systems of most of the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa; second, liberal-democracy is a system of power; third, liberal-democracy and capitalism go together but it is not such in non-liberal states. It is maintained that liberal-democracy is found only in countries whose economic system is wholly or predominantly that of capitalist enterprise. He said at the beginning that until

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[12]ibid.p.3.

[13] David Held and Christopher Pollitt, New Forms of Democracy, Sage Publications, London, 1986, p. 7.

[14] C.B. Macpherson, The Real World of Democracy, Oxford University Press, New York, 1978, pp.1-2.

about a hundred years ago democracy was a bad thing, that in the next fifty years it became a good thing, and that another fifty years it has become an ambiguous thing. He also held that the current non-liberal systems have some historical title to call themselves democracies. In western societies, the democratic franchise did not take place until after the liberal society was formed. The liberal state was firmly established and democracy came as a top dressing. It had to accommodate itself to the soil that had already been prepared by the operation of the competitive, individualist, market society, and by the operation of the liberal state, which served that society through a system of freely competing though not democratic political parties. In the process, he said democracy was liberalized. That is one change in the nature of democracy but in the rest of the world-Soviet countries and other newly independent underdeveloped states, democracy came as a revolution against the liberal capitalist society and state.[15]

Liberal democracy has conceded that civil society organizations play an important role. It is conventionally accepted that a strong civil society keeps elected representatives on their toes, and does so through organized interest groups all of whom press their causes on government, sometimes through political parties, sometimes through independent lobbies, sometimes, certain special interest groups-most notably unions and business groups, but locally also residents or voluntary sector organizations-have been drawn into corporatist arrangements with government, gaining a special political status so that the government negotiates with them over decisions affecting their interests. This sort of deal, however, has often undermined the credibility of both groups: the non-governmental organizations seen as both too close to government and as pursuing their own special interests; the government seen as favouring one group or two groups against others, or organized interests against 'the people'. One of the frustrations and flaws of representative democracy is that while civil society has grown in size and developed in terms of structures and internally democratic forms, it has remained marginalized in its impact on the formal political system In contrast, Participatory democracy provides a real alternative, or complement, to elected power: a distinct and organized public sphere in which the demands of the people can be articulated,

[15]ibid.pp.1-2.

developed and negotiated between each other, and finally negotiated with the local or other relevant state institutions.[16]

Collective action and individual choice

David Beetham looked at the notion of collective action and individual choice to understand the very notion of democracy. The distinction between collective and individual is central to contextualize what democracy is about. Individual choice defined as a 'consumer demand' or 'consumer democracy'. It is certainly a form of power, but could be that such 'democracy is a misnomer'. It characterized by enormous inequalities in wealth and power sharing, and political equality as the power is based on individual and private, rather than collective public. Consumer decisions are self-oriented but not collective voice. It is true that the sum of individual's decisions may produce a collective good but certainly not collective decisions which involve discussions, debates and democratic voices. It is argued that always it is powerful, wealthiest and socially privileged individuals that influence the public policies. Whereas, collective decisions that could be taken by the group for a group or society as a whole. Generally agree/disagreement is quite possible to come up with the good decision/policy. It involves discussion, argument and the demands for evidence and the need for an agreed method to arriving at the decisions. All these processes are even necessary to democratize the state and civil society.[17] The members who enjoy the power in a democracy are twofold: one, elected through the electoral politics; two, members could be selected directly to take part in the policymaking. Both can contribute and influence the decision-making. This usually requires joining with like-minded others to make their choice and vote more effectively.[18] Based on these interpretations on collective and individual, David Beetham had argued that among individual and collective notions, the notion of collective represents the democratic voice whereas the notion of individual represents the domain of private interests. He argues because of the interests the bourgeois class, disadvantaged classes/castes, and proletariat always face problems. It results in a spurt in

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[16] Hilary Wainwright, Why Participatory Democracy Matters - And Movements Matter to Participatory Democracy-, June 2005; source: http://www.tni.org/es/archives/act/2351
[17] David Beetham, 2006, op.cit. p.3.
[18] ibid. p.8.

people's struggles. As domain the notion of collective reflects the democratic notion of equality and justice as it is based on the principles of equality among the citizens. It values the vote in association; the right to contest and to hold elected representatives accountable for their decisions. This logic is even equally applicable to small local associations and to the government. [19] Consumer democracy deals with the individual choice or a few elite and wealthiest individuals and the electoral politics deals with the conventional participation. Hence to comprehend democracy, it needs to assess the politics of participation to deepen the democracy effectively.[20]

Liberal Democracy

Friedrich von Hayek makes a sharp distinction between liberalism and democracy. He calls the former a doctrine about what the law ought to be and latter a doctrine about what will be the law. Democracy is an old concept, whereas liberalism is of a recent origin. Today liberalism is generally thought to be inseparable from democracy. The highest political end is liberty, which can be achieved only if there are strict limits on the activities of governments. George Sorenson believed that government intervention in civil society must aim at protecting life, liberty and estate and intervention should create the best possible framework for the redistribute measures as they facilitate free market. In this view democracy is desirable as a mechanism for securing the majority support. However, the democratic majorities respect the limitations on government activity. If they do not, democracy will be in conflict. Democracy can be a means of achieving this end but is not the end itself. If there is a democratic core in this way of thinking, it is the principle of the political equality of citizens. This was central and positive to democracy.[21]

The term "Democracy" is applied to indicate 'liberalism'. It represents a combination of free market economy with universal adult franchise. It is an attempt to resolve the conflicting claims of the capitalists and the masses by making gradual concessions under the umbrella or garb of a welfare state. Liberal democracy is distinguished from other forms of political system based on certain principles and characteristics, which essentially

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[19]ibid. p.8.
[20]ibid.p.8.
[21]George, Sorenson, op.cit. 1998, p.6.

include procedural and institutional arrangements for the realization of principles[22]. Liberal democracy works on certain mechanisms. Broadly, it includes Government by consent, public accountability, majority rule; recognition of minority rights, Constitutional government and political parties getting power through elections. Rational consent of the people can be obtained by opinion and atmosphere of free discussion which is essential for any regime where the consent of the people is to be obtained without freedom of expression of divergent opinions. Liberal democracy is based on the consent of the people and must constantly remain answerable to the people who created it[23]. But it is argued that by many Indian scholars though Indian democracy consists of constitutional mechanism recognizing minority rights but they have not been implemented substantially. The responsibility and accountability are also lacking in reality. Hence, many scholars criticize the liberal notion of democracy. To comprehend the notion of liberal democracy, it is crucial to figure out the thoughts of liberal philosophers.

Hobbes viewed that the idea that human beings have rights claims qua human beings was clearly articulated when the medieval mold was broken in the seventeenth century. During the decade of 1640s, England is not merely known for its wars between adherents of different religions and political constitutions but it was also recognized by widespread misery because of high food prices, rents, taxes, unemployment, and landlessness. With the demise of feudalism, the property rights of the landed gentry had become absolutized. Aristotle cautioned that it is the responsibility of property holders to share property with those who are in need. The 'masterless men' of the seventeenth century found themselves in a situation in which others were no longer recognizing them or their needs in a very nasty world. Rights claims were at once an expression of suffering and agony and the reminder of the obligations that they have to extend each other a certain kind of social recognition. With the breaking up of the feudal pattern of recognition, human beings increasingly were conceived as individualists. They were free, in the sense of being released from the bonds of compulsion and recognition with a master. But since the former master continued to hold on to the property and wealth that had been built on the

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[22] C.B. McPherson, Democratic Theory: Essays in Retrieval, Oxford Clarendon Press, London, 1973, Pp. 5-15.
[23] O.P. Gouba, An introduction to political theory, Macmillan Indian limited, Madras, 1981, Pp. 425-427.

labour of the serfs, those freed serfs were as vulnerable as the slaves that were freed after the American Civil War.[24]

Hobbes is committed to central and absolute political power. While he would accept political power being centralized in a legislature, his primary objective is to get out of this hellish state into which the security of individuals could be guaranteed, or at least maximized. From very nature of individual in a state of nature who experienced pain and pleasure, Hobbes draws the lesson that the worst pain of the individual is the threat of the termination, and the greatest pleasure is its preservation. From this argument, he concludes that everyone has by virtue of his inherent nature the right to life. As he maintained every individual who is naturally antagonistic must come together and agree to obey his/her sovereign power.[25]

Locke expanded the realm of rights. He adds the rights of liberty, property and limited constitutional government with a preferably monarchical and centralized government. His theory of rights also included two other important issues. First, the extent of political rights and the second is that of individualism and its economic implications. Locke advocated parliamentary supremacy. A fundamental right would be the right to participate in the election of the legislature as voter or candidate was given for propertied class but not property-less class. Hence he thought that property less class doesn't express their franchise effectively. This fundamental political right of judging legitimacy turns out not to be a human right but rather the right of a particular section of the population. While Hobbes ties rights to individual physical security; Locke ties them to both physical security and individual property rights; Rousseau ties rights to two conceptions that were to be given prominence during the French Revolution that were Equality and Fraternity. [26] John Locke says that Government acts as a "trustee" of the power vested in it by the people for the protection of their natural Rights like Right to life, liberty and property;

[24]A. Belden Field, Rethinking of Human Rights for the New Millennium, Palgrave Macmillan Publications, New York, 2003, pp.10-18.
[25]ibid. pp.10-18.
[26]ibid. pp.10-18.

also held that people must not trust the government fully and should remain constantly vigilant.[27]

Rousseau argues that there is no property in nature but there is only possession. He considered possession is a physical fact. The strongest or the fastest might possess something more than others because of his/her qualities. He argued these qualities are immoral and say nothing about the "right" of possessors to whatever is possessed. So Rousseau argues that this is one of the reasons that people of state of nature enter into the social contract. So that people can have property rather than mere possessions, so that the state and its citizens will recognize and protect what they legitimately possess. Rousseau tries to mediate between the right of the individual to property and the rights of other individuals and the claims of the collectivity itself. Rousseau thus tries to mediate between the collectivity and the individual. He is unequivocal that "every man has naturally a right to everything he needs for his subsistence. On the other, he insists that right to property as well as political rights are civil rights in that they both must be determined and protected by the collectivity for the general interest. Thus, he argued there could be no liberty without a large measure of both political and economic equality.[28]

John Stuart Mill saw democracy as an important element in free human development. Participation in political life could lead towards the "highest and harmonious expansion of individual capacities". He also shared one of the basic assumptions of the protective democracy: It says that the maximum freedom of citizens requires a limitation on the scope of the state's activity. He envisaged representative government in combination with a free-market economy. Thus, J.S. Mill was in favour of certain restrictions of the scope of government and governmental activity. With regard to enfranchisements, J.S. Mill recommended a system of plural voting in order to give the 'wiser and more talented' votes than 'the ignorant and less able' people. He did not support universal franchise. He was more democratic as he saw participation in the political process as a way to liberty

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[27]ibid. pp.10-18.
[28]Tony Evans, If Democracy, then Human Rights?, The Third World Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 4, 2001, pp.624-627.

and self-development and he directly confronted with number of inequalities in mid-nineteenth century. He severely criticized the subjection of women and pointed to the need for complete equality between the sexes as a precondition for human development and democracy. He was also highly critical of the extreme inequalities of income, wealth and power which hindered the human development of lower classes[29]

Jeremy Bentham envisaged liberal democracy as political machinery that would ensure the accountability of the governors to governed. For Bentham human beings want to maximize their happiness. So, he opines, to fulfill their wants, government is responsible to make them (people) happy. He also emphasizes on the recognition of minority rights in democratic state and for implementation of this, he considered legal safeguards as essential for the realization of their rights, because its presence helps to raise level of awareness of both majority and minority, so that it promotes a conducive climate for democratic politics[30]. C.B. Macpherson has observed till the nineteenth century, liberal theory like the liberal state was not at all democratic, much of its principles were specifically anti- democratic. Classical liberal theory was committed to the individual's right to unlimited acquisition of property and to the capitalist market economy that implies inequality not only in economic sphere but also in the political sphere. Thus, classical liberalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries insisted on property qualification for the right to vote. It also encouraged capitalism and a free-market economy that was responsible for a large working class centered in large industrialized cities and forced to live under sub-human conditions created by a cruel and competitive economy. Thus, the labour was forced to take recourse to democratic principles in order to preserve their own existence.[31]

Liberalism developed in opposition to the medieval, hierarchical institutions, the despotic monarchies whose claim to powerful rule rested on the assertion that they enjoyed divine support. Liberalism attacked the old system on two fronts; first, the liberals fought for a

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[29] George Sorenson, op.cit. 1998, p.8.
[30] ibid.
[31] C.B. McPherson, 1973, op.cit. Pp. 5-15.

rollback of state power and the creation of civil society where social relations, including private business, non-state institutions, family and personal life, could evolve without state interference. The second, liberalism was the claim that state power was based not on natural or supernatural rights but on the will of the sovereign people. Ultimately, this claim would lead to demands for democracy-that is, for the creation of mechanisms of representation that assured that those who held state power enjoyed popular support in a sense the development of liberal democratic thinking evolved around the setting up of the complex relationship between these two elements.[32]

C.B. Macpherson has summarized liberal democracy in four different models: protective, developmental, equilibrium and participatory democracy. The earliest model of democracy derived around 1828, builds on contributions from Jeremy Bentham and James Mill. Macpherson called it protective democracy because of the model's preoccupation with protection of citizens from government and its attempts to ensure that governors would pursue policies in accordance with the interests of citizens as a whole. The way to such protection was seen as universal franchise. The vote gave political power; "one person, one vote" provided self-protection because the rulers could be removed. In practice, however, Bentham and Mill were willing to accept severe restrictions in the right to vote; women and large sections of the working classes did not enjoy this privilege. Their cause was more liberal than democratic: the aim was to restrict the sphere of politics, especially that of governmental activity and institutions.[33] Developmental democracy, it is non-extractive and developmental. It is non extractive in that it does not depend upon the continued existence of class based power relationships. By developmental, Macpherson means that the theory implies the expansion of a person's power to use his ability to develop his supposedly essential human capabilities. These include a person's capacity for moral judgment of action. Developmental democratic theory requires not the maximization of individual utilities, but rather the ability of each to use and develop those capabilities, the use of which does not prevent others from using theirs. Equilibrium democracy refers to political inequalities that are understandable like

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[32] Goran Therborn, The rule of capital and the rise of democracy, New Left Review 103, May-June 1977, pp. 3-41
[33] ,C.B. Macpherson, op.cit. 1973, Pp. 5-15.

inequalities in purchasing power. This model lacks the ethical dimension of previous one and offers a description and justification 'of a stable democracy' as a "competition between elites which produces equilibrium without much popular participation. Democracy according this model is "simply mechanicism for choosing and authorizing government, not a kind of society or a set of moral ends. Macpherson discusses the way in which direct democracy could occur in large states. He advocated an ideal democratic model constant with the socialist notion of property. He proposed a participatory system, with direct participation at the base, at the level of neighbourhoood and workplace, constituting the ground for indirect 'pyramidal' representation at higher levels. With this framework parties would compete, although in the future they might be replaced by 'other representative groups'. It gives scope for sense of community that is necessary for participatory democracy. According to him, participatory democracy is a process of collective decision making that combines elements from both direct and representative democracy. Citizens have the ultimate power to decide on policy and politicians assume the role of policy implementation.[34]

Liberal Democracy: Feministic Critique

Spike Peterson one of the prominent feminist writers argued that scientific developments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries profoundly affected liberal thought and practice acknowledged; "human nature" as articulated in the liberal tradition as Cartesian mind and body dualism. Feminist perspective explains the notions of abstract and concrete and degradation of women in theory and practical grounds and considered women as the notion of private. Human nature as described and discovered by philosophers such as Aristotle, Aquinas, Machiavelli, Locke, Rousseau, Hegel, and many others, is intended to refer only to male human nature. Even Emmanuel Kant's moral agents and rational beings refer male. Feminist scholars argued liberal philosophy considered that women lack these humanly essential characteristics. Liberalism, Marxism and other theories and philosophies considered domestic work of women, giving birth to baby and rearing the children as private sphere, apolitical, devalued and ineffective and the experience women is not considered as experience of male. Additionally, the liberal patriarchal worldview

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[34]ibid. Pp. 5-15.

has ensured that women's life activities continue to be primarily defined through andocentric lens. Women considered as abstract and male's activities are concrete and the contribution of man considered as public, valued, effective political in the liberal philosophy. These negative approaches in terms of theory and practice gave the scope to scholars to build the movements against both: theory and practice. This approach is a reflection of feminist consciousness to participate in people's struggles and public life across the world by the women activists. Indian democracy is not exceptional to this critique.[35]

Understanding John Rawls's Theory of Justice

Rawls's philosophy has been guided by the question, "what is most appropriate moral conception of justice for a democratic society". He tried to pursue this question as a part of an enquiry into the nature of social justice and its compatibility with human nature and a well being of human being. Rawls aimed at restoring the predominance of utilitarianism in modern moral philosophy. As an alternative to utilitarianism, Rawls developed the tradition of social contract that widens the conception of justice. According to this conception, justice requires individual liberty and distributive justice is closely associated with this principle of equal basic liberties. The first principle is the principle of equal basic liberties which include conscience, freedom of thought, freedom of association, the rights and liberties that define the freedom and integrity of the person (freedom of movement, occupation and choice of careers and a right to personal property). It also includes equal political rights and liberties ensured by rule of law. They are morally more significant to the freedoms of democratic citizens. He believed that the basic liberties are necessary for pursuing a wide range of conceptions of good. These are essential to the exercise and development of the moral powers. They are liberty, opportunity, income and wealth, and the basis of self-respect to be equally distributed. To elaborate his theory, he developed two principles, principles of justice require certain important liberties be provided equally for all, that these 'basic' liberties have priority over aggregate social welfare and perfectionist values. That fair (not just formal) opportunity provided equally for all

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[35]Spike Peterson, Whose Rights? A Critique of the "Givens" in Human Rights Discourse, Indian Journal of Human Rights, Vol. 3, No. 1&2, 1999, pp. 4-28.

citizens without considering any differences in income and wealth and in social positions, those benefits should reach maximally to the worst-off members of society.[36] Rawls in his 'Theory of Distributive Justice' argues that all individuals in society should enjoy liberty or freedom equally which means even servant, driver and maid are equally owners of liberty. Secondly, his theory point out that inequalities in the social structure can be justified only if inequalities benefit the lowest person in society. Rawls also elucidate that no person has the right to a larger portion of the pie than another. Even if one born rich is exceptionally talented, he/she can't enjoy his/her benefits unless the lowest person in society is benefiting from the same. Entrepreneurs are given better rights than their employees only to make sure that standards of life of the labouring class are improved. In other words, everybody should be better off in the process. But what we see is the opposite of that, which means that even the system of distributive justice is not operational. What we see is that the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer. Governments in democratic societies are supposed to provide equal opportunities for the less privileged.[37]

Any democratic country should have a just constitution with equal liberty and equal citizenship. The government guarantees a social minimum which the government meets by family allowances and special payments in times of unemployment or a negative income tax. The government has to be divided into four branches, viz; the allocation branch, which keeps the economy competitive, disallowing unreasonable market power, regulating prices for social benefits and costs. The second branch is the stabilization branch which guarantees full employment, free choice of occupation and proper deployment of finance in face of the existing demand. The third branch, the transfer branch, takes care of ensuring the social minimum establishing a certain level of well being. The forth branch, the distribution branch, takes care of the just distribution of income and wealth, including taxation on inheritance and for raising revenue. The

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[36] John Rawls, Theory of Justice, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1971, pp.11-12.
[37]Neha Singh, 'Professor John Rawls'; source: http://blogs.mybandra.com/2009/06/27/professor-john-rawls-theory-of-distributive-justice/

inheritance of greater wealth is justified as long as it is to the advantage of the worst off.[38]

Rawls has sought to work out a realistic ideal of justice. His conception of ideal is designed for the ideal conditions of a "well ordered society" where reasonable persons who are free and equal. He argues that human beings are capable of, it given their nature, under normal conditions of social life. Rawls seek to discover the fundamental moral principles that regulate reasoning and judgments about justice. These principles he presupposes are deeply implicit in ordinary moral awareness and is evidenced by moral judgments. He does not suppose principles of justice are aprior or based in "pure practical reason" alone but human nature and the empirical conditions within which practical reason is normally exercised are relevant to discover and justify principles of justice on certain psychological tendencies of human nature and own capacities for sociability. This explains Rawls's emphasis on the "stability" or feasibility of a moral conception of justice.[39] He argued basic liberties should reach maximally to the worst-off members of the societies. If these basic liberties do not reach the vulnerable sections, there is a possibility of people's struggles in the democratic society for their basic rights and liberties. Governments in equal democratic societies are supposed to provide equal opportunities for the less privileged. This means, like in America, Indian state governments should provide cheaper education for the lower classes. Institutions and organizations are not supposed to choose better educated, talented youth unless the least educated and most invaluable candidate is benefited.

The feminist scholarship and Rawlisian notion of justice offer a powerful critique of the classical liberal theory and their conception of democracy. The assumption that individual is autonomous and self-seeking does not apply to women as her life is inter dependent. And the notion of private in the concept of liberty is more a means to remove the family and relations within the family from public and collective scrutiny. These assumptions and arrangements are more male-centric than universal. The liberal theory

[38]ibid.

[39] Joseph V. Femin, Marxism and Democracy, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993, p. 10

also falls short on the notion of justice in terms of equitable distribution of benefits and resources. Therefore democracy for Rawls is concern for the weakest in the society. It is on these lines Marx would build the logic but locate the cause in the class divisions of the society. Marx holds that inequalities are intrinsic to a capitalist society and the only way human kind can eliminate inequalities is to overthrow the class through people's struggles.

Ambedkar's Understanding of Democracy

Ambedkar in his writings on 'annihilation of caste' argues that without social efficiency no permanent progress in their fields of activity was possible. Hence, he argued that social reform should carry on political reform. In the name of customs, dalits and other marginalized sections of the society had suffered in all fields like education, health, property, and status etc. Ambedkar argues that state shall take the responsibility to empower those sections as they suffered in the name of caste and customs. According to socialism, Ambedkar argues 'economic' property is the source of power, but he argues that economic source is not enough but both the social status and property are the sources of power. Hence he argues all the deprived communities should develop in all these spheres. Socialists ignored the problem of social order in the society whereas Ambedkar's high priority was to social order and it has to be equalized. According to him social order should be democratized and structure of hierarchy in the society should be eliminated and caste system be abolished. He was for economic reforms that could take place along with equalization of property irrespective of caste and creed. It could be possible only when social reforms take place. It is a social system which embodies arrogance and selfishness of perverse section of minds who were superior enough in social status to set in fashion and who had authority to form it on their inferiors.[40] Ambedkar says "there is no doubt, that unless you change your social order you can achieve little by way of progress. You cannot mobilize the community either for defense or for offence. You cannot build up a nation, you cannot build up a morality. Anything that you build on the foundations of caste will crack and will never be a whole". There is

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[40] Jean Dreze, Dr. Ambedkar and the Future of Indian Democracy, Indian Journal of Human Rights, Vol.5, Nos. 1&2, 2005, p. 138.

view that in the reform of caste, social reforms and morality and the first step to take is to abolish sub-castes. Revolutionary changes should takes place in social as well as economic terms. As long as problem of caste system continues, other social problems would remain.[41] Unless common and marginalized sections of the society get the advantage of democratic results, it cannot claim to be a true democracy.

Ambedkar argues that all human beings are equal and there should not be any discrimination based on caste and creed and strived for social, economic and political liberty. Since Ambedkar believe that all are equal, he argued for annihilation of caste to equalize the society as it curtails the freedom of least advantaged sections in the society. To develop these sections, Ambedkar argued for the reservations (preferential treatment) to develop social, economic and political equality. Ambedkar's philosophy emphasized equality, liberty, and fraternity as they strive for egalitarian society. Ambedkar argues that social justice can be dispensed in a free social order in which an individual is end in itself. Similarly, the terms of associated life between members of society must be regarded by consideration founded on liberty, equality and fraternity.

Karl Marx's notion of democracy

Marx condemnation of liberal democracy rests upon historical materialisms. Marx developed his system in opposition to idealism. Hegel upheld the concept of 'spirit' but Marx dismissed such speculation as mythical non-sense and said empirical observation alone could deliver the truths of existence. Marx argued that man's productive interchange with nature was the real subtext of history. He maintained, "human beings are defined not by ideal essence, but by the totality of actions whereby they reproduce their own material existence".[42] He argued that the social structure and the state continually evolve out of the life process of definite individual because they work, produce materially, and act under definite material limitations and conditions. The behaviour of men depends on material behaviour. Religion, morality and philosophy are not embodiments of eternal truth but 'necessary sub limitations of man's material life-

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[41] B.R. Ambedkar, Annihilation of Caste, Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Maharashtra Government. Vol. No. 1, PP. 38-67.
[42] Joseph V. Femin, Marxism and Democracy, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993, p.11.

processes.[43] Karl Marx critically analyzed capitalism and existence of inequalities with the class division produced by it. In Marx's view, in a capitalist society a free market and a state based on politically equal citizens are simply formalities that hide the reality of rule by the capitalist class. The only way to achieve real political and economic equality and full democratization of state and society is to abolish the capitalist system and replace it with socialism and ultimately communism.[44]

Marx says, class relations are exploitative and imply fundamental divisions of internal between ruling and subordinate classes. These relations are also inherent by conflictual situation giving rise to overt struggle. He also argues that modern bourgeois society is market oriented by dominant exploitative relationship-that between those own capital and those who own only their labour power. Only solution, he believes that capitalism must be replaced by socialism as the necessary basis for democracy. Marx replaced political democracy as the determining factors of politics with economic democracy; it is economic democracy that determines political democracy.[45] Marx argued that 'the rights of the man' and its proponents confuse bourgeois man with man-in-general. The so-called rights of man (life, liberty, property and security) are only the rights of egoistic man, man separated from other men and from the community. In idealism, Marx said, the idea of inviolable rights presupposes an atomistic conception where society appears to be an external framework for the individual, limitation inherent in the concept of natural rights is the assumption that within certain spheres collective needs must be subordinated to individual claims. This he was not prepared to accept. Hence his objection to the statement, contained in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man of citizens that Liberty is the power of man viewed as an isolated man; liberty in this sense is based not on the association of man with man but rather on the separation of man from man. [46]

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[43]ibid. p. 12.
[44]ibid. p. 12.
[45]ibid. p. 12.
[46]ibid.p. 25.

The political and juridical institutions systematically serve the interests of the dominant economic classes as a surface plausibility.[47] Hence he condemned bourgeois civil society based on unrestrained individualism, as a violation of man's social being. Marx thus struggled to create a society that overcomes the horrors of social problems. He referred this noble vision as 'true democracy'. For him, true democracy would abolish the alienation between the individual and the political community by resolving the split between the 'egoistic' interests of individual in civil society. In democracy, the formal principle could go along with the material principle. Hence, he argued, extending the franchise to the masses is the way to unify the ideal and real. He also argues what makes democracy 'true' is not the equal opportunity of citizen to devote himself to public life as some thing special, but the immediate participation in all deliberations and decisions on political matters. There should be no professional bureaucrats, no professional politicians, no political office, but he said true democracy is participation of all-representative principle with self-determination of the people.[48]

All the perspectives are different in their own way: liberal perspective advocates the individualism consisting of fundamental ideas as constitutions, human rights, capitalism, free trade, and the separation of church and state. These ideas are widely accepted, even by political groups that do not openly profess a liberal ideological orientation. Liberalism believes strongly in the constitutional guarantees of individual liberty. It also believes that all individuals are created equal and are endowed with certain inalienable rights and all individuals can do whatever they want as long they believe in a free capitalist market place. Karl Marx philosophy is based on class. He argues society is divided based on rich and poor (capitalists and proletariats). Capitalists always dominate proletariats which lead to conflicts in the society and gives scope for people's agitations for classless society. Ambedkar argues that caste is the main obstacle to the development of society. He argues, it divides the society into high caste and lower castes which leads to antagonism between these two groups that give rise to peoples agitations. John Rawls argues that justice should be fairness and benefits should reach to the bottom level of the society and

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[47]ibid.p.66.
[48]ibid.p.70.

to the least advantaged sections. All the above thinkers have emphasized self respect, decent and dignified life. All the basic rights, liberties should reach the least advantaged sections. Their philosophical points of view support, in essence substantive democracy and leads to creative and meaningful democracy. They believed in for the development of all the people irrespective of class and caste; low and high economic status not merely economical but also social and political. If these conditions are not fulfilled it is not a real democracy.

Neo liberalism is different from that of liberalism as they don't believe as it believes that every individual is personally responsible for their own actions, their own successes and their own failures. Liberalism has undergone a process of initial growth, intermediary decline and finally a recent rejuvenation. Alternatively, neo liberalism might be perceived as a distinct ideology, descending from, but not identical to liberalism 'proper'. Under this interpretation, neo liberalism would share some historical roots. Other words, it is a modified or revived form of traditional liberalism based on belief in free market capital and the rights of individual. Neo-liberalism is a market-driven approach to economic and social policy based on neoclassical theories of economics that maximize the role of the private business sector in determining the political and economic priorities of the state. It emphasizes on markets, efficiency, consumer choice, and individual autonomy, shift from governments and corporations to individuals and to extend this kind of market logic into the realm of social relationships. It believes that citizenry mandates a collective effort to create economic equality. It believes that big government is better to decide what should be done with the fruits of each individual's labors, rather than the individual himself/herself.[49]

Neo-liberal Political Reforms and its Impact on Political Economy
No state in the world is exempt from the neo liberal policies. Whether they accept it or not directly or indirectly it impacts on their country. It is argued by the web of scholars, no state is in a position to reject the policy of neo-liberal model of development.

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[49] Arthur Mac Ewan, Neo-Liberalism or Democracy: Economic Strategy, Markets, and Alternatives for the 21st Century, Zed Books Ltd., London and New York, 1999, pp.3-4.

According to neo liberalism state gradually should withdraw its responsibilities and transfer its responsibilities to the individualistic market forces or global forces. India is no exception to this global scenario. Obviously, it argues that the state need not think of welfare of the people and further argue that it is indispensable. There is a need to analyze neo liberalism. As Arthur Mac Ewan defined neo-liberalism as economic policy that became dominate during the final decades of the 19th century. During the 1980s, Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher established an international political climate that allowed the spread of neo-liberalism in an extreme form. The demise of Soviet Union gave further impetus to extreme arguments about the limits of state action in economic affairs and the miracles that could be performed by markets. As behind the rhetoric of neo-liberalism, large firms and wealthy individuals have often enriched themselves through various favours from the government. The policy calls for reducing the economic role of government in providing social welfare, in managing economic activity at the aggregate and sectoral levels, and in regulating international commerce. The ideas at the base of this policy are not new: they come directly from the classical liberalism that emerged in the 19th century and proclaimed the market as the proper guiding instrument through which people they should organize their economic lives. Neo-liberalism pushed government to play a minimalist role in economic affairs; it generally depends upon a very strong, repressive government. It is proved that State denies the gains to the majority in the name of long-run economic growth and it argues that implementation of neo-liberal policy faces stiff popular opposition and can only be contained with police action.[50] Macpherson has argued that because of neo-liberal agendas of present governments, political movements especially in postcolonial countries became inevitable. Neo liberalism, impersonal market, allocation of work and rewards in response to individual choice took shape. Everyone was swept into free market and all his/her relations with others were increasingly converted to market relations.[51]

The World Development Report (1997) in its 'The State in a Changing World Order' emphasizes on neo-liberal approach to the state. They maintain that the state "will not be

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[50] Arthur Mac Ewan, 1999, op.cit. 1, Pp.3-4.
[51] C.B. Macpherson, 1978, op.cit.Pp.1-2.

able to adapt to the demands of a globalizing world economy". They plead for an effective state and the effective state in their view is the one that "allow markets to flourish and people to lead healthier and happier lives". They hold that "state is central to economic and social development not as a direct provider of growth but as a partner, catalyst and facilitator". The report observes that in many countries "private initiative is held hostage to a legacy of antagonistic state-market relations" and add "poorly performing state enterprises are often a big drain and privatization provides an obvious solution". While developing a framework on "Rethinking the State" the report states, "the central difficulty in redefining the state's role is that the ground beneath government's feet is always changing". They add "many of the most successive examples of development, recent and historical entail states working in partnership with markets' to correct their failures, not replacing them". The rest of the framework discusses more of matching role to capability, re-innovating the state's capability, and suggest that the state evolves rules and restraints, competitive pressure, voice and partnership. This only indicates that the discussion on the state shifted from its role and purpose to that of process.[52]

The purpose defining the process is something logical, but the process becoming the purpose cannot answer any question emanating from the concerns for equity, justice, freedom and transformation. The problem with the neo-liberal approach to the state is its attack on the institution of the state. It does maintain that its working has become obsolete, and therefore incapable of coping with the new global challenges. While it is true that the states have not done well as allocator of values, so is the case with the market. Once there is the argument for partnership, partnership for what? is the question. A profit seeking market driven by self-interest of the individual has its own laws. What is that the state does as partner? The more crucial question is the question of growing inequalities, inaccessibility to basic resources and non-availability of minimum provisions for the very survival. The retreating minimalist state in terms of reducing regulations on the market forces is one side of the story but the other side of the story is

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[52] World Development Report -1997: The State in a Changed World, Oxford University Press, New York, 1997, pp-24-26.

the shattering of the hopes of ordinary masses resulting is delegitimisation of the state. It is in this backdrop the Indian state need to be assessed.[53]

Sarah Joseph argued that the wide influence and legitimacy of neoliberal theories and its political agenda today is attributed to growing problems which beset the welfare state and capitalist economy in the west after the 1960s. The slowing down of high rate of economic growth had characterized western economies in the post-war decades generated rising inflation and unemployment. Coupled with the expansion of the public sector and increasing public expenditure on social services, the welfare state seemed to be in crisis by 1970s and 1980s. As a result, criticisms of the developmental state and of modernization theories also gained momentum at that time. This situation provided ideological space in which neoliberal theories gained legitimacy.[54] She observes that there is distinction between non-state sector and civil society; global and national corporate associations. They all considered as natural partners and come under neoliberal model. The liberal concepts of sovereignty and autonomy are therefore being replaced by terms like "embedded autonomy". With reference to the state, the focus now is on networking across the public –private divide, and on state-society synergy.[55] The political reforms being undertaken today have a more radical aspect in that they represent an attempt to incorporate market rationality into the structures and practices of the state. Moreover, the implications of these changes for the understanding and practice of liberal democracy such as the distinction between public and private and between state and its citizens are being reinterpreted in terms of political values which neoliberalism embodies.[56]

It is paradoxical that along with the pride in Indian democracy, a growing cynicism about politics and politicians is also evident. Politicians are widely perceived as a self-seeking family motivated by a ruthless drive for power and personal gains, politics is associated with dubious deals and corruption. This negative impact led to spurt in people's

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[53]ibid. 1997, pp-24-26.
[54] Sarah Joseph, Neoliberal Reforms and Democracy in India, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 42, No. 31, Aug. 4-7 2007, p. 3213.
[55]ibid.p.3214.
[56]ibid.p.3215.

movements. Although the primary objective of political reforms has been to improve efficiency and productivity of governance but States are now expected to share with corporate interests and the responsibility of civil society in promoting the public interest itself may be reinterpreted in market terms. Neo-liberal theories reject the democratic notion of public welfare, social justice and the responsibility. It envisages the state to promote interests of the business and other elite class. It also rejects the social democratic view that citizens are entitled to all political, social and economic rights to enable them to live with dignity and self-respect. As against this view, neo-liberal theories define citizens as consumers of services which the state provides, and as active participants in the market, capable of promoting their own interest. The emanicipatory notion of freedom that was also present in the liberal tradition has been marginalized in the process.[57]

In fact, defense of humanist values and democratic norms is to a great extent now left to social movements and the more radical civil society groups. So, she argues that there is need to rethink over the existing development models and work towards more creative solutions which would make not only business but also the poor partners in the development project which is more democratic, inclusive, creative and participative. In vibrant democracy, political parties and elected bodies would be expected to play a central role in safeguarding the rights and interests of all members of the population. Hence, she believed that liberal democracy under stress today.[58] As the world is being increasingly drawn into neo-liberal model of development, the inequalities between the individuals, groups, nations, classes and regions bound to widen and the attributes of liberal democracy do not any more hold good. This approach will subvert the democracy and the rights associated with it. It leads to assertion of rights and demand for new rights. An analysis of rights position and the nature of new social and political movements is called for.

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[57]ibid. p.3217.
[58]ibid..p.3217.

Understanding of Political Rights

Manoranjan Mohanty argues that the historical anti-colonial struggles, people's revolutionary movements and a variety of on-going social struggles present a perspective of rights which was missing in the western discourse on rights. He further maintains that rights are political affirmations of a desirable human condition in course of struggle, a prevailing human condition is considered as wrong by sufficient number of people making its alteration a demand at a new point of development of human civilization. He also argues that rights are posited against wrongs but whereas rulers have always linked rights with duties conceding rights at an advanced stage of a political struggle while enforcing duties for those who exercise rights but he says that duties are important in themselves and not in exchange for rights. Duties of the individuals to each other and to society and state and the duties of the state to individuals and many other such relationships have justifications for human good.[59]

The political theorists argue democracy is not just in terms of spread of liberal democratic institutions but also deepening of the democratic qualities of all societies. Democracy is not just universal adult citizenship rights but more substantial so as to include a variety of disadvantaged categories like ethnic, religious, indigenous people, women, the old, youth and unemployed, etc. They argue that the notion of 'inclusion' possible by influencing state or enter the state through organizations, participate in policy making and implementation. This sort of inclusion therefore involves more than attainment of basic citizenship rights, such as right to vote and associate as the right to participate in people's movements.[60] Political freedom includes not only speeches but also other forms of action.[61] These forms of action sometimes may go beyond what is conventionally defended in the justification for freedom of speech. Political freedom on the other hand, includes actions that go beyond the democratic methods in order to get the desired results.

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[59] Delivered an Inaugural Lecture on 'Globalization and Democracy' in the International Conference on 'Challenges of Globalization: Indian and Australian Perspectives', Department of political Science, University of Hyderabad, December 7th to 9th 2006.

[60] John S. Dryzek, Political Inclusion and Dynamics of Democratization, American Political Sciences Review, Vol. 90, Sept. 1996, 475-476. Source: www.jstor.com

[61] Howard Davis, Political Freedom: Associations, Political Purposes and the Law, Continuum Publications, New York, 2000, Pp. 1-2.

These methods, of course, involve generally accepted criminal actions such as deliberate damage to property or violence. But this form of action other than extremism is acceptable in a democratic state.[62]   Howard Davis also says "individuals can conduct their own personal campaigns, but it is argued that it has less personal control over the political causes in democratic states". Hence, resistance has to be in an organized manner as individual and unorganized activity would not be helpful in getting the problems solved whereas organized activities on political decisions would be the better strategy.

Richard Norman tries to understand the difference between various conflicting interpretations of freedom and equality combine. He argues that these two political philosophies dealing one with equality the other with justice are fundamentally contrary to each other. Both identified with two long-standing traditions of political thought of action. Both argue that "why people protest against the oppression of one section of society by another, Richard Norman argues that both are violation of freedom and a violation of equality. The freedom which they seek is a shared freedom, the freedom of the oppressed from the domination under which they suffer. Hence, the oppressed classes believe that it could be achieved only when that domination is replaced by the relationships of equality. A central feature of the equality at which they aim is the shared ownership of the property. It is therefore implied that the ownership of these things is at present monopolized by a limited class of people.[63]

Self determination

The principle of self determination for peoples has been recognized since 1919, when the League of Nations, was established. At the time of the League of Nations, the focus was on a "principle" of self determination and not a "right" of self determination. Following the creation of the United Nations in 1945, the "principle "of peoples' self determination evolved into a "right" under international law and even *jus cogens* a peremptory norm.[64] Self-determination embodies the right for all peoples to determine their own economic, social and cultural development. Self-determination has thus been defined by the

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[62]ibid. Pp. 1-2.
[63] Richard Norman, Equality, Priority and Social Justice, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1999, p.126.
[64]Christian Erni and Marianne Jensen, Indigenous Affairs, IWGIA Publications, Copenhagen, 2009, p. 7.

International Court of Justice (in the West-Saharan case) as: the need to pay regard to the freely expressed will of peoples. It is important to stress that for indigenous peoples the term self-determination does most often NOT imply secession from the state. The right of self-determination of peoples is a fundamental principle in international law. It is embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The Covenants provides that: "All peoples have the rights of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. The right of self-determination has also been recognized in other international and regional human rights instruments such as Part VII of the Helsinki Final Act 1975 and Article 20 of the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights as well as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Territories and Peoples. It has been endorsed by the International Court of Justice. Furthermore, the scope and content of the right of self- determination has been elaborated upon by the United Nations Human Rights Committee and Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination as well as international jurists and human rights experts.[65]

A non Self-Governing Territory, listed under Chapter XI of the UN charter, can exercise the right of self determination through the creation of an independent State, or through the establishment of an association with an independent State. Furthermore, the right to self-determination must also be regarded as establishing the right to separate from the existing State of which the group concerned is a part, and to set up a new independent State, if the State concerned gravely violates its obligations towards a distinct people, community within its boundaries loses the legitimacy to rule over that people. Thus, if the State and its successive governments have repeatedly oppressed a people over a long period, violated their human right and fundamental freedoms, and if their means of achieving a sufficient degree of self government have been tried and have failed, then, the question of secession can arise as a means for the restoration of the well-being of the people. [66] The world Summit for Social Development, held in Copenhagen in 1995,

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[65] Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Self-determination
[66]ibid. Christian Erni and Marianne Jensen p.10.

expressed the view "that social development and social justice are indispensable for the achievement and maintenance of peace and security within and among the nations. In turn, social development and social justice cannot be attained in the absence of peace and security or in the absence of peace and fundamental freedoms. [67] Though Right to self determination embodies the right for all peoples to determine their own economic, social and cultural development, in case of Telangana, people are not free to develop economically and politically. As per the Right to Self-determination is concerned, the people of Telangana can exercise the right of self determination through the creation of an independent State. Furthermore, the right also gave the right to separate from the existing State, if the existing State gravely violates its obligations towards a distinct people. That means, Central and State governments are not respecting the international norms, rights though they are signatories of UN and other international pacts.

Right to development

The discussion over UN Declaration on Right to Development demands basic understanding of the term development. There are other terms like underdevelopment and inequalities, which also need to be clarified in the process of understanding the concept of development in the traditional way of analyzing development where per capita income and GDP are taken as yardsticks, there is a need for redefinition. The concept of development is generally understood as the "availability of high quality of physical life to all the people of that particular society without any differentiation on any lines. A high and equally accessible level of material well being is pre-requisite for many other dimensions of development such as political rights, freedom, intellectual, cultural and social. Development is all about equity in distribution through efficient allocation of the resources. The interconnection among the terms development, under-development, allocation of resources and the capacity to utilize the human resources in a scientific manner at international, national, regional and sub regional levels lead to economic inequalities which further breed socio, political and cultural inequalities. The existing inequalities force certain nations, regions or sub-regions into under development. Inequality in income and wealth reduces the possibilities of overall growth. Economic

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[67]ibid. p.11.

inequality allows certain individuals certain material choices whereas it denies certain societies the right to development.

Evolution of the Concept of Right to Development

The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development and fundamental freedoms of all human beings. The 1986 Right to Development Declaration defines 'development' as a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals, on the basis of their active , free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits therefrom'. Sen Gupta asserts if these outcomes are not accompanied with an improvement of the well-being of all people and people do not meaningfully participate in the process of the distribution of benefits and they are iniquitous and unfair, it would not be called 'development'. Among different processes of development, only one in which human rights and fundamental freedoms are capable of being realized can qualify as an object of claim as a human right.[68]

In the development discourse, it is economic growth that is of central concern, with human rights remaining largely marginal. While development discourse evolved through various phases, focusing on Gross National Product (GNP), basic needs, so on, a focus on 'rights' was missing. The definition of 'development' has a primary focus on economic growth and material prosperity to the exclusion of the freedom, dignity and overall 'well-being' of the people, and development was not linked to human rights standards.[69] These notions are very important in understanding of the notion of democracy. The consciousness that evolved in developmental studies in due course of time forced United Nations (UN) to adopt a Declaration on Right to Development. Though the concept of right to development was introduced in 1986, the common consensus was arrived only in 1993 Vienna conference. Earlier it was the nature and content of the concept of the Right

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[68] Arjun Sen Gupta, 'The Right to Development: A Primer', Centre for Development and Human Rights, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p. 48.
[69]ibid. p. 44.

to Development, which was subjected to dialogue, discussions and controversies. Later the attention shifted to the procedure and implementation of Right to Development. An enquiry into the historical evolution of the Declaration reveals the obstacles faced in achieving universal acceptance. The need for the creation of awareness about human rights, the establishment of an egalitarian society and the necessity of equity in distribution of resources had come to be realized by world community during the Second World War. [70] Later the consequent changes in the international political scenario resulted in the codification of rights in two International Covenants, Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and international Covenant on Civil and Political rights which were given legal status according to International law. Right to Development has thus become a major concern for the member governments since the adoption of the Declaration. Now the member States are assigned the responsibility of ensuring right to Development of all its members without any discretion on any grounds, of race, language or religion.

Article 1 refers that Declaration recognizes the people's right to self determination by virtue of which the people of the soil are free to determine their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development. Article 2 of the Declaration refers to the human person as the central subject of development also and as the beneficiary of development. Article 3 refers to the State Government's responsibility to promote the new international economic order based on sovereignty, equality, interdependence, mutual interest and co-operation, among all the States. It also stresses on removing obstacles to development. Article 4 refers to the duties of the State Government to promote development and facilitate fuller realization of the Right to Development. Sustained action is advised to promote rapid development. Article 5 deals with the necessity of the State mechanism to react towards discrimination on any ground. Article 6 stresses on the State responsibility to eliminate the obstacles to development. Article 8 constitutes the equality of opportunity for all in their accesses to basic resources, education, health services, food, housing, employment and the fair distribution

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[70] Rob Buitenweg, 'The Right to Development as A Human Right', Peace and Change, Oct, 97, Vol. 22, No. 4, p. 414.

of income. Article 9 refers to the indivisibility and interdependence of the Right to Development and it stresses on the necessity of viewing the Declaration in a holistic perspective. Article 10 includes the required steps to be taken to ensure the realization of the objectives of Declaration on Right to Development. [71]

Amartya Sen has developed the notion of 'development' as a process of expanding the real freedom that people enjoy instead of expanding the per-capita income or the aggregate utilities enjoyed by the people. Development should be seen as expanding freedoms. Sen appreciates the instrumental value of income or utilities in expanding the freedoms and capabilities of people. Amartya Sen describes five freedoms that enhance true development.[72] They are: political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency and protective security. He also argues that enhancement of human freedom is both object and the primary means of development. The objective of development relates to the valuation of the actual freedoms enjoyed by the people involved. Individual capabilities crucially depend on economic, social and political arrangements. Further he argues that the state and society have extensive roles in strengthening and safeguarding human capabilities.[73]

Application of Declaration on Right to Development to Telangana Sub-region

The right to development and self determination comes under the purview of international domain. Both are interrelated and interconnected. Since all the nation states signatories of UDHR, they are bound by the rights and values of these both document. If they do not respect them, they are responsible for their ineffectiveness in implementation and responsible for the people. Indian is not exception from the same responsibility. The concept of development understood as a high and equally development such as political rights, freedom, intellectual, cultural and social development. equity in distribution of resources, the capacity to utilize the human resources in a scientific manner at international, national, regional and sub regional levels, create awareness about human

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[71] Suneeta Eeluri, Political Respones to Right to Development: A Case Study of Telangana, unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad, 2001, pp.11-16.
[72] Amartya Sen, Development as a Freedom, Oxford University Press, London, 1999, p. 10.
[73] ibid. p.53.

rights, the establishment of an egalitarian society. Thus, it is intended to establish a fair and just world. At international scenario United Nations, and at the regional and sub-regional levels, it is the responsibility of Central and State mechanicisms to see that the objectives of right to development either implemented or not.

The Right to Development approach to Telangana sub-region highlights the way the implementation of these rights is done. In this context, it is argued that the people of Telangana region possess the Rights for their full scale development, as part of the larger world community which has agreed upon the right to development. The Right to Development approach to Telangana sub-region highlights the way the implementation of these rights is done. An analysis of the existing social, political, economic and cultural scenario of Telangana sub-region through the perspective of Declaration on Right to Development or Right to self determination reveals the variance between the objectives of declaration and the injustice done to the Telangana region for many years. The principle of self determination for peoples has been recognized since 1919, when the League of Nations, was established. At the time of the League of Nations, the focus was on a "principle" of self determination and not a "right" of self determination.[74]

To sum up the chapter, it tried to contextualize the term democracy by taking definitions of David Held and Beetham. It further discussed the approaches of democracy: they are political, moral, collective action. The study argued that political rights in a democracy not merely has to have morality of individuals but collective action to promote human rights. The study focused on different perspectives of democracy like Schumpeter, David Held, Macpherson and Robert Dahl. The study intends to take David Held, C.B. Macpherson and Robert Dahl as the main bases to understand the people's participation for substantive democracy. To understand liberal democracy theoretically, it emphasized on liberal thinkers like Hobbes, John Locke, Rousseau, J.S. Mill and Macpherson. It further stressed on perspectives like Feministic, Marxist, Ambedkarite, John Rawlsian and neo-liberal to understand the notion of rights, freedom, representative politics and

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[74] Suneeta Eeluri, Op.cit. 2001, pp.11-16.

unconventional people's participation to critically assess formal democracy. Since the study emphasized on democratic struggles and peoples assertions, it focused on notion of development and self determination and argued that democracy means not merely formal, representative electoral politics but people's participation in policy making and democratization of the society. Any gap between these two, there is scope for people's agitations.

Politics of Participation: Deepening of Democracy

The right to vote is not by itself sufficient. It must be adequately supplemented by the right to agitate along with right to assemble, associate, to hold beliefs and to speak out. It must be made clear that the right to agitate is required not only to achieve the equality that the Constitution promises in the future but even to protect the rights that the Constitution and the laws made under it have already given.

Dr. K. Balagopal, Human Rights Activist,
(Extract from Indian Journal of Human Rights)

This chapter focuses on relevance of social movements in general and people's movements in particular and tries to comprehend the notion of participation. It assesses how movements strive for transformation of the Nation State from authoritarianism to democracy. The study also tries to contextualize the concepts like movements, social movements, politics, participation and people's movements. The study covers inter-related and inter-dependent issues of movements.

Relevance of People's Movements

The discipline of Political science has largely focused its attention on moral political philosophy, normative concepts and working of political institutions such as the executive, the legislature, parties and elections, but the dynamics of these institutions and political process are not sufficiently studied. The study of politics of masses, their aspirations and demands, articulation of their problems, the modus operandi in asserting their demands outside the institutional framework and their occasional efforts at overthrowing the existing state power are, by and large, ignored by political science scholars. Scholars argue that earlier, under the influence of the British tradition, political science in India was confined to political philosophy, formal governmental institutions and legal framework. Second, the concept adopted by political scientists was influenced by the American and British traditions, confined to political system whose functions are: rule making, rule application and rule adjudication. Many political scientists define 'politics' as who gets what, when and how? For some, the definition of politics is 'the

authoritative allocation of values'. In the discipline of Political Science, politics confined to the conventional politics rather.[1]

The contemporary world is passing through unusual movements emanating from the worldwide unrest. There is an intense debate on these eruptions and ways and means to deal with this rapidly changing alarming global context. The State being responsible for governance derives its power from the laws of the land. Every law confers powers on the state but also limits the power so that power does not become tyrannical. The laws also define the rights and freedoms of citizenry through which their relation with the State is determined. It has been the worldwide experience that it is in the very nature of the State to transgress the limits of the law. In case of citizens at least some sections of the citizenry, there is a tendency to use freedoms to the extent of challenging the very legitimacy of State. It is, therefore, a civilizational question that how a balance is struck between these two powerful tendencies without abandoning the project of transformation of the human society into a more equitable, peaceful, fair, just and humane global order. Movement is one part of societal experience. The tragedy of the governance has been that instead of bringing in higher values into a terror stricken society, the state and more particularly the law enforcing agencies are ending up imitating and imbibing fanatic methods and culture. This is inevitable fallout of mechanistic confrontationalist approach to the national turmoil which in essence is political. That is the crux of crisis of civilized governance. [2] The people's struggles in India and abroad represent varied and much complex issues: they are described as movements in the literature variously as grassroots movements, micro movements, protest movements, community based or mass based movements etc. This chapter intends to use the term "politics of participation" interchangeably but reference to a particular genre of social movements and have since been active on a variety of issues which, in their own perception, are directly or indirectly

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[1] Ghansham Shah, Social Movements and the State, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p.1.
[2] G. Haragopal and B. Jagannatham, Terrorism and Human Rights: Indian Experience with Repressive Laws, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XLIV, No. 28, July 2009, pp. 77-78.

related to what they see as their long term goal of democratizing development and transforming the society.[3]

The relevance of social movements coupling with democracy has become almost evident at a global level. Popular movements contributed to the collapse of authoritarianism and have undergone a transition to democracy in the Philippines, Korea, and much of Eastern Europe and Latin America. The social movements have credited with ushering in democratization and with raising new issues and prompting State institutions to respond to newly articulated needs. The importance of social movements in challenging authoritarianism and in sustaining democratic transitions is well demonstrated. The significance of social movements under conditions of authoritarianism is broadly captured in the thought that they serve as a venue for sustaining and ultimately expressing popular civic sentiments and interests under circumstances where the prevailing authoritarian political climate does not allow for such forms of expression.[4]

Today the world is in great turmoil and upsurge everywhere. One notices that all the sections in the society are today protesting against large scale hunger, disease, unemployment, rapes, murders, violation of human rights and civil liberties, pollution of water and environment etc,. Literally all sections of the society are on war. Local is transforming into global and the global into local very fast. Every Nation State is lost its democratic character by resorting to violence against its sovereign people.[5] International situation has changed qualitatively during the past two decades, from what it was during the 20th century. The socialist block does not exist any more. The world is no longer bipolar. The pole is situated in U.S.A. Market has become an absolute dictator. It has assumed the right to unrestrained exploitation of natural and human resources. The transnational corporations have become more powerful than most of the Nation-States. The older forms of resistance movements like political parties, trade unions, class and

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[3] D.L. Sheth, Globalization in India and New Politics of Micro-Movements, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 39, No. 1, 2004, p.1.

[4] Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Beacon Press, Boston, 1966, pp.162-172.

[5] N.P. Chaubey, People's Struggles and Movements for Equitable Society, Bharatiya Samajik Chintan, Vol. VI, No. 3, October-December, 2007, p. 147.

mass organizations, social reform movements etc. have become almost ineffective due to number of limitations. They are (a) unable to respond to the new and more complex political situations and to new and emergent problems; b) They address, normally, only local or national issues, seldom international and global issues. c) They have only generalized concepts and understandings with little specialized knowledge and skills. d) They view everything from a mechanical class angle over issues related to race, caste, culture and identity. e) They are concerned more with central political power than with building from bottom upwards. Hence, the relevance of new resistance movements became necessary in response to the emergent global and local situations, in the context of the weaknesses of older movements, and also of new possibilities-new technologies, internet, communication revolution, new organizational patterns like networking and chain formation, cyber guerillas, free software etc. and they sprang up in the form of movements based on environment, gender, justice, human rights, peace, food security, consumer rights, anti- war peace movements, anti-free trade, anti-globalization etc. [6]

Social Movements: Concept and Context

The movements are considered as a backbone of human rights movement. There are several types of struggles that have been taking place in the society. They are class, gender, caste, religion, language, culture, regional struggles, etc. Organizations of toiling people not only struggle on specific class or sectional demands but also the movements are also considered as training school for raising consciousness of its members. Most of the struggles are won or lost depending on the strength of mobilization within the organization supplemented by outside support that becomes critical at some point of time.[7] Sidney Tarrow argues social movements as enhancing democratic processes by providing unrepresented sectors of the population with alternative channels for political participation. They also comprise organizations whose mobilization targets state institutions as well as those that engage with the state. Some movements utilize violence

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[6] ibid. 151.

[7] D.L, Sethi, Globalization and New Politics of Micro Movements, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 39, No. 39, January, 2004, Pp. 45-56.

as well as adhere to methods of civil disobedience, explicitly identify the State as a dominant agent of oppression and oppressive policies.[8]

Social movements are one form of group action. They are informal groups of individuals focusing on specific political or social issues and resisting for a social change itself defined as social movement. Modern Western social movements became possible through education (the wider dissemination of literature), and increased mobility of labour due to the industrialization and urbanization of 19th century societies. It is argued that the freedom of expression, education and relative economic independence prevalent in the modern Western culture is responsible for the unprecedented number and scope of various contemporary social movements. Sidney Tarrow defined social movement as collective challenge against the dominance of elites, political authorities and cultural groups. The term "social movements" was introduced in 1850 by the German Sociologist Lorenz Von Stein in England and North America during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Tilly Charles argues that the early growth of social movements was connected to broad economic and political changes including parliament, market capitalization, and proletarian. In the 1970s, women's rights, peace, civil rights and environmental movements emerged, often described as new social movements. Some find in the end of the 1990s the emergence of a new global social movement, the anti-globalization movement.[9]

Barnes and Kaase define protest as "unconventional form of political action it earns the label unconventional because protesters seek to influence social and political outcomes not through traditional channels of political participation such as voting and campaign contributions but by exerting pressure and demands outside the traditional channels and institutions". Gamson asserts that protest is "simply politics by other means". Dalton; Sickle states that protest is a "continuum of unconventional political action which seeks to influence the course of social and political change from outside traditional institutions.

[8] Mary Katzenstein Kothari and Uday Mehta, Social Movement Politics in India: Institutions, Interests and Identities, (Edit) Atul, Kohli, 'The Success of Indian Democracy', Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001, p. 243-247.
[9] Barnes, S. Kaase, M, Political Action, Mass Participation in Five western Democracies, Sage publications, Beverly Hill, 1979, pp. 12-13.

Protest is difficult to measure "because it is an unconventional activity as protest activity is not a readily available in conventional politics. Dalton and Sickle stresses revealed that "people protest not because they are frustrated and excluded from politics but because they protest and expect governments to respond". Gurr defined protest in economic terms "protest is viewed as product of societal problems and unmet grievances. Gurr further provides more details of the grievances model that "changing social conditions cause people to experience relative deprivation that increases sense of grievance or dissatisfaction which are a prime cause of political action. When people have slightly less than what they think that they are entitled to, that leads to relative deprivation which leads to general spur to action".[10]

Charles Tilly defines social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people made collective claims on others. For Tilly, social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in politics. He argues that there are three major elements to social movements. One) Campaigns- a sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on target authorities; second) repertoire- employment of combinations from among the following forms of political action; three) creation of special-purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, solemn processions, vigils, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives, statements to and in public media, and pamphleteering.[11] Protests are not strictly social movements, but more often a social movement developed in the course of time. They may begin with agitation without any organization or an ideology but considered it as a movement. It depends upon the way of analysis and the perspective of scholars. Agitations, protests, strikes and even riots are quite often but not always a part of social movements of a particular stratum of society.[12]

Partha Mukerji classifies movements based on the criterion of equality of change it intends to bring about or the kind of change that has been effected. According to him the

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[10]ibid. pp. 12-13.
[11] Tilly, Charles, *Social Movements 1768–2004*, Boulder, CO, Paradigm Publishers, Colorado, 2004, p.3.
[12] B. Jagannatham, Politics of Participation and Human Rights: A Case Study of Protests in Hyderabad City, Indian Journal of Human Rights, Vol. 5, No.2, 2005, pp.144-145.

nature of movements could be 'accumulative', alternative, and 'transformative'. If social mobilization demands changes 'within' the system, the changes that are likely to happen would be accumulative. If the social mobilization is aimed at creating new structures which would qualitatively affect the entire system, then the change, in case attained, will be alternative. But in transformative movements social mobilization seeks to replace on structure and substitute it by another. [13] M.S.A. Rao calls the accumulative movements as quasi-movements in full sense. Rao himself talks about three types of social movements which aim at bringing about 'reform' in some area of life or the other, involving new relationships, activities, norms and values. In contrast, 'transformative' movements are oriented towards effecting changes in power relations i.e. the super-ordinate and subordinate relationships. And there are movements which aim at 'revolutionary' changes in all domains of life of in all basic values.[14] Thus, there are different types of social movements which are talked about. Essentially, they could be put into two categories-one referring to changes 'within' the system, and the other implying changes 'of' the system. In the first category could be placed the reformist and alternative/transformative movements, and in the second the revolutionary movements. This is in terms of their ideological orientations and consequences. Reformist movements would refer to changes of 'minor' nature within the system. Transformative movements would involve 'major' changes within the system. And replacement of one system by another would be the trait of revolutionary movements.[15]

Components of Movements

The important components of social movements include objectives, ideology, programmes, leadership and organization. They are inter- dependant and influence each other. Objectives of the movements start from narrow local issues to broad aims for social transformation. The Ideology provides direction for evolving strategies. The Programme keeps participants together by developing a feeling of "we" ness. Various strategies and programmes are evolved to mobilize the masses and make them play a

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[13]Kameshwar Chowdhary, Historical Overview of Social Movements in India and water Management, 8th Biennial Conference of the IASCP, Indiana University, Bloomington, May 31-June 4 2000, p.3.
[14]M.S.A. Rao, Social Movements in India, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1979, p.xiv.
[15]ibid.p.3.

crucial role in articulating ideology and objectives. Ranajit Guha pointed out that though these components are found in all types of movements including the spontaneous and rebellious movements but their forms vary from structure to organizations.[16]

Typologies

Andrew Gunder Frank has explained about nine facets of social movements. They are the following: (one) movements responding to circumstances, through which change will occur as a result of political economy and ideological fluctuations; two) social movements tend to have life styles of their own; three) social movements are composed of region, religion, race, ethnicity, language, caste, etc; four) most of the social movements do not speak about power but influence the state institutions; five) Social movements lead to social transformation; six) social movements delink and transition to socialism; seven) coalitions and conflicts among social movements, (eight) the lack the behavior of "goodness"; nine) social movements differ with State but share moral motivation.[17]

Paul Wilkinson pointed out two basic elements such as a minimum degree of organization and commitment for the existence of a social movement. He gave the following definitions of social movement. a) A Social movement is a collective attempt to promote change in any direction and by any means but not include violence, illegality and revolution. b) A social movement's commitment depends upon the conscious violation, normative commitment to the movements, aims or beliefs, and fuller participation of the followers or members.[18] Given different dimensions of concepts of protest movements, the structural conditions, and motivational forces that give rise to protest movements can be explained. Viewed in a broad historical perspective, we may

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[16] Andrew Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes, Nine Thesis on Social Movements, (in edit) Ghansham Shah, 'Social Movements and State: Readings in Indian Government and Politics, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp.202-33.
[17] ibid. pp. 202-33.
[18] Ghansham Shah, "Social Movements and State", Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2002, Pp. 15-31.

identify four major phases in transformation of political authority structures and associated variations in the nature of social movements.[19]

Protest is an important form of social movement. It is a non-institutionalized mode that brings the desired goal of either change in the existing social, economic and political order or resists that change. There are a large number of techniques of protests. These include small meetings, leaf letting, postering, submitting memorandum, Press conference, press statements, long marches on foot, holding meetings at public places, mass rallies, processions, observing protest days, political drama, mass deputation, torch light procession, demonstrations, *hartals*, strikes, picketing, sathyagraha, *dharna*, fasting unto death, destruction of public property holding up of transport, uprooting of railway tracks, wires, localized attempts to throw off state authority and run parallel administration, declared or undeclared warfare in a region, etc .[20]

David Bayley speaks about six primary forms of protests in the Indian context such as processions and public meetings, *hartals* (work stoppage), boycotts, strikes, obstructions, and courting of arrest and riots. These general forms of protests can be divided into two main groups; legal and illegal. Again, the illegal protests are sub divided into violent and non-violent. The nature of protest depends on the causes that it espouses. Since the society has been hierarchically organized on the basis of caste and characterized by oppression, a number of protest movements sprang up around the causes of caste in India. The opposition, conflict, and protest mark the relationship of the lower castes with the upper castes.[21] Srivastava has said that there have been growing resentments and protests of the people of the scheduled castes towards atrocities perpetrated and various types of discriminations practiced against them. They adopted such course of action for more in self-defense, or to gain self- respect and assert their dignity in pursuing their socio-economic development through the constitutional measures. Sometimes such protest movements appear to be well organized, and get quickly dissipated depending upon the

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[19] Charles Tilly, working Paper, Rural Collective Action in Modern Europe, The Centre for Research Social Organization, Michigan, April 1974, p.3.
[20] Mohammed Yasin and Nandadas Gupta, Indian Politics: Protests and movements, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 2003, p.8
[21] ibid. p.8.

degree of social and political consciousness and mobilization of the groups involved in organizing and carrying out protests and movements.[22]

A Model of Protest Bargaining and the Size of Demonstrations and Change

As Michael Lipsky convincingly showed that publicity about the protests can serve to recruit ideological allies who already have bargained resources with decision makers. Wilson Lipsky provided two important models of bargaining protest. They saw protest as a bargaining resource which enabled the politically powerless to mobilize resources and apply negative sanctions to decision makers. The powerless relied on unusual measures to create disorder and thereby applying pressure on their opponents. The active groups have maneuverability, which would occur if the issues were populated by a wider collection of organized interests. But when real or imagined threats to widely shared values are perceived by a large proportion of the public who believe that public officials can eliminate the threat, the demand get under stress swamped by new participants and the earlier maneuverability of the organized groups gets greatly constricted.[23] Wilson Lipsky holds that the power of direct action is partially a derivative of the order it threatens or the disruption it causes. Wilson further says that authority does not respond to demonstrations participated by non-assertive activists, but, two decades earlier, the authority used to respond immediately. Due to these reasons, organizations try to make coalition with other sister organizations and try to make it a success. The small protests possibly cause more disorder than that of protests with thousands of participants. Usually, authority customarily equates size with the strength of the movement. Surprisingly, large demonstrations were followed by some change in government policies significantly more often than smaller demonstrations.[24]

Understanding the Notion of Politics

Politics is seen as associated with governmental activities. Politics means "the science of government of states". Robert has defined politics as "the art and practice of government

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[22]S.K. Srivastava, Social Movements for Social Development, Chugh Publications, Allahabad, 1998, pp.17-25.

[23] Michael, Lipsky, Protest as Political Resource, American Political Science Review, No. 12, Dec 1968, p.1148.

[24]ibid.p.1144-58.

of human societies". Today, however, the government of states is related to that of other human societies. The term government means organized power, the institutions of command and control. Politics also means competition between the individuals for political power. The situation roughly corresponds to the elementary distinction between its rulers and ruled and between leaders and members.[25] This could be easily illustrated by analyzing classical Greece politics. In Greek politics the term participation refers to decision-making and exercise of authority. In the nineteen sixties, David Easton conceptualized politics as the 'authoritative allocation of values'. Bernard Crick illustrates that politics refers not so much to authoritative decision-making, but the processes by which decisions could be reached warmly. Politics is also understood as referring to the public domain through the use of covert and or overt coercive power. Public domain emphasizes that politics refers not merely to decision-making but pertains to the manner in which power, wealth and resources are distributed in society. Politics is also not seen as confined to the public domain, but as something which permeates all institutions and unfolds at every level of social existence.[26]

It is essential to understand the politics in two directions; one) politics is conflict, a struggle in which power allows those who possess it to ensure their hold on society and profit by it; two, politics is an effort to bring the rule of law, order and justice in which power guarantees general interests and common good against the pressures of private interests. Another way to understand the polity is that politics serves to maintain the privileges of a minority against the majority. In the later, it is a means to realize the integration of all citizens into the community and create a just state. The acceptance of one or other of these notions is in part determined by social situation. The oppressed, the unsatisfied, the poor, the wretched whether as individuals or a class, cannot see power as assuring a real order, but only a caricature of it behind which is hidden the domination of privilege; for them politics means conflict. Those who are rich, well provided for,

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[25] Robert A. Heywood, The Theory of Political Coalitions, American Politics Science Review, Los Angeles, 2003, p. 54.
[26] K. Balagopal, 'Crime, Repression and Terror in Indian 'politics ;chapter on Indian Politics written for IGNOU-New Delhi; source: http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/25711/1/Unit-32.pdf

satisfied, find society harmonious and see power as maintaining an authentic order; for them politics means integration. The two attitudes express only a part of the truth.[27]

Rajni Kothari argues that politics of India moved from 'from politics of trust to politics of suspicion' after two decades after independence. He characterized it as 'decades of trust'. Politics in these decades was determined by a sense of trust between people marked by a mutual concern had understanding about what constituted the 'common good'. Politics was seen as an 'ethical space' where conflicts were resolved agreeably and honorably. He argues that in seventies the trust got shifted to end of politics. The 'ethical space' of politics was dominated by violence, crime, corruption and repression, marking what Kothari calls the 'virtual elimination of politics'. The people confront today is not the crisis of politics but its virtual elimination. The last decade has marked the beginning of the Indian State that has not only deprived society of a basic consensus, but avoided any scope of dialogue on it. The violence, the fear, the repression, the rhetoric of deceit and doublespeak, are symptoms not merely of crises but the end of politics.[28]

Indian politics provide no longer the democratic space where, through dialogue and interaction, the aspirations and needs of the people could be affirmed and resolved. The 'end of politics' is seen as the period in which the relationship of dialogue among people as well as the people and the state is ruptured by crime, repression and terror as the means of conflict resolution.[29] Telangana movement for the last six decades for separate Statehood stands as a testimony. All the sections are taking part in the movement including Dalits, Tribals and other backward classes for not merely territorial Telangana but also for democratic Telangana in which, they believe, their rights could be secured, self respect could be upheld. Almost three hundred fifty students and youth died in the decade of 1960s and many of them were arrested irrespective of their socio-economic background. The State considers this problem as a law and order problem and uses the police and army battalions to put down the movement. Both the governments tried to

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[27] Duverger, Maurice, The Idea of Politics, the Use of Power in Society, Methuen & Co. limited, London, 1964.
[28] K. Balagopal; source: http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/25711/1/Unit-32.pdf
[29]ibid.

delay the issue rather than solve the problem quickly. Though, the government formally constituted several committees and enacted the laws and formulated the pacts and agreements, they never taken them seriously. Thus, this negative attitude of state led spurt in agitations again and again. The same experience once again witnessed in the year 2009-10, though the movement has had on edge since a decade. In this background Kothari's argument shift "trust of politics to end of politics" gets reflected in Telangana movement. It is argued that when State delays the issue or use the police force to smash the movement, there is a scope for violence in the movement. Telangana movement witnessed it in the recent movement. Either it is State violence or private violence the violence in terms of self immolations by the agitators leads to crisis in governability as argue by Atul Kohli. This poses a danger to the very notion of democracy and weakens it. Hence State has to deal with the demands in a democratic way with substantive deliberations. This positive approach seems to be lacking in governance.

Participatory Democracy and origins

A new generation of young scholars rejected the elitist theory of democracy because of its conservative ideology, and sought to reconceptualize democracy based on the ideas of 'power to the people. Traditional democracy rests on the assumption that all citizens should become essentially equal in both their concern with public issues and their competence to make decisions concerning the issues. Consequently, all citizens should participate equally in public decision making and should exercise relatively equal amounts of influence in the political system. "One man, one vote" became the rallying cry of this political movement in the eighteenth centuries, and its principal goal was the election of all governmental leaders through popular voting. The best interest of the total political community is served when all citizens participate in the political process and the majority rules. Democratic theory offered a radically different conception of how power should be distributed and used in society. The democratic ideal of political power rests collectively in the hands of all citizens who entrust it periodically through mass elections to officials who are empowered and trusted to act on behalf of the people.[30]

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[30] Olsen, Marvin E, Participatoty Pluralism: Political Participation and Influence in the United States and Swedan, Nelson Hall, Chicago, 1982, p. 18.

Participatory politics means beyond voting. An individual either join in non political organization political in nature which attempt to influence on the conventional political system.[31] Carole Pateman argues that the intellectual roots of participatory democracy lie in the classical writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau and John Stuart Mill. This is not a new idea. Both Rousseau and Mill believed fervently in the necessity of citizen participation for political democracy. Rousseau sought to justify this assumption on the grounds that participation performs a vital educational effect, educated people to be informed, interested, and involved citizens who have a sense of control over their lives and concern for the broader community. As these qualities develop throughout the population, they will in turn strengthen the democratic processes and institutions that promote citizen participation, in a continual cycle of self-reinforcement. Mill added the observation that the major educational effect of participation in collective decision making occurs in local government and in the work place, where the individual can have direct influence on these decisions, practice participatory skills on a regular basis, and perhaps even serve on a governing body of some kind. Pateman's principal reason for examining these two political theorists at considerable length is to make clear that democratic theory has always stressed citizen participation in public decision making.[32]

The participatory democracy which emerged in the 1960s was basically just a rediscovery of traditional democratic philosophy. Nevertheless, the 1960s did contribute in at least three important ways to the reemergence of the ideal of participatory democracy. a) The social and political turmoil of that decade, swirling around the twin themes of racism and poverty, awakened in many people a concern for public issues outside their own immediate lives, and demonstrated that through collective action ordinary citizens can influence governmental policy and programs. b) The organized social movements developed during the same decade from community organization programmes to environmental protection campaigns. They were primarily grass-roots efforts that drew

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[31]ibid. p. 59.
[32] ibid. p. 59.

most of their support from ordinary citizens, and in the process introduced them to political action.[33]

The features of participatory democracy are that all individuals must have full opportunities to participate as extensively as they wish in all collective decision making pertains to them; participation in collective decision making must not be limited to voting, but should include a wide variety of activities requiring varying degrees of commitment and involvement; responsibility for collective decision making is to be widely dispersed, so that it is not limited to officials and/or experts but includes all persons who will be affected by those decisions; participation in collective decision making must not be limited to the political system, but should extend throughout all realms of social life; participation in collective decision making within nonpolitical spheres of life will teach individuals political skills and norms and will motivate them to become involved in larger political issues.[34]

For the past two hundred years, Western nations have been struggling with the questions of what roles citizens should play in political processes and who should be entitled to enact these roles. As T.H. Marshall pointed out, this pervasive movement to extend and expand the rights of citizenship has been fraught with conflict and is presently nowhere near resolution. The central tenet of political democracy is that all qualified citizens should enjoy full rights and opportunities for meaningful political participation. The concept of participatory democracy repudiates elitist model of democracy, as it believes people's participation is the basic principle of democracy. Political participation denotes the active involvement of individuals and groups in the governmental processes affecting their lives. Even the passive resistance, civil disobedience and Satyagraha are included in the concept of political participation. They are the manifestation of a strong awareness of public interest.[35] Participation refers to actions through which ordinary members of a political system influence or attempt to influence outcomes. Ordinary members of a political system can be any person except those who perform the activities in question as

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[33]ibid. pp. 22-23.
[34]ibid. pp. 22-23.
[35] O.P. Gouba, Introduction to Political Theory, McMillan Publications, New Delhi, p. 76.

a requirement of their principal jobs. According to Jack H. Nagal, participation has to do with influence from the bottom up, not from the top down. He also says participation can determine through participating in elections as voters and contesters. By pressurizing officials directly through referendums and meetings, common people can influence decisions. Politics include not only governments but also other organizations that control the behaviour or resources of their members through sanctions or legitimacy.[36]

Partha Chatterjee refers Participatory democracy is a deliberative dialog and decision making process which hears all voices and diverse perspectives to enact meaningful change. Ideally, it would be an equitable process embarked upon by a group empowered with decision-making authority, surfacing a deeper understanding of issues, and is consolidated around a common purpose, forging a collective decision out of individual interests. Participatory democracy is inclusive, requires practice and reflection, accepts and absorbs conflict, actively addresses dissent, and pays attention to those who speak softly or who are on the margins. He argues that the growth of democracy does not depend primarily on the strengthening of civil society but on something else, for instance, increasing entry of the rural population and urban poor into political society. This is the space of governmentality, in which population groups are able to compel the post-colonial state to negotiate their entitlements.[37] It is argued, this positive type of inclusion is missing in India's political process.

The origins of participatory democracy showed in the movements created in the late 60s and 70s in the North. That includes the women, students and radical trade union movement - in response to the weak, ineffective nature of electoral democracy. These radical social movements were the product of a very specific historical experience. Although the movements themselves were defeated in many ways, some of their ideas have lasted and now get connected closely with participatory developments in the South, especially Latin America, and particularly Brazil.[38] Traditional representative

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[36] Jack H. Nagel, Participation, Printice Hall International, London, 2005, pp. 1-5.
[37] T Partha Chatterjee , The Politics of the Governed Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World, Columbia University, New York, 2004, pp.33-39.
[38] ibid. pp.33-39.

democracies tend to limit citizen participation to voting, leaving actual governance to politicians. Participatory democracy strives to create opportunities for all members of a political group to make meaningful contributions to decision-making, and seeks to broaden the range of people who have access to such opportunities. Some define the term 'participatory democracy' based on community based activity within the domain of civil society and non-governmental public sphere as it is considered as the precondition for the emergence of a strong liberal democracy. Participatory democracy is usually not considered as representative democracy but it is an alternative term to representative democracy. Participatory politics is a long-range political theory that incorporates many characteristics of representative politics. It strives to create a political system that will allow people to participate in politics, as much as possible in a face-to-face manner.[39]

Huntington and Nelson made instrumental, or utilitarian, argument to elucidate the concept of participation. If participants want to influence policy-making, they cannot achieve through purely private effort or individually but can achieve collectively. They are more powerful when they are collectively strong than individual. The idea that participation is a source of influence seems self-evident to most of the people. By participating in politics, people possibly will get or gain their desired goals. If the objectives of participation seem not worthy, the cost or can be secured by other means, then from the instrumental perspective, people need not participate at all. They consider Participation as developmental or educative as it changes participants by developing in them new values, attitudes, skills, knowledge and beliefs. Because the individual is thus transformed by the participatory experience, advocates of the educative effects of participation rarely invoke the individual's present preferences to justify political involvement. Indeed, they usually hope that people will change by adopting more worthy values. First; they believe, people who participate will gain in political efficacy. They will learn how the system works and develop skills that enable them to affect its decisions. Second; by interacting with others of diverse views, participants will become better democratic citizens. They would learn to accept people who differ from themselves. Third; involvement in making decisions will elicit greater commitment to the

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[39]ibid. pp.33-39.

system as a whole. Obviously, the various educative effects of participation can greatly facilitate the smooth functioning of a polity or organization.[40]

No human rights perspective can be complete without comprehensive vision and also an action strategy against all structures and forms of dominance. He called it as participatory politics. The civil liberties and democratic right movements have been able to grasp this essence through not only very excruciating experience but also sacrificing of its own members. The movements have also realized that the gains of democracy or peoples movements should not only be consolidated but also further extended as a part of overall transformative process. In other words, commitment, sacrifice, creativity are the main tenants of participatory democracy. This leads to creative society. He also holds that there are two perspectives of protest movements in India. One, the protest movements are to be viewed as potential instruments for bringing about desired change in the society. The protests are viewed as the instruments or avenues reflecting the aspirations of the people thus preventing the system from deviating people's struggles also help the system in refining, designing and reorienting priorities in politics. In contrast to this, other scholars argue that the protest movements are antithetical to the smooth governance of politics and as such, halt economic growth and social change. This debate could be debated in understanding of substantive democracy. The rise in productive forces may take faster than change in the structure of consciousness. There is also a possibility of consciousness undergoing change even on an under-developed material base. This depends on the groups and parties that take up the task of change and the levels of consciousness.[41]

Participatory Democracy and its Responsibility

The first view of participation draws attention to the power that the mass of people, conventionally defined as 'powerless', possess by virtue of the need that the existing social order has for their complicity. This gives them a power of refusal; refusal to

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[40]Hilary Wainwright, Why Participatory Democracy Matters And Movements Matter to Participatory Democracy, June 2005; source: http://www.tni.org/detail_page.phtml?page=archives_wainwright_matter,
[41]G. Haragopal, Political Economy of Human Rights: Emerging Dimensions, Himalayan Publications, Bombay, 1992, p. 27.

reproduce the status quo and with it the power collectively to transform social relationships. This approach emphasizes people's creative power to make alternatives, within the present society, alternatives that illustrate or exemplify the values that they are struggling to realize in the future. The struggles raise many issues of popular autonomy and the creation of alternatives which would involve democratic control over public resources and therefore imply a transformation of the state - both its internal hierarchies and its relation to struggles within society[42] A few politicians and public administrators argue that the institutions/organizations are in danger of losing credibility with the people. Their solution is to open up institutions to representatives of local organizations, but without sharing of power, it is useless. Other section of politicians and administrators argue that peoples cause as a struggle to participate in the decisions of the state. Participatory democracy gives an opportunity for activist groups to change the rhetoric ideas/policies to reality/concrete.[43] The participatory democracy challenges and balances existing representative arrangements. The legitimacy of participatory democracy lies in the high degree of participation with transparent, open discussion and based on mutually agreed rules.[44] It is also a radical form that rooted in an autonomous public sphere. It can monitor the work of the executive and state apparatus. It is able to do where politicians never do. Its legitimacy comes from the intensity of the activity and the transparency and openness of the process. It generates self-confident expectations and pressurize in the form of lobbying or campaigning on the representative elected bodies who participate in the decision making process.[45]

Evolution and History of Movements

Evolution of movements could be understood from two directions: philosophical or natural and historical movement. Initially the protest movements started when human being started struggling with nature. This deeper process that governs this phenomenon: (a) the struggle of human beings with nature; (b) the struggle of human beings, to be more specific struggles of the oppressed classes, against stifling and strangulating

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[42]ibid. p. 27.
[43]ibid. p. 27.
[44] source: http://www.tni.org/detail_page.phtml?page=archives_wainwright_matter,
[45]ibid.

structures of domination. The struggle that human beings carry against nature is more to meet their physical and material needs. Whereas the class struggles aim at realizing "spiritual" urges. For human beings have an inner craving for love, friendship and solidarity. They oppose the constraints on freedom and creativity through different forms ranging from mild protest to violent revolt. All the structures that impose these constraints are fought till they are demolished. It is in this process of demolition of the old there springs new human values with fragrancey. In the process human life is pushed to unknown but higher material and spiritual heights.[46]

Barrington Moore argues that industrialization is the major determinant of totalitarianism in the twentieth century. Moore argues that the process of modernization led to different paths depending on the degree to which capitalism penetrates rural life where the landed classes have turned to production for market in a way that enables commercial influence to permeate rural life, peasant revolutions have been weak. In such circumstances, there is a spectrum of bourgeois revolutions, ranging from France to the semi-capitalist transformation in Germany and Japan where traditional elements survived to arrest the political excesses (democracy) of capitalism. Moore argues that the development of modernization can be reached on three different paths. One road is the capitalist democracy; Moore calls it the "bourgeois revolution, which was the road that England took through the Puritan Revolution, the French through the French Revolution, and the United States through Civil War. Second; the development that took place in Japan and Germany. Moore points out "in the absence of strong revolutionary surge, it passed through reactionary political forms to culminate in Fascism.[47]

Protest movement can be understood as a complex set of many actions done by different collective actors oriented towards either some broad issues and goals or specific objectives. A protest activity can be defined as a form of political action involving resistance to one or more policies or conditions created by favoritism or display of an unconventional power. Protests in terms of mass actions are used exclusively for negative

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[46] G. Haragopal, delivered a lecture at XXXI Indian Social Science Congress, Mumbai, December 27-31, 2007.
[47] Barrington Moore, op.cit. 1966, pp.427-429.

inducements, which are not preferred but preferred in an absolute sense but preferred over alternative possibilities. In fact it was during the sixteenth century which was considered pre-political or stateless phase in the history, most of the movements were identified as unorganized or spontaneous mobilizations. During this phase protest movements were invoked through notions such as primitive rebellions, tribal outbursts, slave riots etc. The eighteenth century witnessed anti-imperialist and anti-colonial mobilizations, which led to collective activities and larger movements and the nineteenth century witnessed for the emergence of people's movements across the world. They challenged centralized economic and political power in both industrial nations and the Third World countries. The protest movements are rooted in the global political economy in general and third world countries in particular. India is one of the striking examples of this. Even this century witnessed the spread of science and technology followed by industrial revolution and development of modern capitalism. The antagonism between classes or occupational categories got accentrated and resulted in movements.[48]

Barrington Moore argues that the twentieth century has been a century of democratic upsurge. Classical forms of democratic imperialism and colonialism were overthrown in Asia and Africa in the course of struggles for liberation. Right to independence of national and self determination of people acquired the status of basic human rights. The great social revolutionary in Russia, China, Cuba, Vietnam and elsewhere challenged the foundations of class oppression by landlords and capitalists and created visions of equality and freedom as cherished values for social reconstruction. Despite the reversals of some of those revolutions, their legacies have an abiding significance. Therefore, the struggles for liberation are multidimensional.[49] The phenomenon of Fascism and Nazism, military dictatorship, authoritarianism, eternal intervention and new forces of domination through transfer of technology, capital and modern communication are some of the indicators of the process of domination. Such trends have been visible not only at the international level but also at national and local levels.[50]

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[48]ibid. pp. 441-451
[49]ibid. pp. 441-451
[50]ibid. p.441.

Reform (Protest) Movements in India

Pre-independence India witnessed many reformist protest movements. These reformist movements were under the leadership of Brahmo Samaj of 1825, Prarthana Samaj of 1867, Arya Samaj of 1875, the Theosophical Society of 1875, Wahabi Movement and Aligarh Movement. All these early protest movements were basically reformist in character aiming at bringing certain incremental changes in the socio-religious life of the people. These movements were directed against the conservative and irrational elements practiced in India. These were reformative movements that influenced the society and contributed significantly to the growth of nationalism among the Indian people[51]. In south India, there were many social reformers who worked for reforms in social system like Mahtma Jyotirao Phule's Satya Shodak Samaj movement and Ambedkar's anticaste, antiuntouchability struggle in Maharastra, Periyar Ramaswamy Naicker's non-Brahmin movement in Tamil Nadu and Sri Narayana Guru and Sri Ayyan Kali's social reform struggles in Kerala. Thus, the multi directional lower caste struggles were in essence not only against the Brahminical and feudal social order but also against the Colonial collusion power structure. They questioned the authority of the Vedas and other Hindu sacred texts, which endorsed the colonial administration that was dominated by the upper castes, and their maintenance of deceptive land accounts, which prevented the Dalits from owning land. [52]

In Andhra Pradesh, several reform movements took place and they influenced people enormously. Kandukuri Veereshalingam attacked official high handedness as well as prostitution and concubinage prevailing in society. He created awareness and social consciousness among the youth and strived for spread of education in general and women in particular and further strived to spread knowledge to liberate people from their deep-rooted superstitutions and social evils. And he also strived for scientific education in the local language and growth of rationalist thinking. Apart from Veereshalingam, there were others like Desaraju Pedabapaiah, Ragupathi Venkataratnam and Unnava Laxminarayana also worked for social reforms, educational reforms in Andhra society. Basaweshwara

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[51] Ashok S. Choulaskar, Indian Idea of Political Resistance, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, 1990, p. 5-8.
[52] K.Y. Ratnam, The Dalit Movement and Democratization in Andhra Pradesh, working paper No. 13, East-West Center, Washington, December, 2008, p.3

who was the founder of Veerasaivism denounced the caste system, the vedic rites of animal sacrifices, the inferior status of women compared to men and the ritual concepts of purity and pollution. He opposed child marriages, allowed widow remarriage and pleaded for individual freedom in matrimonial matters. Vemana attacked social inequalities and distinction based on birth and every external aspect of Hindu ascetic devotees who set their hopes of salvation upon formal ceremonies. He condemned caste and emphatically stated "that it is worth, not birth, that should determine a man's position".

Brahmanaidu of Palnadu was a Vaishnavite by faith and introduced certain reforms in social matters. He appears to have discarded caste and custom and encouraged the heterodox practice of interdining among people belonging to different castes. Potuluri Veerabrahmam propagated his ideas of reform through poems written in a simple style called Kalagnana Tatvalu. He condemned the hierarchical system of caste and believed that Vedic knowledge could be gained by one and all and pleaded for the discontinuance of idolatry and strongly criticized superstitions. He advocated marriage reform and stated that girls should be married only after they passed the age of puberty. He admitted women into his order and made them eligible for sainthood. His philosophy was his trenchant criticism of untouchability and pollution. Narsaiah preached mostly among the Madigas. He argued for moral code of good conduct and exhorted them not to worship idols and preached unity of Godhead.[53] Dalits in Telangana started the autonomous "Adi Andhra" Self Respect movement under the leadership of Madari Bhagaiah, popularly known as Bhagya Reddy varma, Ariga Rama Swamy, and B.S. Venkat Rao endlessly engaged themselves in conscientizing Dalits as of their identities and plight. There were dalit organizations called Manya Sangam, Adi Hindu social service league, Sawstik Dala Yuvagana Sangam, Adi-Hindu Jatiyonnati Sabha, Sabhari Sangam, Arunodaya Yuvajana Sangam, etc., these worked for the emancipation of Dalits before formation of Andhra Pradesh .[54]

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[53] V. Ramakrishna, Social Reforms in Andhra, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 37-40.
[54] Ibid.p.4.

Several Forms of Resistance

Sri Aurobindo in his theory of Passive Resistance, emphasized on three methods of political resistance in India which include petition and prayer, revolt, and self-development. He discussed the policy of self development in the form of swadeshi and boycott, national education and establishment of arbitration courts on its own and also achievement of political freedom for the country. The bureaucrats and colonial forces definitely opposed the policy of self-development resulting in boycott and *hartals* by common masses. It had greatly pressurized the British government to keep up certain promises that they made to the Indian people. He maintains that, if the British oppose the concept of self-development or follow any kind of oppressive methods against the common people, then people offer organizeded or active resistance instead of passive or defensive methods. He held that prayers, petitions in protests are not possible always and might not produce any result. He also said that passive resistance and boycott were perfectly ethical as they were aimed at the realization of higher goals. He did not favour revolutionary terrorism, instead, always advocated for the political protest movement, by which the political development could be achieved.[55]

Ambedkar in his theory of social and political resistance advocated and built Dalit Movement. Though, Ambedkar did not completely approve Gandhi's Satyagraha, he used the term Satyagraha as a part of Dalit movement. He opined that the struggle against injustice had begun by those who suffered the evils of Hindu Religion, and also said that satyagragha was the means to fight against injustice. He further stressed that 'if our cause is based on truth, we need not worry about its success as truth always leads to success". The spirit of resistance originated out of his moral conviction that was based on truth, he says that violence and non-violence do change the moral character of the cause. Sometimes one has to take recourse to violence for sheer self-preservation and this type of violence is admissible. The main objects of Ambedkar's social movement include (i) create awakening in the minds of people (ii) to educate depressed classes and organize them to agitate against the social evils of Hindu Religion. (iii) Pressurize the government

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[55] Ashok S. Choulaskar, op.cit. 1990, pp.32-38.

through confrontation and conciliation and pleaded for politicization of the issue.[56] Mahatma Gandhi's theory of political disobedience strongly believed that untruth and falsehood could only be defeated by truth. He opined that for attaining pure ends over means through non violence. He further held that ends and means were equally important and unity between the two was needed. His freedom movement (struggle) based on truth, non-violence, Satyagraha, civil disobedience and non-cooperation which brought freedom to India[57].

As long as the notion of discrimination, deprivation, and denial of fair treatment continues, the phenomenon of protests leading to outbursts in one form or the other violent or non violent will continue to operate. As such, the past experience shows that these protest movements have been able to affect the entire process of nation building, national integration and the process of socio-economic development in a multi-lingual, regional, ethnic society and polity. A highly interventionist state dealing with poor economy became an object of intense political competition leading to frustration for some in the game of politics, thereby resulting in the mobilization of common masses for growing access to and control over political competition. The past experience shows that the protest movements have influenced the working of Indian social, economic and political system in general and federal government in particular. Given these contradictions that are thought to be the breeding grounds for protest movements in India, one observes a large number of protest movements of different types and natures some times recede within observable time and scale without much challenge to the unity, integrity and existence of the system. But some protests, in course of time assume much higher scale and operational area posing substantial threat to the existence and functioning of political system.[58]

Public Opinion: Media and Internet

Social movement oriented organizations seeking to influence public opinion and political agenda depend in part upon mass media to communicate their messages to a more general

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[56]ibid., pp.89-93.
[57]ibid., pp.76-82.
[58] Yasin Mohammed & Nandadas Gupta, o p.cit. Pp. 6-7.

audience. Michael Lipsky identifies objectives of mass media, such as i) protest group constituent. ii) communicate the message, iii) refer public, iv) government or political target. In this analysis protests serve both internal solidarity building functions as well as broader functions of communicating movement in a critical manner. Protest constituents have means of direct communication with protest organizers through participation in demonstrations themselves and interpersonal ties. By organizing the protest events, activists hope to attract the attention of media through which they influence the policy makers.[59] It is widely believed that mass media has an important role to play in achieving national goals. The UNESCO report provides the following functions of communication. They are dissemination of information, socialization, motivation, promoting discussions on public issues, education, culture promotion and entertainment and integration based on the political, cultural and social motivations that influence the people those who select information. Theodore Peterson criticized mass media as it has wielded enormous power to its own ends and propagated its own opinions at the expense of opposing points of view. He says that the media have been subordinated to big business and some times allowed the advertisers to control the editorial policy and content. Further, the mass media often paid more attention to the superficial and sensational issues in their reports on human events than to the critical issues. The mass media is not emphasizes much on public issues but focuses on private interests as it controls rich socio-economic class or "the entrepreneurial class".[60]

Role of Technology in contemporary Era for the Success of Protest Movements

The technology serves multiple functions that are both: positive as well as negative for organizations which are fighting against violation of human rights. It is understood that protest movements were traditionally based on activities such as street theatre, public demonstrations and direct action to challenge the authorities. In modern times the technology has provided new dynamism by electronically promoting the spread of protest ideals and tactics quickly and efficiently across national boundaries. The internet may serve multiple functions for all these organizations by means of e-mail lobbying with

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[59] Michael Lipsky, Protest as a Political Resource." American Political Science Review 1968, pp. 1144-58.
[60] ibid., pp.62:1144-

elected representatives, public officials and policy makers; networking with the related associations and organizations; mobilizing organizations, activists, and members using action alerts, news letters and e-mails; raising funds and recruiting supporters and sending communication to the public along with the traditional news media.[61] The global reach and real-time speed of the Internet make it particularly useful for transnational support networks as exemplified by various campaigns. Through the internet people can subscribe to advocacy and lobbying groups, affiliated with the organization, receive e-mailed policy news letters and action alerts, sent faxes and e-mails to decision makers, circulate electronic petitions, learn about forthcoming street demonstrations, protest events as well as share effective strategies for activism.[62] It is understood that after the manifestation of science and technology, many NGO groups, through the use of websites, and email, convey their uncensored messages to the world in order to activate and motivate groups. For example, the success of many international grass-roots campaigns have been contingent upon usage of the web and the collaboration of a variety of international citizens' groups as they coordinate their positions, exchange information, and alert politicians.[63] Both identity and interest based social movements in India have made use of the opportunity global network afford.

Identity movements, no less than interest-based movements, have become immersed in global networks. Movement based organizations have used global networks, including the internet and web pages, to secure visibility abroad, to establish themselves as legitimate actors and to promote their interpretation of controversial issues and events. Movements have made use of technology exerting pressure on policy makers at home. The Narmada Andolan is a case in point. It argues movement based agitations receive global publicity and able to exert pressure on policy makers abroad with the support of international networks.[64] With this backdrop, it argues, Telangana movement also exerted pressure on policy makers with support of technology as there is an organization called

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[61] G. Sudarshanam and B. Jagannatham, Politics of Participation: Role of Science and Technology, paper presented in the national seminar organized by the Academic Staff College, University of Hyderabad, 2007.
[62] ibid.
[63] Jagannatham B, Forms of Protests: Hyderabad as a Case Study, Indian Journal of Human Rights, Vol. 4. 2005, p.156.
[64] op.cit. Mary, Smitu Kothari (in edit) Atul Kohli 'Success of India's Democracy, pp.163-164.

Telangana Development Forum consisting of NRIs supporting Telangana movement, assisting financially and campaigning internationally in support of separate Statehood for their region. They conduct seminars, conferences and workshops. They have invited speakers, singers and artists to their respective States where they are settled to create the awareness and explain the necessity of Statehood among the NRIs on the issue of Telangana Statehood.

People's Movements: Indian experience

The politics of resistance or mobilizational politics has always occupied a legitimate space in India's democratic frame work. It is both due to India's constitutional commitment towards establishment of a welfarist social democracy as well as because of the legacies developed by anti colonial politics and the national movement. The essence of the nationalist movement was enriched by its reddressal of socio-economic issues. Similarly, the post-independence social movements in India have contributed to the development of a transformative agenda in the mobilizational arena. Their ideological and political interventions have helped in expanding the scope of formal democratic exercise. Political parties, leading agencies of mainstream politics, have also remained associated with these movements at various levels.[65]

It argues that mass movements or protests are inevitable in Indian context, due to its diverse culture. The oppressed classes who remained submissive, obedient and pessimist are awakening. Some maintains that protests and agitations have taken place in post-independent India more due to the accentuation of the conflict between tradition and modernity. The scholars who adhere to the theory of political development consider that rising aspirations of the people are not adequately met by the existing political institutions as they are rigid and incompetent. So, Rajni kothari argues that direct action is inevitable in the context of India's present-day parliamentary democracy. The general climate of frustration, the ineffectiveness of known channels of communication, the alienation and atomization of the individual, the tendency towards regimentation and the

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[65] Rajeshwari Deshpande, Social movements in crisis?, (in edit) Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palishikar, Indian Democracy: meanings and practices, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p.379.

continued state of conflict between the rulers and the ruled make the ideal of self-government more and more remote and render parliamentary government an unstable form of political organization.[66] In India, there are many types and levels of non-party formations. These include typical voluntary organizations involved in constructive activities that started during the national movement. Later, they started to work for rural poor, artisans and the tribes. On the whole they happen to be non- political. These types of organizations receive funds from the government and international agencies and provide linkage points between seats of government and the rural power structure.[67] Another important type of non-party organizations is a struggle- oriented groups that take up cudgels against the government on behalf of the deprived and dispossessed. The civil liberties groups also encompass the struggle for a variety of entitlements- shelter, housing, food and nutrition, protection against exploitation of children and women, and bonded labour in the so-called informal section apart from the excesses committed by the State itself.[68] Social movements in Indian point of view are classified on the basis of issues such as forest, civil rights, anti-untouchability, linguistic, nationalist and others are classified on the basis of the groups such as peasants, tribals, students, women and Dalits. In some movements all sections of people participate, in some others, only a few sections of people participate. For instance in Indian politics 1970s witnessed by student moments that raised issues varying from corruption, rise in prices, and rights of the sons of the soil in employment to total revolution. There are several such examples all through the last two to three decades.

Galaxy of scholars discussed the place of protest movements in Indian political context; notable among them are David Bayley and Rajni Kothari. Y.B.Chawan divides public protests into two categories: one is peaceful protest movement and second is direct action. According to him the large-scale demonstrations for the redressal of grievances in a peaceful manner are permissible in a parliamentary democracy. But the direct action organized in defiance of law on a mass scale has no place in parliamentary democracy

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[66] Yasin Mohammed and Nanda Das Gupta, Indian Politics:Protests and Movements, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p. 165.
[67]ibid. p.69.
[68]ibid. p.69.

since it means the end of it. According to him, there are different types of direct action.[69] In the former, a group of persons take law into their hands and administer direct punishment to the supposed wrong doer without going through the due processes of law. In the second type of direct action wherein a particular group of people (religious, economic or caste) perceive that the injustice was done by the state and wants to take revenge against the other group by the methods not permitted by law. Third, when a group of persons feel disappointed by the policy of government in power, launch an organized defiance of law as a technique to get the problem solved.[70]

David Bayley argues that public protests have a certain functional utility even in a parliamentary form of government. A.R.Desai asserts that the parliamentary form of government as a political institutional device, proved to be inadequate to continue or expand concrete democratic rights of the people. Therefore there is the rise of protest movements. They would continue till adequate political institutional forms for the realization and exercise of concrete democratic rights are found. The liberal polity is in a state of crisis. The institutions of government and political parties, ideas of welfare and distribution based on Keynesian economics and the whole model of development to be pursued are out of gear under the impact of powerful global forces with whom domestic vested interests have got aligned. Rajni kothari has talked about dilemmas of development that led to the growing divide between governments and people.[71]

When the global discourse on democracy has become unidimensional, purveying the neo-liberal model of democracy as the one and universally desirable model, and when the Indian state has begun to link itself to the vertical hierarchy of global economic and political power, strong countervailing political and social movements have emerged in India at the local and regional levels. These micro movements, led by grassroots groups of social activists, have been active in different parts of India for over three decades working on disparate issues, especially by economically marginalized and socially excluded sections. Especially in the decade of the 1990s, many of these micro

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[69] Yasin Mohammed and Nanda Das Gupta, op.cit. 2005, p. 157.
[70] ibid. p.158.
[71] ibid. p. 168.

movements have aligned together and have formed larger alliances to protest against the Indian state on the issue of globalization even as they get in direct confrontation with the institutions and organizations representing the global economic and political power. In this process of opposition to globalization, the micro movements in India have begun and invent political practices, expanding the arena of politics much beyond the representational institutions of elections and political parties. It is the challenge of globalization that has brought many of them together on common political platforms at provincial and national levels, making issues in a part of their ongoing struggles. In this context, the micro movements and their role are is reinventing participatory democracy as a form of social action and political practice, creating new spaces and infusing deeper meaning to democracy in the globalized world.[72]

Especially in the era of globalization, civil society organizations, activists, intellectuals and academicians are critical about globalization and its implications that made the majority of the sections helpless. They argue that these developmental trends did lead to resistance both at the global and local levels. At the global level, forces of civil society have been active in organizing demonstrations at the meeting of multi- lateral institutions. Their voices have been drowning their official deliberations at each meeting. They also observed "the problem, however, is in creating a critical mass of support and awareness amongst the larger public for the issues that affect them at local, regional, national, and global levels." It also understood that in a globalizing world, civil society movements present perhaps the best method of guarding against disproportionate burdens being placed on the poor. The struggles of the subaltern classes in India and their highly specific daily experiences of oppression of resistance remained isolated. Their specific memories of past struggles, many of which have been encapsulated in local rituals and myths, have been transformed and homogenized by previous hegemonic projects into Brahmanic traditions extolling religious divinities and their heroic deeds. While these have been used to mobilize subaltern support for chauvinistic campaigns, the daily struggle against oppression continues to be isolated and divided along the boundaries of caste, language, region or religion. In the absence of new and reinterpreted shareable

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[72] D. L, Sheth, op.cit. 2004, Pp. 45-56.

spaces and arenas from which they could become part of a mass struggle for societal transformation, they are in danger of being easily suppressed. Metanarratives of religious fundamentalism and chauvinistic regionalism or nationalism will continue to exploit them either by submerging and homogenizing their distinctiveness or by turning it into a hostile self-protectionalism. Crude class analysis as a counter-discourse is also a futile option and a source of failure of many initiatives taken on behalf of the unprivileged classes.[73] With this understanding, it argues that implications of globalization have a major impact on the development model of India in general, identity and gender movements in particular.

Identity and Gender Movements in India

Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen argue inequality between men and women is one of the most crucial disparities in many societies, and this is particularly so in India. Differences in male and female literacy are one aspect of this broader phenomenon of gender-based inequality in India. It is argued that women faces the problem in her private and public life as well compared with men. This is reflected not only in such matters as education and opportunity to develop talents, but also in the more of elementary fields of nutrition, health and survival. Even the discrimination reflects in her family itself.[74] Ilina Sen argues, the last two decades have seen a conscious articulation of women's issues among many urban and educated middle class women. Many women from educated backgrounds have come together in groups in realization of their strength and potential and have lobbied and protested against the blatent forms of discrimination they face in our society.[75] Kancha Ilaiah argues Dalits who organized themselves into the independent Ambedkaraite movement slowly created a consciousness of community identity as well as sub-community identity.[76]

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[73] Jayant Lele, Understanding Indian Politics, (in edit) Rajendra Vora & Suhas Palshikar, Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practics, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.211.
[74] Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, 'Gender, Inequality and Women's Agitations, (in edit) Manoranjan Mohanty, Indian Government and Politics: Caste, Class and Gender', Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.362.
[75] Ilina Sen, 'Women and People's Movement: A Space Within the Struggle' (edit) Manoranjan Mohanty, Indian Government and Politics: Caste, Class and Gender', Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.320.
[76] Kancha Ilaiah, 'Caste or Class or Class or Caste' (in edit) Manoranjan Mohanti, Indian Government and Politics: Caste, Class and Gender', Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.232.

Reasons for the People's Movements in India

Mungekar argues that people of India witness that the contemporary human society is grossly inegalitarian and unequal, where a small number of people in every country and region are so potential that they enjoy a substantially large amount of privileges of all kinds, while a vast majority of them are unable to have an adequate access to food, clothing, shelter, elementary education and primary health. They are, therefore to wage daily battles for sustaining their bare existence. But history also recorded such struggles and movements that were of fundamental nature, since their objective was to abolish the endemic inequalities and establish a better social order. He traced the people's movements to income inequalities, scale of poverty, incidence of hunger, unequal distribution of means of production, gender inequalities, caste inequalities and discrimination, lack of education entitlements, poor access to health, lack of civil facilities, unemployment, globalization and commercialization of social services, challenge of agrarian crisis, displacement and challenge of communalism, fundamentalism and terrorism. The movements by the oppressed and of the oppressed have enormous inherent potential to stimulate creative intervention. It is necessary to analyze protest movements in philosophical and operational terms. It is in this process that they not only develop a new vision and wider horizon but also direct a large number of humanistic and democratic groups in building a better social order where dignity, freedom and decency – the philosophical base of human rights – would become human concerns. [77] Given this changing context social protest movements seek to draw the attention of the ruling elite and public at large to the problems and issues that they consider are important by organizing the demonstrations.[78]

K Balagopal argues about the protest movements and the response of the Indian State. In sixty years of independence, India has achieved the reputation of being a functioning democracy. That is no doubt true and it is not a small achievement considering that there are not many functioning democracies in the Third World, but nevertheless stock must be taken of how it is functioning. For that, the definition of democracy cannot be restricted

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[77] Mungekar, Presidential Address, XXXI Indian Social Science Congress, Mumbai, December 27-31, 2007.
[78] ibid.

to more or less free elections, freedom of expression and an independent judiciary. These are the attributes on the touchstone of which India has been classified as a viable democracy. An equally important element of democracy is the availability of the right to protest by peaceful means. This right is very important since a democracy is measured by the extent to which its Government is responsive to the needs of the people. Right to vote, right to move the Court and right to expression merely allow the people an entry into the portals of sovereignty on occasion. They only make India an occasional democracy. The right to agitate to put pressure upon the rulers to listen to people is an important complement. This right, which in India we exercise by means of mass action as processions on public roads, public demonstrations, strike, *dharna* and *bandhs* find no place in the law and are viewed not as expressions of democracy but as a nuisance and an obstacle to democracy. Excepting occasionally when the Supreme Court held in 1973 that to take out a procession on a public high way is a Fundamental Right of Indians that can only be subjected to reasonable restrictions, the Courts too have taken a negative view of the democratic right to agitate. [79]

These protest movements were so evolved that people from all sections participated in the protest movements. This involves those who thought that they and their causes were neglected by governments or its institution. This trend was buttressed by the anti-colonial struggles and freedom movements.[80] This legacy continued even during the post-independence period. While fifties and sixties were relatively peaceful, it was during the seventies there was a spurt in peoples movements. In fact they reached unmanageable limits by mid seventies of the last century. The incidence and frequency of the movements reached a point that every city witnessed protest a day, if not more than one protest every day. The protest movements have challenged economic and political power in all the countries. India is one of the striking examples of this. Those who think they undermined and neglected by government or its institution participate in process of

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[79] K. Balagopal, Protest movements in India, Indian Express. August 15th 2008, p.4.
[80] T.K. Oomen, Nation, Civil Society and Social Movements: Essays in Political Sociology, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2000, Pp. 179-185

protest movements which eventually turned either into general strikes, or violent outbursts.[81]

Judith M Brown argues that given the important role of the parties and their functions in a democratic system, they function/act effectively as mediator between government and citizens. Sometimes there can be issues and occasions that provoke dissent too difficult for party mechanisms. Very often based on the response of political parties, citizens feel they have to express their aspirations and needs direct dissent/demonstrations. For instance, in India during the phase of Congress dominance some groups/parties felt ignored and took to the street demonstrations, protests, and acts of civil disobedience and even to violence. Government has responded to these direct expressions of dissent in varied ways. Their responsiveness always hampered by the need to adjust between conflicting demands and possibly governments manage dissent by organizing potentially vocal interest groups within party structures. A third alternative in the face of overt dissent coercion employed to suppress the opinion by the state's monopoly of organized force.[82] Protest is the failure of the democratic consensus and the polity's democratic goals. The fraternity of India's democratic order and its ineffectiveness in providing link between citizens and government is abundantly clear from the accumulating evidence of citizen's violence and government's deliberate and persistent use of the authoritarian potential in its position.[83] The Courts and the administration are negative towards agitations and government suppresses the agitations with repressive laws. Over a period of time, the administration is intolerant towards the protesters and it went to the extent where police firing on protestors is considered as the solution. This negative attitude of State gave the scope for the people to think that State violates the right to protest if the people oppose State.[84] The negatives attitude became an obstacle to the realization of the people's basic rights to shelter, food, work and dignified existence. The government on

[81] Pippa Norris, Democratic Phoenix: Re-inventing Political Activism, Harvard Press, London, 2004, pp.5-6.
[82] Judith M Brown, Modern India: The origin of an Asian Democracy, Oxford University Press, New York, 1995, pp.372-374.
[83] ibid. pp. 372-374.
[84] ibid. pp.372-374.

its own cares least for these rights, and without the right to protest; none of them can be realized.[85]

Separate Statehood Agitations in Post Independence India

During the sixty years of independent India several movements sprung up because of social complexities, caste conflicts, religious fundamentalism, negative attitude of political leadership, economic disparities, uneven distribution of resources, intra and inter- regional disparities. These constraints led to a spurt in people's movements across the country. In this context it is argued that many separate Statehood agitations have been taking place in post independent India: a few of them have succeeded in their way, a few of them did not and some are still fighting for fulfillment of aspirations of their people. Separate Telangana Statehood is one among them fighting for the last six decades with ups and downs. To understand relevance of separate movements that strives for substantive Democracy or as Manoranjan Mohanty characterized it strives for a creative society.

Crisis of Social movements in India

During the post-independence period reveals that social movements have on the whole played a peripheral role in Indian politics. In spite of strong ideological interventions of social movement, the political practice of the movements has been very limited in its scope. The movements have never been able to successfully pressurize mainstream politics vis-avis their own agenda of social transformation. Especially during the last two decades, Indian politics has witnessed a complete marginalization of the transformative agenda. Social movements are on a decline. They appear to be localized, weak and fragmented. With the welfarist state withdrawing itself from the social sphere and the rightist forces dominating the electoral arena, the democratic framework has gradually become vacuous. With the onslaught of the global market forces, the expressions of domination have become complex and dispersed. The composition and character of civil society are changing rapidly. Under these circumstances the mobilizational space available to the social movement is shrinking. On the other hand the circumstances

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[85]ibid. pp.372-374.

demand a strong intervention on the part of the social movements, not only to enhance the essence of the formal democratic framework but also to save the framework itself.[86] The failure of left-led trade union movement is manifold in agrarian movements as left forces proved completely unable to expand the dimensions of class politics. On the contrary, the movement depended on the state to a large extent in fulfilling its agenda. It remained engulfed with the ideology of trade unions rather than developing an overall political agenda. In struggling against State monopoly and its anti-peoples politics, Naxalite movement and its strategies not only alienated them from large sections of society but also made these groups an easy target of state repression. On the other hand when the movement was compelled to enter the electoral arena, it had to negotiate with the bourgeois' parties and its success was limited. Similarly, the movement could not deal with the caste question, though it mobilized Dalits and Tribals but it hardly got support from backward classes. Farmer's movements in India never emphasized rewards like the redistribution of land or an increase in wages of agricultural labourers and there was no long term political programme. Initially, the movement adopted a neutral political stance where all political parties were seen as equally responsible for injustices to farmers. Later, the organizations started bargaining with various political parties at the time of elections. The women's movement remained confined to urban centers and it failed to communicate injustices to the women in rural areas.[87]

After analyzing the movements and their relevance, it understood that though there are few backs in movements but in a broader context, movements are strive deepen the notion of democracy. Start from world wars till today, the movements could come up against wrongs, feudalism, capitalism, dictatorship and negative attitude of leadership and injustice. While participating the movements, people themselves the opportunity to assess their nature, behaviour, inter personal relations and ultimately protest against the anti peoples policies and rulers. Protest movements further strive for substantive democracy and struggle to implement the spirit of Constitutions and its fundamental rights and directive principles. That's how one has to see the movements like autonomy,

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[86]ibid. p. 379.
[87]Rajeshwari Deshpande, op.cit. 2004, pp.383-394.

regional identities, women, tribal, dalit and separate statehood agitations. These are all striving for self rule, dignity, self respect and development. Hence it argue that movements are deepen the very spirit of democracy.

To sum up, the study reveals that evolution of movements can be understood from historical and theoretical perspectives. There were several Revolutions and Wars that laid the foundation for rights discourse. Evolution of movements can also be found in natural rights theories, liberalism, individualism and so on. There were several reformist and resistance movements in pre and post independence India which had a major impact on freedom movement and ongoing movements as well which deepened and deepening democracy. It maintains that contemporary politics have been dominating by a few elite sections. It holds that the politics of India moved from its democratic spirit to politics of suspicion and maintains that the role of media and technology is under a few elite dominant classes. With this backdrop, it maintains that people's movement in India has been pressurizing State to see that formal democracy should move to substantive democracy.

Indian Democracy:
Vitalities and Vulnerabilities

"A section of India, particularly urban India is getting increasingly integrated with the west and its consumerist ethos and this privileged section is immune and insensitive to the problem of marginalized. The universe of human rights is expanding. But the prospects for the poorer appear to be shrinking. It is a result of failure of just not the State but also the democratic framework of institutions. What is a cause for serious concern is not only the present misery but the diminishing hope for future".

S.R. Sankaran, Retired IAS
(Extract from JP Memorial lecture, New Delhi, 2001.)

Previous chapter emphasized on roots of contemporary movements from a historical and theoretical perspective and holds that Indian democracy can be assessed by stressing reformist and resistance movements in pre and post independence India as they had a major impact on freedom movement and ongoing movements as well deepened democracy. This chapter focuses on politics of participation and its implications to contextualize democracy. This chapter further intends to analyze Indian Democracy in both the aspects: strengths and limitations. To assess the Indian democracy, one has to assess modern democracies and see their relevance through its practices. The study argues that formal system carries philosophical and theoretical milieu from its past experience but shows that it hasn't been implemented substantially. Indian democracy is not an exception to this debate. The study critically looks at the assessment social scientists of success and failure of Indian democracy.

The Modern Democracy and its Impact on Indian Democracy

The modern democracy, mostly formal, has been derived from the liberal worldview that rose from the ashes of the traditional worldview. Thus, it is clear that factors and forces that emerged became active and played their part in influencing ideas, institutions and practices. Some of these ideas, institutions and practices did make their appearance from time to time, but in different forms and substantive contents. This sequence was immensely influenced by certain ideas and ideological preferences that appeared in

different phases of human history.[1]   The modern democracy also creates a division into the ranks of the people between those who rule and command, those who submit themselves to the rule and command of the rulers. This division of the demos divided into two categories proves significant for the nature of democracy, especially formal democracy. The reason for this lies in the fact that those who submit themselves to the rule and command of the rulers are allowed only a very limited participation in public affairs; their participation is limited only to periodical elections of the rulers, who then rule in the name of the people. This limited participation on the part of demos poses certain threats to the democratic process. These threats pose elites to perpetuate their power. It is because of this fact that popular participation is viewed as an important element that is considered to be crucial for the successful functioning of democracy in the real sense of the term and must, therefore, be embedded in democratic process. But what formal democracy does is to rule this completely out.[2] Same experience of modern democracy reflects India's democracy. People of India divided into two sections like rule and ruled; elite and mass. Elite always dominates polity, economy and social life. Mass participation submits itself to elite sections and confines merely to voters'.

Formal and Substantive Democracy: Concept and Context

In contemporary times the universal acceptance and acclamation of the term democracy has made confusion worst confounded. The State of affairs had not only created a situation to talk for or against democracy but it also made democracy an object of excessive adulation and severe condemnation.[3] Neeraja Gopal Jayal argues that the experience of Democratic Government is not merely confined to India but elsewhere in the world. She argues that deeper reasons must be explored as that flows from the nature of the concept of democracy as it has evolved in the course of several centuries.[4] It argues that democratic preconditions and democratic procedures allow goodness, truth and social justice. In the democratic States, people provide cultural and institutional

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[1] David Beetham, Liberal Democracy and the Limits of Democratization, Wheatsheaf Books, Brighton, 1986, p.8
[2] ibid. pp.5-6.
[3] Ramashray Roy, o p.cit. p.3.
[4] Niraja Gopal Jayal, "Introduction: Situating Indian Democracy", in Niraja Gopal Jayal (ed.), Democracy in India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p.3.

framework within which they could articulate such values**.** Democratic spirit and practice is a means to promote justice and it calls for deepening democracy beyond the superficial trappings that many societies endorse and take some steps to achieve such values. India is an exception among the third world countries to opt for and maintain a parliamentary system. It is a political instrument intended to build a participatory, egalitarian and just social order in which popular sovereignty rests with the people and by which common men and women participate in decision making process to improve their socio-economic condition and enhance their living standards. Parliamentary system aims at eradicating all kinds of oppression and exploitation.[5] In this connection, Indian democracy need to be assessed.

Indian Democracy: Formal and Substantive

The formal democracy and substantive democracy stand at two different poles of a continuum. The formal system of democracy carries some philosophical and theoretical framework but it has to be carried substantially. This is so for the simple reason that two forms of democracy belonging to two different streams of thinking. Both are contrast to each other.[6] Formal democracy continues its periodic elections based on adult franchise, party and governmental structures that are meant to institutionalize these and thereby act upon traditional institutions and affiliations. New representative levers provided by reservation of seats and jobs for the underprivileged communities. Freedom of speech and association were all meant to usher in a revolution in social relations and provide the bases of a new nationwide integration.[7]

First half-century, India abundantly illustrated the expanding meaning of freedom and democracy. A dialectical process of India's political struggle is not merely involved in procedural but also in substantial dimensions of democracy. The functioning of political institutions, elements of socio-economic change, and the politics within the State and politics in civil society fits in India's experience. On issues like weaker sections, Dalits, women, federalism, secularism, minority rights, welfare State and nature and quality of

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[5] Marian Young, Inclusive and Democracy, Oxford University Press, New York, 2000, Pp. 22-23.
[6] Niraja Gopal Jayal, op.cit., 2001,p.3.
[7] Ramashray Roy, op.cit. p.19.

development, a certain consensus has begun to emerge in the country in the course of protracted struggle on many fronts. [8] Indian society carves itself into ethnic, religious and caste groupings against their percentage representation in the institutions: the legislatures, the civil service, and the judiciary. Exclusion is a denial of democracy and disadvantaged groups must be represented through reserved quotas as representation is a mechanism that can facilitate participation and hopefully trigger policy impact.[9] Over the past half-century, the India Constitution has evolved in response to democratic struggles in India through amendments, judicial interpretations and political rights.[10]

The Indian Constitution was written in the background of widespread hopes and expectations. It was believed that the opportunity to 'rule ourselves' would open up extensive if not unlimited possibilities of bettering our lives across the board. 'From the beginning of the freedom struggle the basic purpose had been a government of the people, by the people and for the people'. Ideas of what was a better life had been thrown up by social struggles and reform movements of many kinds that dominated Indian public life for more than a century preceding Independence. The exposure to ideas emanating from the liberal west as well as the socialist east had their impact, too. Indian Constitution is not totally hostile to this notion, but there is no explicit recognition of it, nor any provision for it. And there is much that works against it.[11]

Preamble of Universal Declaration of Human Rights has emphasized on the principles of freedom, respect, dignity, peace, equality and tolerance, the rights of life, liberty and security of the person. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement within the State and every one has right to a peaceful assembly and association, every one has the right to work, free choice of employment, just and favorable conditions of work and protection against unemployment and the right to equal pay for equal work and right to form and join associations for the protection of his interests. Similar to UDHR, Indian Constitution is product of freedom movement and also the global context of the late forties which was

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[8] Francine R. Frankel, op.cit.2005, pp. 99-100.
[9] Niraja Gopal Jayal, op.cit. 2005, p.3.
[10] Francine R. Frankel, op.cit. 2005, pp. 99-100.
[11]ibid.p. 5.

infused with liberalism, socialism and democracy. It is not merely a mechanical arrangement of power and institutions for governance. Unlike several constitutions of the world, it has attempted to set a goal, provide a vision and direction in building a new social order which is not only democratic but equal and just. It envisages a very positive role to the Indian State in reconstruction of the social order, protecting the political freedom and contributing to the gradual transformation of the social and economic order. In other words it was expected to strive to build a democratic society which includes political, social, and economic democracy. In the late forties of this century, there was no option except incorporating ideology of social justice as a part of the constitutional Scheme. It emphasizes on fundamental rights, human rights and dignity of the individuals. It provides equality, freedom, and equality before law.[12]

In addition to these rights, Indian citizens have several Acts to protect and uphold the rights of Dalits.[13] Political and civil rights became central concepts in India's constitution with the rule of law and an independent judiciary occupying an important position in the polity which combined political democracy with ideas of social justice. The directive principles of the Indian constitution reflect on social and economic justice. Based on these provisions, the urgent need for economic and social justice was recognized through a number of public policy responses and a series of social legislations that had a direct impact on the condition of masses in relation to the distribution of property and means of livelihood. A variety of institutions and administrative setup were also set up for the protection and promotion of values to enable enhancement of human rights. One of the crucial objectives of the Indian Constitution is to promote social revolution but it found that it is difficult to struggle against the prevailing social order in Indian society substantially.[14] In this regard, it is necessary to assess the Indian Constitution and problems in implementation.

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[12] G. Haragopal, Rights of Dalits: Values and Realities, Journal of Human Right Commission, NHRC, New Delhi, 1992, pp.137-138.
[13] ibid. pp.137-138.
[14] B. Chandrasekar Rao, Indian Constitution, PGDHR, Hyderabad, Pp. 27-30.

The agrarian crisis was not only unable to sustain industrial development, particularly in terms of demand generation, but also entered into a more serious conflict with the urban, industrial, market development syndrome. In this process of managing this conflict, dependency on foreign technology increased further. This was the period which witnessed regional and sub-regional agitations, secessionist trends, food riots, collapse of one party dominance and rise of united fronts. Above all gave birth to several movements. In very stage of development while there was some emphasis on certain agrarian changes; soon there was a compromise. While there was abolition of Zamindari and intermediary institutions, there was no attempt to radicalize the land reforms. A radical land reforms programme ought to have been the first step to reform the goals of part IV of the Constitution. The ownership structure underwent some changes more on account of market intervention and not the State. The tensions intrinsic to the unequal and unjust rural structure were evident in their symptomatic form by the mid sixties. Instead of attempting structural changes, the policymakers opted for technological substitutes. Thus the Green Revolution became a substitute for structural changes. The Green Revolution, being biased towards capital and water, reinforced uneven development across the regions and widened the disparities between different classes and also between regions. This led to considerable tensions resulting in political crisis.

The deep economic crisis confronting India in the decades of the 80s and 90s is a fall-out. The liberalization, privatization, marketization and globalization process have been thrust on the economy as a part of the effort to overcome the crisis. They, however, are not policy measures emanating from either the Indian economic elite or much less the political elite. They emerged as a part of the structural adjustment.[15] The concrete experience and evidence suggests that during the last six decades of experience the nation drifted so violently that the social justice vision got completely blurred. It also viewed when the actual process started after the transfer of power, the drift began in the very early stage and there was not enough popular or democratic pressure to prevent the drift.

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[15]ibid. pp. 71-73.

Balagopal argues that the reason is that unlike laws made for benefit of the rich, which find their way to implementation without any difficulty. He also argues that laws made for the benefit of poor and the underprivileged encounters at every step as Constitution that does not recognize the socio-legal reality, and do not make provision for it. Hence, Balgopal argues that the right to vote is not by itself sufficient. It must be adequately supplemented by the right to agitate along with right to assemble, associate, to hold beliefs and to speak out. It must be made clear that the right to agitate is required not only to achieve the equality that the Constitution promises in the future but also even to protect the rights that the Constitution and the laws made under it have already been given. He further argues that a wide spectrum of political opinion, political sympathy and political activity is dragged into the perimeter of crime by extraordinary laws enacted in the name of tackling seditious activity, terrorist activity, and activity prejudicial to nation's territorial integrity and unity. A large area of political expression is rendered illegal under the Constitution. If the opinion is itself illegal, then obviously no agitation for its dissemination or realization can be tolerated by the law. This is the sad reflection of India's democracy.[16]

It is further argues that India witnessed several laws which are repressive in nature. The Preventive Detention Act at the advent of Independence followed by Punjab security Act 1955, Assam Disturbed Areas Act 1955, and the Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act, 1958. In the decade of sixties and seventies there were two major Acts passed in each decade and in eighties there were five Acts and in nineties there were two Acts. There are about twenty to thirty Repressive Acts passed either at the central or the state levels. Of all these legislations four legislations viz, Armed Forces Special Powers Act, TADA, POTA and the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment Act.[17] Indian has been witnessing the problem of caste. There were movements against untouchability, caste system and atrocities. With the result, successive Indian Governments enacted several laws reforms like, labour laws, land reforms, Untouchability

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[16] K. Balagopal, The Constitution and Social Movements, Indian Journal of Human Rights, Vol. 12 & 13, NOs, 1&2, 2008-2009, p. 3

[17] G. Haragopal and B. Jagannatham, Terrorism and Human Rights: Indian Experience with Repressive Laws, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XLIV, No.28, July 2009, p.79.

(Offences) Act 1955, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities Act) 1989 to eradicate the caste system and prevent the atrocities on Dalits. There were also further introduced several reforms like judicial reforms, electoral reforms, economic reforms, new development policies to eradicate poverty, reduce the gap between poor and rich; urban and rural; backward and forward regions.

Indian Democracy and its Positive Measures

The accomplishments of Indian democracy include the constitutional initiative in the sphere of local democracy and the national legislation guaranteeing the right to information. There is no doubt that the new panchayats have created public spaces where citizens including and especially women, dalits and adivasis can meet with those who have traditionally oppressed and exploited them, on relatively equal terms. In the last two decades in relation to the way communitarianism that has taken shape in India, there has been pronounced expansion of democracy, seen as the enfranchisement of Dalits, the empowerment of oppressed castes, the assertion of women and the deepening of the popular commitments for the ideas and potentialities of democracy.[18] Likewise, the achievement of the Right to Information is a measure of the success of Indian democracy in creating radical possibilities for civil society. Revolutionary legislations that hopefully enable citizens to recover a core component of the democratic ideal, namely accountability and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act provide a right to livelihood. From decentralization to the right to information, from the right to education to the campaign for a right to food, it is these initiatives that are the more substantive ways of deepening democracy[19]. The establishment of a popular democratic government, based on universal adult suffrage, free and fair elections, guaranteed fundamental rights and an independent judiciary, provides strong foundations on which the democratic system rests in India. The effective participation of the people in political process is ensured by the regular conduct of elections at scheduled intervals with increasing voter turnout. It has not only reinforced the system but has also helped in further consolidating

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[18] Deepak, Nayyar, Economic Development and Political Democracy: Interaction of Economics and Politics in Independent India, (in edit) 'Neeraja Gopal Jayal, 'Democracy in India', Oxford University press, New Delhi, 2001, p369.
[19] ibid. p.369.

the democratic institutions.[20] The wider involvement of the mass people in political activities is further discernible in increasing number of people who are coming forward to contest elections, irrespective of caste, gender and religion.[21] But the question arises that are the fruits of local democracy really enjoyed by dalits and women? Right to Information, is it, really substantially being extended? Certainly, it argues, they are not. It resulted in raising the question of implementation and giving rise to people's assertion. It argues that people's struggles to keep this public space free from hierarchy and inequality are even now being mounted every day across the country.

Indian State and Anti People Policies

The social and political erosion is the sharp decline in the legitimacy and authority of the modern State. There are many reasons for the erosion of the authority and legitimacy of the State. First, the erstwhile vision of making the State a condition for civilized existence has been under attack from antagonistic forces. A marked change has taken place in the growth of both leftwing and rightwing ideologies which have had a direct bearing on the role of the State. State is caught between globalist and localist pressures, a completely new set of interests emerged in the public arena. There are global corporate interests arising from the latest phase of capitalism with transnational corporations as key factors and political leadership becomes increasingly uncertain and they depend on money and muscle power.[22] It resulted in the growth in the high tech variety of industrial instructions which likely to further widen the class and caste divides, increase unemployment and growing exclusion of millions of people producing growing unrest and violence on the part of many of them. The switch to the new high tech models of development is bringing about a division within the middle class as the basis of an expanding market despite growing poverty, unemployment, and social disparities.[23]

Jayant Lele argues that in the era of information technology people are way ahead of the normal run of the organized sector. The organized sector is getting increasingly

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[20] M.N, Karna, Democracy, Pluralism and Conflict, Rawat Publications, New Delhi, 2006,p.9-10
[21]ibid, p.10.
[22]ibid. p. 10.
[23] Jayant Lele, Understanding Indian Politics, in (ed) "Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p. 207-210.

disorganized. Meanwhile, the agricultural economy is showing signs of weakening. Jayant Lele further argues that the decade of 1990s was being celebrated not merely as fair amount of reform of the economy took place but it was also a decade in which poverty has increased. The unorganized sector: child labour, migration of women, has grown-up and a new model of mafia rule was in forefront in polity and urban slums across the country at a high stage. It is that globalization that needs to be countered not just by building new initiatives within local, national and regional frameworks, but also by doing the same at the level of international political economy in restructuring of world order.[24] The study argues that though they are positive measures to strengthen the Indian democracy, but there are also drawbacks in implementation.

The paradox-from a human rights point of view-with our Constitution is that it places the highest goals-taken equally from the liberal west, the socialist east and India's own rebel traditions- before the nation, but does not provide the people with instruments of requisite strength to realize the goals. And it puts the kind of power in the hands of the administration that would certainly militate against it.[25] The strongest instrument would be the freedoms needed to agitate and struggle against the inequalities that are in the way of the goals of the Constitution. It must be made clear that the right to agitate is required not only to achieve the equality that the Constitution promises in future, but even to protect the rights that the Constitution and the laws have already given.[26]

Indian Democracy and Protests: Deepening of Democracy

The last decade of the 20th century and the early years of the new century saw momentous developments in India signaling intensification of political struggles involving class, caste, gender and ethnicity. The launching of economic reforms in 1991 heralded a new stage of capitalist development in India. Because of global as well as domestic reasons, the growing capitalist class acquired new privileges to the capitalist class, continued to exist but in a much reduced strength at this time. Several kinds of social conflicts got

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[24]ibid. , 2004, pp. 207-210.
[25] K. Balagopal, The Constitution and Social Movements, Indian Journal of Human Rights, Vol. 9&10, Nos. 1&2, 2006-2007, p.1.
[26] B. Chandrasekhar Rao, op.cit, 1998, p.1.

accentuated electoral purposes. The upsurge of the backward classes was sought to be neutralized by Hindu communal mobilization. All social issues got enmeshed with the Hindu nationalist challenge. While the economic reforms went ahead under all regimes, the occurrence of violence in various parts of society, other socio-cultural problems also aroused. Thus, in the early years of 20th century, these trends-globalization, authoritarianism and communalism- had become powerful currents affecting the entire gamut of social issues in India.[27]

The combination of these problems has led to create several lines of separations among different groups in Indian society. These problems led to people's assertion. In the mid-seventies, when the Emergency triggered the birth of a strong civil liberties movement that later went on to pioneer the cause of social and economic rights as well. The post-Emergency election of 1977 provided reassuring evidence of the resilience of Indian democracy and the maturity of even the unlettered voter. The second was the political mobilization and assertion of the backward castes and Dalits, processes that had been set in motion in the 1970s and 1980s, but which acquired an accelerated pace post-Mandal. A few regional parties gave an impetus to caste-based mobilization that resulted in an increase in backward caste representation in both State legislatures and parliament and was therefore hailed as a qualitative departure from the polity of the past, a signifier of the deepening of democracy. Low caste status is often accompanied by deprivation, and traditional and historical forms of social inequality thus co-exist with, and are reinforced by inequalities arising out of the sphere of production and economic activity. If we look at NCAER data regarding human development indicators and poverty amongst various social groups, we find that levels of deprivation are highest for the Scheduled Castes, followed by the Scheduled Tribes and the Muslims. They started organizing for political power.[28]

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[27] Manoranjan Mohanty, 'Introduction: Dimensions of Power and Social Transformation: Class, Caste and Gender', (in edit) Manoranjan Mohanti, 'Indian Government and Politics: Caste, Class and Gender', Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.14.

[28] Niraja Gopal Jayal, Democratic dogmas and disquiets, presented as the First Pradeep Kumar Memorial Lecture at Punjab University, Chandigarh on 30 November 2005. Source: http://www.india-seminar.com/2006/557/557%20niraja%20gopal%20jayal.htm

Hence it is argued that post-independence politics in India can be celebrated as a struggle for democratic transformation. The greatest gain in the struggle has been the rise of democratic consciousness among the people and a comprehensive understanding of the meaning of democratic evolution. The oppressed people such as Dalits, Adivasis, poor peasants, unorganized workers and women have acquired an unprecedented level of awareness of democratic rights and their creative potentiality. Various identity groups seek autonomy and self-determination, and demand social, cultural, economic and political guarantees to fulfill their aspirations. The intensity of challenge has shaken the ruling forces to such an extent that the rulers have resorted to many measures such as liberalization, globalization, religious mobilization and authoritarian repression to meet the situation. The struggle characterizes the contemporary stage of the Indian democratic revolution. In contemporary India, the emergence of a creative society in which the hitherto subdued contradictions have become articulate and active. Together with this, various infirmities and negative aspects have also crept into it like the denials of rights of individual person who disregarded community injections, retaliatory politics in relation to those below them in ritual status, the humanitarian of Dalits and women who defy community norms, lack of decorum and so on. These two developments have gone together and made a package of contradictory features. We can say that the widespread changes in Indian democracy are taking a pronouncedly untidy manner; this is so in the sense that there is a pronounced rule-deficit in the structuring of the political process.

This contradictory nature of Indian democracy is found that it is a conundrum. While it is glorified as the largest democracy in the world by some, others condemn it as fake and likely to falter soon. Such extremely contradictory representations are primarily witnessed because India democracy does not fit into any given models of democracy. Most of the stable democracies today have industrialized and grew into capitalist economies unlike India which continues to be essentially agrarian with highly hierarchical social order. Survival of constitutional government, regular elections, freedom of expression, free press and an independent judiciary existing within a hierarchical social structural setting seem incredible and unheard of in the history of democracy. While many countries may claim to be democratic, their political institutions

obviously display the fragility and vulnerability of democratic arrangements. Indian democracy is situated in its republican constitution. The newly independent country with perplexing religious, linguistic, regional and caste diversities amidst problems of illiteracy, poverty and all round economic and social backwardness called for development and modernization within a reasonable period of time.[29]

The electoral process is losing out on its credibility since mid-80s because of the ominous trends emerging in the conduct of free and fair elections. Unprecedented cases of booth capturing, the increasing number of election-related killings, the incidence of malpractices, and the uncontrolled use of money and mafia power witnessed during the last few general elections are eating into the vitals of the electoral system. The entry of "confirmed criminals" into state legislatures representing various political parties seems to spoil some of the grandeur and dignity inherent in the democratic image of India. The criminalization of politics continues to gain political legitimacy its unlawfulness notwithstanding. The menacing trends in the electoral practices are however not a threat to the very survival of parliamentary democracy because it is still localized and manageable. In reality, these drifts are expression of expanding nature of democratic participation.[30]

The experience of Indian democracy advocates that in the name of democracy, a few elite and propertied classes participate in the policy making and implement the policies in the name of globalization, they neglected the agrarian development, farmers; marginalized communities as the governments gradually have withdrawn or still withdrawing from welfare policies.[31] The democratic upsurge since 1977 dramatically transformed the political landscape. India became perhaps "the only large democracy in the world today where the turnout of the lower orders of society is well above that of the most privileged groups. In 1980s, and 1990s, Tribals and Dalits closed the gap between vote levels in reserved and general constituencies, while odd ratio for voting of the Hindu upper castes showed a relative decline. All of this changed the social composition of voters and those

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[29] M.N, Karna, op.cit. 2006, pp.8-9.
[30] ibid, p.11.
[31] ibid.p.12.

who took part in political activities. The expanded participatory base of India's politics reached downward to involve nearly all groups suffering from some form of social deprivation and backwardness. In spite of several people's struggles against the globalization process during this phase, India failed to make a significant impact on the problems of mass poverty. Even though in term of growth in GDP, attracting investments, but these achievements seems to have increased dualism between the modern industrial sector and the vast rural hinterland. Within the countryside, growing numbers of marginal cultivators swamp a minority of prosperous commercial farmers and landless labourers who have the greatest difficulty meeting even their minimum consumption needs. This hostile development of technology and inability of state to achieve the overall economic transformation led to a spurt in people's struggles.[32]

Political Economy of India- Post 1990s

Francine N Frankel argues that though Vision 2020 has few positive aspects, also has a negative impact on development project. It may project a level of development in twenty years that will provide a comfortable life including opportunities for education and employment; it paints the picture of a society in which current inequalities will have disappeared, poverty will have been eradicated, and disadvantaged groups all be empowered with opportunities to reach their full potential. At the same time, no part of the plan for achieving these goals directly addresses the structural inequalities in the State, especially in the rural areas.[33] Though there are positive aspects in vision 2020, but it also has the scope for regional imbalances, widening the gap between poor and rich, rural and urban. This negative approach led to spurt in peoples agitations and gave scope to crisis in the polity and economy of India. The same experience reflects in Andhra Pradesh too.[34]

The rise of Hindu communalism is an important aspect in Indian democracy. During the 1990s, in the initial phases of globalization, the BJP as a ruling party at the national level

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[32] Partha Ghosh, 'Positive Discrimination in India: A Political Analysis', "Ethnic Studies Report", Vol. XV, No. 2 July 1997, p. 135.
[33] Francine R Frankel, India's Political Economy-1947-2004 (second edition), Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, pp.620-621.
[34] ibid.pp.616-617.

showed a further stage of intensification of contradictions in India's democratic struggle. Minorities, especially Muslims and Christians, came under increasing attacks across various parts of the country. A number of political parties-some with the social justice plank and some other with a strong regional social base- rose to safeguard secularism and minority rights. During the same period, people's movements acquired a new momentum in defense of the rights of displaced people, tribal people's rights on forestland, water and worker's struggles against retrenchments and numerous other movements by dalits, peasants and women. The dead end in agrarian structure and over emphasis on modernization of industry eliminated the poor even from the political rhetoric. This strategy of development involved politics which had to de-emphasize social justice. Social justice concerns got marginalized; the poor, particularly the restless and conscious had to be managed through greater coercion. In the process, Indian State started becoming more and more brutal at the grassroots level and assumed greater sophistication and modern postures at the technological level.[35]

The question now is how to understand those challenges with reference to formal and substantive democracy. And how to relate and join the deeper inner drives of citizens and communities to the broader challenge of emancipation; how to engage in the preservation of freedom and autonomy in the face of external confrontations found within the nation State, such as economic divides and fundamental drives that are overtaking a vast variety of religious constellations, castes and communities and rising of communal forces. [36] There has also been a wide-ranging upsurge of the marginalized strata which resulted in a set of progressive measures like provisions of reservations for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to the more recent adoption of the recommendations of the Mandal Commission benefiting the OBCs-all of this seeking to broaden the political base. It is in fact led to a dampening of the attempt to have more direct forms of democracy that were once sought to be introduced through various struggles like "direct action"; the politics of self-determination fuelled by region, class- and caste based identities; and growth of political competition in various local arenas. There is a need of grassroots politics to

[35] Francine N Frankel, op.cit. 2005, pp. 695-700.
[36] Kuldeep Mathur, "The State, and the Use of Coercive Power in India", Asian Survey, Vol. 32, No. 4 April, 1992, Pp. 337-349. Source; http//www.jstor.com

challenge the representative model of democracy operating at the State and national levels.[37]

Rajni Kothari argues that the obstacles to development in India are religion, cultural attitudes deprecating manual labor, styles of living and working accepted as immutable on the strength of these beliefs, all of which are inimical to development. The "inefficiency, inequality, rigidity and negative attitude of the established institutions and the un healthy economic and socio-power relations are considered primary reasons for the inability to get economic plans effectively implemented. To overcome these problems, Kothari says old religious attitudes, cultural patterns and social structures have to be destroyed before development can take place. The possibility of achieving such a complete social transformation through democratic processes of government is, of course, remote. These arguments gave scope to rethink on traditional attitudes and modes of economic and social stratification. The first generation of political leadership has seriously not concentrated on the elimination of traditional attitudes, beliefs in the country that handicapped the overall development of country. He argued India's poverty cannot be overcome solely through evolutionary growth models and also in the absence of prior institutional change, no matter how sophisticated the investment plans for "inducing" other investments but through the elimination of traditional beliefs and stop going for the globalization process.[38]

Hence it argues that the whole design was the process of democratization which went against the norms of status hierarchy in which caste affiliations, based on birth that determined the economic and political relationships but not on individual choice. By shifting the basis of rights from inherited status to numerical preponderance, by mobilizing the large and hitherto subject caste against the small and traditionally entrenched upper caste, by enabling the people to decide who their rulers should be and what policies the rulers should give primacy to. The secular element in caste and community relations as against ritualistic and segmental divisions has also been noted.

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[37] Javeed Alam, op.cit. pp.15-16.
[38] Rajni Kothari, Rethinking Democracy, Orient Longman publications, New Delhi, 2005, pp.6-7.

Thus by dissolving the antecedent structures of local tutelage and power, the democratic principle sought to demolish a social structure which over the centuries had become rigid and ossified and lost inner vitality.[39] Otherwise it is argued that there is no place for democratic and egalitarian society despite of having high GDP rate[40]

The crisis seems to have overtaken the Indian society during the past several years. Short periods of heightened expectations on the basis of new promises have alternated with long periods of drift and inaction, producing a growth hiatus between promise and performance, and consequently between the government and the people. It resulted in massive discontent and unrest, an atmosphere of violence and growing confrontation. Such a State of affairs, if allowed to continue, the spirit of democracy will be in great crisis. It is engaged in meaningless rhetoric of 'left' versus 'right', 'progressive' versus 'reactionary', and it possesses a deep sense of loss of power and authority.[41] At the same time, it is difficult to endorse the opposite view that revolutionary social transformation is necessary- or perhaps more important- a realistic precondition for breaking down the social barriers to development. They trace the relationship between the economic and political development strategies devised by the nationalist leaders on the premise that the advent of political democracy offered alternative to revolutionary class struggle in equalizing society. The solution, according to Nehru, was to be sought in using the vote to build up mass consciousness. Political democracy could bring to bear the strength of numbers of the poor in such powerful pressures on the ruling classes that they would be compelled to move in the direction of economic democracy.[42]

The stability of the Congress system and the legitimacy of the formally democratic State have rested on something like hegemony. The leaders from the urban and bourgeoisie articulate community and dominant castes of rural elite became the core group for Congress Party. Through its directive control over the productive processes and its moral-cultural hegemony, the rural elite took control of the local and provincial State. While

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[39]ibid.p.8.
[40]ibid.p.8.
[41]Sudipta Kaviraj, Crisis of Nation State in India, Political Studies, XLII, 1994, pp.115-129.
[42]Francine R Frankel, India's Political Economy-1947-2004 (second edition), Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, pp.xvii- xviii.

providing a politically stable environment for national State initiative in support of capitalist developments, these elites also acquired effective political leverage at the centre and used it to its own economic, political and social advantage. A consequence of the moral-cultural dimension of its hegemony was the introduction of a few welfare features going under the name of socialism or socialistic pattern. Though the accomplishments of the welfare State were very limited and have become counter-productive for the most deprived sections of the population. They gave the Indian polity a degree of benignness unparalleled in comparable third world regimes of the same and later periods.[43]

The development process was considered in broader terms than economic growth to include ideological preferences for the establishment of an egalitarian, decentralized, and cooperative pattern in agriculture and the rapid expansion of public ownership in the basic industrial sector. These social goals offered painful contrast to social realities. On the eve of independence, India was still stamped with the sharp disparities of the most deeply stratified society in human history. Second, the impoverished peasantry was hardly equipped to take advantage of new growth opportunities inside the agricultural sector provided by greater incentives for private investment on improved production practices. They owned either no land or small fragments of land. Capitalist approach rapid spread of commercial agriculture would necessarily undermine old caste-based social obligations. There was huge gap between the modernity and tradition in the development process of technology in the agriculture sector. An attempt to carry out agrarian reforms failed to implement.[44]

The rich class farmers effectively aborted any initiatives for land reforms with. It also established a graduated structure of patronage through which political power and electoral support were linked to access to welfare and developmental services as well as production services. The use of coercive police power was much more restricted during this period, the alertness of its availability being an adequate deterrent to subaltern

[43]Jayant Lele, Understanding Indian Politics, in (ed) "Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar, Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2004,p. 173.
[44]ibid. pp.19-21.

challenges.[45] The legitimacy of such class-coalitional politics in India has rested on popular acceptance of a formally democratic system of governance. That acceptance can hardly be traced to effective fulfillment of specific, immediate interests of the large masses of people.[46]

Globalization: The Experience of Andhra Pradesh

The information technology sector in Andhra Pradesh, did grow at a much faster rate than did the economy as a whole, but annual growth rates of SGDP still lagged behind the national average at about 5 percent in 2000/01. In practice, the State economy would have to grow at higher levels than ten percent annually to meet the goals projected in Vision 2020. Yet, as the fiscal deficit continued its upward spiral, the ability of the State to increase productive investment in infrastructure and the social sectors was actually declining. Political resistance to government policies aimed at recovering higher user fees for power, irrigation, roads, and transport brought the State to the brink of a debt trap. Even after the State government had "corporatized" the power sector, the decision to moderately raise power rates provoked street riots in 2001.[47]

It became clear in the State that information technology could not be a substitute for growth in other sectors. It also had anticipated, "anything (foreign companies) is doing or making is not having any benefit to the domestic economy," and the usage of the products they are making is "marginal". Rather, hi-tech products were being exported to advanced western countries to make their industries and services more efficient. The lack of spread effects also led to uneven distribution of the surpluses that were created. "A few people got very good employment" while many others settled for low–paying unskilled work.[48] Suicides by poor farmers have occurred in Andhra Pradesh over the last five years. These acts of desperation have always been linked to inability of cultivators to repay loans, some of which were incurred for reasons of social obligations, for example, to meet the cost of marriages, or to construct a house or to dig a well. Yet, it is difficult to

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[45]ibid. p. 175.
[46]ibid. p.173.
[47] op.cit. Francine N Frankel, p. 620.
[48]ibid.p.621.

account for the growing inability of marginal and small farmers to repay loans without taking into account the deteriorating asset base from which they operate. This kind of precarious existence traditionally was cautioned in bad crop years or in cases where cultivators had to incur loans, by using their land as security for credit and in the worst case selling a hectare to pay off a large debt[49] This had a major impact on Telangana particularly which led to assertion of the people from all sections. The demand of separate State has to be seen as a part of this development syndrome.

It argues that two economies emerged in Andhra Pradesh, and the division can also be seen across the social and regional landscape. There is a smaller, yet sizeable affluent economy growing up in larger cities and spreading to self-contained islands of export-oriented, high technology parks. The increasing of employment from proximity to knowledge sectors servicing global industries holds out hope to those at the margins of opportunities to join the growing lower middle classes and middle classes. By contrast, the larger predominately agricultural economy, of landless, marginal and small farmers, many belonging to historically disadvantaged lower castes, minority religions, tribal groups and women, are on the other side suffering a lot. Poor people are suffering around the capital city of Andhra Pradesh, some committed suicides. They have little hope of a better future, remain preoccupied with a daily struggle to secure a livelihood, and are the breeding ground of young men attracted to take part in peoples agitations.[50]

Indian Democracy and Rights – Vitalities and Vulnerabilities

Though there were negative aspects that we see in Indian democracy, but still Kothari argues that compared to the other forms of governments, the democratic form of government is the best to prevent the rulers from their inevitable temptations to abuse the State power. For no individual will have right to participate against the legitimate institution in authoritarian form of government against its anti-people policies, but in democratic political system, all members of a society have the opportunity to influence public policy of government and protect their own interests through different means and

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[49]ibid, p. 624.
[50]ibid, p. 625.

forms. He also added that individuals and social movements frequently appeal to government and try to articulate the grievances of their fellow citizens who have failed to challenge or appeal to the government by their own capacity. He stressed on gap between the way State policies are formulated and the way the policies are received by individuals or groups. This contestation may arise from failure to grasp the difference between saying and doing.[51]

Transfer of power made most of the people think that democracy would provide opportunities to enjoy rights and freedoms but one commentator observed "the chances are likely to be wholly against the survival of freedom". Fifty years of Indian experiences shows that democratic rule has not been properly safeguarded. The contemporary institutional arrangements of the political system theoretically provide scope for expression of popular demands and grievances. These arrangements are not adequate and popular aspirations and demands have been undermined. The failure of economic policies, policy ineffectiveness and incapacity to accommodate political conflict without violence and even which grew out of the erosion of democratic institutions or the nature of class configurations led to crisis of legitimacy in India. Thus, the social scenario is marked by increased violent protests and agitations. So people are resorting to oppression of dissent through peaceful means through the constitutional as well as extra constitutional methods of protests.[52]

Rudolph argues that Nehru was committed to a model of State-directed industrialization for a mass consumption society but the obstacle in his path was the intransigence of an entrenched traditional rural elite. The tradition and modernity dichotomy in the old State-analysis of Weiner, Pye and Manor still runs deep in the new but equally imitative State-centrist analysis.[53] Neeraja Gopal Jayal argues that free and fair elections, freedom of speech and expression, and the rule of law and its protection all are necessary for strengthening democracy and she further argues that democratic project is incomplete

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[51] Rajni Kothari, The Congress Revisited: A Decennial View, Asian Survey, December, 1974, pp.1035-1054.
[52] ibid. pp.1035-1054.
[53] ibid. pp.1035-1054.

until the exercise of the equal rights of citizenship has been guaranteed to all. She argues that political equality gets severely restricted by inequalities that deny many people from having a true opportunity to influence government decision. She argues that there is a clash between the procedural and substantial aspects of Indian democracy. The project of secularism has been in a wider threat from the ultra communal ideology that has been seeking to redefine democracy. The welfare character of the State also increasingly has been undermined due to the shifts in the economic policies in the wake of the economic reforms as well as the ideological struggle between State and market.[54]

Deepak Nayyar argues that the greatest signifier of the Indian democracy has been lacking of the essential prerequisites of a democracy and argues that class-based struggles against hegemonies of upper castes and classes, emergence of women movement struggle for their rights, tribal uprisings for safeguarding their life styles to defense of their culture and regional identity and nationality constitute a broad range of popular awakening that led to protests and social movements. In the large parts of rural India, the role of government became that of facilitator. The role of government was replaced with direct rule of local landlords and hegemonic castes. This led to greater penetration of commercial interests into rural areas.[55] Justice Jeeven Reddy argued that Governance is becoming complex, and political executive is not able to respond, and the judiciary is stepping in. In a democracy, the faith in the impartiality of the institutions is important. The legislature and executive have the credibility crisis, if the faith in judiciary gets a setback the crisis of democracy will be far deeper and in the long run counterproductive. He also argued, it is time that Indian democracy learns to respond to the macro and micro movements in time and in favour of the people.[56] Jayant Lele argued that India's capitalist as an outcome of historically evolved class relations have placed the Indian State in a contradictory role of mediating between the interests of accumulation and legitimation. Significant changes in the formal composition of the ruling elites and their relationships to each other as well as to the rest of the population have occurred in the past forty five years, often as

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[54] Neeraja Gopal Jayal, Democracy in India. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 571.

[55] Deepak Nayyar, Governing globalization: issues and institutions, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002.

[56] Former Supreme Court Justice, delivered a lecture in the Seminar on "Right to Strike and Judiciary Role" held in Hyderabad on 26th July, 2005.

unanticipated consequences of State policies undertaken on their behalf. An important element of these changes is the dramatic decline in the hegemony of the dominant agricultural classes.[57]

Atul Kohli argues that ineffectiveness of States results in its growing incapacity to deal with the pressing problems of law and order, corruption and poverty. Long established inequalities are thus increasingly under challenge. The lower socio-economic classes have begun associating themselves to challenge what they perceive to be unjust domination, exploitation, discrimination, treatment of inequality in the spheres of socio-political and cultural spheres and at the same time privileged groups have also begun to counter organize against lower castes. He cites the crises in governability as the reasons not only but also absence of enduring coalition, policy ineffectiveness and incapacity of political accommodation of political conflict. A government whose power rests on fluctuating coalitions and whose leaders repeatedly fail to fulfill their stated goals and to control politically directed violence and also low capacity of government to reduce the protest movements.[58] State institutions are unable to deal with the protests. In Indian democracy, due to positive discrimination, SC, ST and Backward Castes perhaps are enjoying political rights at some level but they are not certainly enjoying social and economic rights. They might have claimed that formally democracy works, but operationally democracy is not that effective as in western countries. Unless people question the failures of government or practices of Democracy, it would not function well. Unless there is freedom of association and conducive civic culture that encourage people to meet in small groups to discuss the issues, which they are facing and put up the problems in front of government through collective effort, democracy cannot be substantial.[59]

It argues that democracy not merely conceived constitutional-cum political terms, but involves wider dimensions-achievement of justice, assertion of freedom, high degree of

[57]Jayant Lele, Understanding Indian Politics, (in edit) Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar, Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p. 207.

[58] Atul Kohli, Democracy and Discontent: India's Growing Crisis of Governability, Cambridge University Press, London, pp.4-9.

[59]ibid. pp.4-9.

tolerance and acceptance of diversity. Second, the wider the distance between the elites and the peoples, between those who govern and the governed, the less the extent of democracy and less emancipated the structure of governance. Therefore, less emancipation with regard to development, culture, ecology and ethnicity leads to confusion among the people. Third, built in the framework of functioning democracies are self-imposed distances from constitutional to political, socioeconomic to administrative-which engineer growing dissensions, ever-widening divisions and yawning top-down gaps. These produce alienation, widening disparities and cultures of impairment between the centers and the peripheries, and quite often along the way regional substructures and cultures.[60]

Civil Society and its Role in Promoting Democratic Voices

One could conceptualize democracy as propelling a movement that produce diverse strands of transformative politics or simply as a framework of governance which then, failing to deliver the goods, leads to a variety of problems and frustrations, dilemmas and contradictions. These problems call for a more comprehensive and socially widespread movement. The movement should work towards transforming society and State as well. Democracy through the normative perspective of 'emancipation of the society, the emanicipatory thrust of democracy calls for a change in its very definition and the diverse contents –social and cultural, local, national, and global-through which it finds expression. Emancipation should be a deeply rooted process of change, mobilization and transformation.[61] The objective of an egalitarian society is uplifting the poor people and thereby move towards a comprehensive model of equity, justice and emancipation. The minority of the people in the country is privileged and the majority of the people are deprived and a large population is living with minimum standards of living-health, shelter, education, access to environment and other such basics. Larger and larger number of people are excluded from the mainstream of society and driven into ghettos. There cannot be genuine emancipation without a just and egalitarian State of existence. It is not only the basic social order that should exist in an egalitarian State, but also the vast

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[60] Rajni Kothari, Rethinking of Democracy, Orient Longman Publications, New Delhi, 2005, p.159.
[61] Jayant Lele, op.cit. New Delhi, p. 155.

diversity in it's ethnic, biological and ecological components. There can be no real democracy without an emancipated social order and a free and fulsome diversity of natural resources.[62]

Ajay Gudavarthy argues that modern society consists of three sub systems: economic, the politico-administration and the socio-cultural. He argues that the crisis in one subsystem is simulated into other subsystems and thereby dissipating it into the system as a whole, and it manifests in varied new forms. Economic crisis can take either political form or even a cultural form. The new social movements that have been raising a whole range of cultural issues from body politics to sexuality can all be read as protest politics against the distortion introduced into the society as a consequence of managing or averting a fundamental crisis in the system. State intervention in the course of mitigating the economic crisis, displaces the contradictions into the political realm. It transforms them into political problems. Economic crisis initiated by the new development model, in this case is substantially transformed into a political crisis. The State began to rely more on 'experts', where 'the appeal to a 'committee of experts' as itself an important instrument in resolving a political debate', and it also progressively reduced to political problems into technical problems'. The State takes recourse to more insular techniques and strategies that are less open to public argumentation and accountability. As a consequence, the distance between expert cultures and the broader public grows greater. Democratic processes were sought to be bypassed for an efficient administrative intervention.[63] That's what people of India have been experiencing for last four decades.

The people have lost the confidence in traditional forms of representation such as political parties and people have turned towards relatively newer forms of interest aggregation and representation to help them solve their problems. The Congress party had lost its ability to inspire confidence that as a political party, could represent the interests of the people and as a party that controlled the government which could satisfy the needs of the people. Political parties had failed to discharge their responsibility

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[62]ibid. p.158.
[63]Ajay Gudavarthy, Democratic Governance or Governing Democracy?, source:
http://bibliotecavirtual.clacso.org.ar/ar/libros/sursur/democratic/08guda.pdf

towards people. They have rapidly degenerated into corrupt, unrepresentative and power hungry machines. Moreover, the rulers of new generation have come out from the rhetoric of Nehruvian socialism and the idea of planning for development had generated both enormous hopes on the government and sense of entitlements. The country also had failed to overcome the problems like poverty, illiteracy and unemployment. This led to restlessness in major parts of the country and discontent came to pervade large parts of the country as grassroots mobilized to target unrepresentative State and an unresponsive party system.[64]

The overall Indian experience indicates that human rights realization is fraught with innumerable problems and impediments. This is sharply evident in its complex experience in the domain of human rights. The system witnessed several progressive laws raising human rights standards but simultaneously saw enactment of laws after laws which are repressive indicating dilemmas of the Indian State which has been acting as protector and promoter of human rights at one level but remained a major violator at another level.[65] The challenges are very large and they cannot be handled by merely relying on a representative style of democracy based on elections and a party system on which people have placed their faith around sixty years. The country should go beyond the representative style that is perhaps the participatory democracy. After fifty-five years of promulgamation of Indian Constitution most of the citizens of our country still live below the poverty line, do not get two-square meal a day and have no accesses to sufficient clothing to cover their bodies and have no permanent housing to stay. They are compelled to lead a life of semi-nakedness, malnutrition, disease and worse still is the fact, that they are in no position to make any effort to improve their life style. The deep institutional crisis and the erosion of rule of law on the one hand and the poverty, unemployment, inequalities, uneven development and injustice to the weak and

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[64]Neera Chandoke, "Revisiting the Crisis of Representative Thesis": The Indian Context, 'Democratization' source: www2.ids.ac.uk/gdr/cfs/.../Chandhoke_Crisis%20of%20Representation.pdf
[65] Heller, Patrick. Degrees of Democracy: Some Comparative Lessons from India, 'World Politics' Vol. 52, Number 4, July 2000, pp. 484-519

vulnerable on the other contributed to the growth of the protest movements as well as civil liberties movement in India.[66]

In third world countries social and economic conditions have conspired to limit the capacity of subordinate groups to effectively exercise their rights to secure substantive gains. India is no exception from this scenario. This has often produced a vicious cycle in which the ineffectiveness of formal democracy produces increased social tensions, which in turn trigger autocratic political responses and movements of range. In India, the increasing incidence of caste and communal violence, the criminalization of politics, the spread of corruption gave to rise to ethnic chauvinist and communitarian parties. Thus, we must look beyond the macro institutional level of parliament, constitution and elections. And we must investigate instead the intermediate and local level institutions and consultative arenas located in the intersts of State and society where "every day" forms of democracy flourish. The rise of rights movement demonstrates this point. The movements for human rights partly are a failure of the system but also an assertion of democracy. Unless every individual has Human Rights, one would not have an opportunity to question the evils of social system and anti-people's policies.[67]

Thus, social movements in India have contributed to the development of a transformative agenda; their ideological and political interventions have helped in expanding the scope of formal democratic exercise. It is also believed that civil society is critical to democratic performance because it extends the scope and style of claim making beyond the formal interest represent that defines political society. Social movements, associations and unions raise new issues and mobilize new actors. In doing so they not only provide a counter balance to more bureaucratic and aggregated forms of interest representation, but they also create new solidarities, which in many instances specifically challenge existing inequalities and hence help democratic society itself.[68] The emergence of micro struggles or people's movements is understood and can be explained in various ways. In the

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[66] Akhil Gupta, "The Political Economy of Post-Independence India", A Review Article, vol. 48, No. 4, November, 1989, Pp. 787-797.

[67]ibid.

[68] Patrick Heller, Degrees of Democracy: Some Comparative Lesions from India, 'World Politics', Vol.52, July 2000, pp. 487-488.

background of the failure of established political institutions, people's movements considered as powerful autonomous expressions of popular dissent. These movements are seen as more flexible and open in nature that makes it possible for them to address multi dimensional injustices. Strong organizational network of the people's movement's showed their potential. Thus these movements are seen as helpful in further democratization of the polity and the enriching agenda of social transformation. Social movements appear to have shifted from the most disadvantaged groups to the middle sections of the society, so that the anti-caste movements started mobilizing the backward-classes into activism to a large extent. The politics of resistance or mobilization politics has always occupied a legitimate space in India's democratic framework. It is both due to India's constitutional contribution or commitment towards establishment of a welfare social democracy as well as the legacies developed by anti colonial politics and the nationalist movement.[69]

To sum up, the chapter attempt to locate the roots of Indian democracy. Indian Democracy carries both strengths and limitations as formally India has constitutional provisions, strong judiciary, regular elections but it also has several castes, communities, regional variations and so on. These variations divided the people into different sections like ruler and ruled; elite and mass. Elite always dominate polity, economy and social life but mass participation makes the difference. The formal system in India carries philosophical, theoretical base and strong parliamentary democracy from its past history but shows it hasn't been substantial. Though India brought in a few positive measures to develop the people from weaker sections, it also brought anti people policies. This gap led to agrarian crisis, administrative crisis and further led to peoples agitations. Hence many of social scientists argue that Indian democracy is in crisis. To cope with the crisis, Indian state has been is repressive laws that made people to resist the measures. These hostile attitude of state, gave the scope for peoples movements. It is obvious that peoples movements strive for deepening of democracy. Thus the movements have contributed to the development of transformative agenda, their ideological and political interventions have helped in expanding the scope of formal democracy.

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[69] Rajni Kothari, Rethinking Democracy, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2005, pp.12-13.

<center>**Separate Telangana Movement**
The Demand for Statehood</center>

<center>*"Ours is a battle not for wealth or for power. It is a battle for freedom.*
It is a battle for the reclamation of human personality."</center>

<div align="right">*-Dr. B.R. Ambedkar*</div>

The chapter deals with Separate Telangana Movement: the issues and the concerns that are involved in it. It focuses on the brief history of Andhra Pradesh particularly of the Telangana region. It analyzes the reasons for the movement, examines the electoral politics and the political developments in the movement. This chapter further explores the attitude of the State and of the leadership and the complexities involved in the movement after 2009 general elections. It tries to see the relation between the electoral politics and the movement. As a part of this analysis the rise of the Joint Action Committees- the students Joint Action Committees and several other joint action committees in the movement also assume importance. It looks at the attitude of law enforcement agencies and judiciary towards such movements. In probing the phenomenon, the study tries to assess the democratic processes and trends that this movement has thrown up.

Introduction

Indian political system comprises of complex social system. It has different regions with varied cultures, geographical conditions and developmental scenario. India is passing through a phase of mix or interface of both tradition and modernity. For instance, political fragmentation and linguistic regional insulation; hierarchical social division institutionalized inequality, cultural-ethnic diversity and social intolerance have been significant features of traditional India. These multiple dimensions shaped the nature and type of social movements. The nationalist ideology subsumed divergent social movements encompassing Indian liberation movement. The Nationalist spirit withered away soon. Negative aspects like denial of access to productive resources, social discrimination, and patriarchal values uneven development became a common problem.[1]

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[1] Ghanshyam Shah, Social Movements and the State, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 2

Movements and Their Relevance

It is well known fact that outcomes of a movement could be seen in terms of social, political and economic change, sometimes structural and quite often non-structural. However, the State has the power to formulate new public policies or to modify the existing public policies within the constitutional framework in response to the demands of different social movements. Thus, social movements through the State compel actions and initiate and determine public policy. Ghansham Shah argues that social movements are a result of failure of policies. They also work against discrimination on all grounds i.e. caste, gender and untouchability and also strive for decent earnings, education and health which are considered critical components of human development.[2] They arise around the issues of caste, class, region, and language. A wide range of movements-women, Dalit, tribal, agrarian, farmers, regional, identity and human rights movements-sprang based on socio-economic characteristics of the participants. All these are aimed at acquiring due spaces for different sections of population.[3] Andhra Pradesh political scenario is a part of this phenomenon.

Caste and Cultural Composition of three regions in Andhra Pradesh

Rural Telangana has been primarily a territory of Adivasis, service castes, artisans, agricultural classes and leather workers. It was because of their composition, culture and history, Telangana has an identity of its own in Indian politics.[4] The modernizing castes produce the individuals of their castes as leaders and they in turn hegemonize the political parties. Political parties, in such a scenario come under the control of the dominant castes. The Kammas, Reddys and Brahmins who got organized in Telangana and Andhra regions promoted their own leadership. The Reddy community in Hyderabad state, Kamma peasant community in Andhra regions pushed many of their caste men as their leaders. The castes, in fact, transformed into close knit communities and identified themselves with respective regions. Historically, the castes as organs of social/political entities have been strengthened, and the regions came to be known in the name of castes

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[2]ibid.p.2.

[3]ibid.p.2.

[4] P. Harinath, 'Telangana: The Peripheralisation, Coloisation and Marginalisation of a Region' in (edit) S. Simhadri and P.L. Vishweshwer Rao, " Telangana : Dimensions of Underdevelopment", Centre for Telangana Studies, Hyderabad, 1997, pp.35-47.

– Andhra as Kamma region, Telangana as Reddy region and Brahmins as protagonists of literary culture but their overriding intellectual positions were severely challenged by Kammas and Reddys.[5] When new power structure got constituted during 1947 to 1956 when the formation of Hyderabad/Vishalandhra State was formed, the landed gentry of Telangana and peasant entrepreneurs of Andhra vied with each other for power but joined together against the lower castes. P. Harinath argues that there are no fundamental differences on the issue of caste among the three sub regions in Andhra Pradesh. The same castes tend to have a horizontal spread throughout the State. The principal castes in the three sub regions are the same, although there are certainly interesting differences in caste configuration between Telangana, Rayalaseema and Andhra.[6]

These two paradigmatically different structures (Telangana and Andhra) were brought together in 1956 not as a solution to Telangana's many problems but as a contribution to the requirements of the Andhra rich and their allies. The merger has taken place for political and administrative arrangements. The elite structures of Andhra parties and lobbies proceeded to subordinate their Telangana counterparts. Andhra bureaucratic elite looked down the officials from Telangana at the top level. The mulki rules were not applicable to upper strata. The politico-bureaucratic elite could immediately be seen to be divided on two levels: the dominant Andhra segment and the subordinate Telangana section. After an initial hesitation, the mulki rules were flouted to bring more Andhra employees. The process so started did not stop there but assumed a momentum of its own. In the case of Telangana it bypassed even qualified Telangana people. Discrimination was abetted by a system of spoils, which was practiced with impunity by Andhra political elite with a lot more audacity than in the initial stages[7]

Reasons for Separate Telangana Statehood Movement

P. Harinath argues that the newly-created integrated State had more resources but the Andhra farmers who are considered rich in terms of agriculture and irrigation resources,

[5]ibid. pp.35-47.
[6]ibid. pp.35-47.
[7]Jayashankar, Consensus on Telangana State: Facts, Mallepalli Rajyam Memorial Trust, Hyderabad, 2008, p.5

secured assurances from their politico-administrative elite in integrated State once again to increase their surplus. The period ending with the mid-sixties, in which there was relative political stability, coincided with the expansion of infrastructure for wider internal market and compulsory procurement of food grains by the government. The expansion of education brought more qualified people from Andhra into Telangana. Telangana's qualified men and women were slow to come in, the new educational institutions needed for the new system being opened only in the late 1950s. Public works brought in contractors and transporters from Andhra. They might have stopped coming to Telangana if the Government had intervened to increase the rural incomes and promoted the potential rich. But the Government did not do so. Tenancy reforms resulted in an increase in small-scale production; very few agrarian rich could acquire meaningful surplus. Increased irrigation facilities were the only way that could have brought prosperity to sections of Telangana peasantry.[8]

P. Harinath holds that the sustained pressure and combined activity of Andhra ruling coalition concentrated its efforts to bring more water from Telangana area for bigger surpluses. The Andhra agrarian rich did not, from the beginning, want a competitive section from Telangana that would spoil its attempt to perpheralise Telangana into small-commodity producing peasantry. The Andhra political elites were instrumental in realizing this negative aspiration by scuttling all the attempts of the Telangana subordinate elite through a tight network of lobby system. The peripheral nature of Telangana's economy was reinforced by the government's cutting down the size and outlay of Telangana irrigation projects and by increasing the supply of water from Telangana to Andhra region by floating legal norms and designing (Nagarjunasagar, Pochampadu) of projects. The irrigation and engineering bureaucracy dominated by Andhra component worked as a crucial input in favour of Andhra rural rich. Disparities were created and protected by the Andhra ruling elite that served as a mechanism in perpetuating this process. Telangana was slowly but surely turned from a periphery into a colony by the middle of the sixties. The systematic transfer of resources through the Governmental network had started, water, coal and electricity being the primary targets

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[8]P. Harinath, op.cit. pp. 38-39.

of such transfer. Besides being converted into a peripheral backward area, Telangana was paying more taxes in the form of higher agricultural tax rates and excise tax.[9]

Culturally speaking, K. Srinivasulu maintains that the Andhra leadership continuing all the ill treatment meted out to them by the Tamil ruling class in the old Madras Presidency and transferred it to the people of Telangana. But it was not merely a collective psychological problem but was craving for power and money of the feudal classes of the Andhra area (Kammas, Reddys and Brahmins). They subjected Telangana feudals to every type of humiliation imaginable. Yet a character from this class betrayed the great peoples' movement for Telangana of 1968-1972. He argues that the Naxalite movement itself was a product of the betrayal of the 1968-1972 movement and tardy implementation of land reforms by the Coastal area-Rayalaseema feudal coalition. He adds that feudalism and caste system too existed in Andhra area. Capitalism has been superimposed on a casteist feudal society. All the contradictions of the Andhra area are sought to be resolved by involving oppressed sections into a wholesale exploitation of Telangana resources for the benefit of the Andhra area is accompanied by attacks on the way of life of Telangana people. In fact, the insistence on the formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh was itself with the intention of taking control of Telangana resources. It is a vindication of their dominance that the upper caste/class leadership of the advanced regions has for this reason not only displayed indifference to the problems of the backward areas but in fact actively professed 'integration'.[10]

The Separate Telangana Movement: Response of the Government

The demand for separate State is far more widespread after 1990s than in 1969 when the agitation for a separate Telangana was first launched. It has now engulfed farmers, youth, and women, Dalits and Tribals. The movement of the late 1960s petered out not just because of the opportunism of leaders of the movement or due to the repressive measures of the state, as is often made out to be. It was in the early 1970s that Indira Gandhi's slogan of `Garibi Hatao' caught on the imagination of the poor throughout the country.

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[9] ibid. pp. 38-39

[10] Srinivasulu. K, The Thesis on the Question of Small States, in Simhadri P & Rao, Vishweshwer P.L, Telangana: Dimensions of Underdevelopment, Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997, pp.53

N.T. Rama Rao was another charismatic leader with a pro-poor agenda during 1980s. Their popularity with common people of Telangana was primarily responsible for sweeping the statehood issue under the carpet of welfare for quite some time. However, the policies initiated by the NTR could not be sustained for long because of absence of commitment of his successor. The period following the demise of these leaders witnessed a major shift in socio-economic policies. This phase also witnessed negligence of agriculture, rural development, and social sectors. The post-liberalization strategy also witnessed rural distress that brought into sharp focus the rising regional disparities in development once again. A disturbing feature of the current political scene in Andhra Pradesh is that those still interested in the integrated State refuse to learn the lessons from the agitation for a separate Telangana in the decade of 1960s. Fifty years ago, the first States' Reorganization Commission (SRC) had recommended formation of Telangana as a separate State in response to the simmering discontent in the region.[11]

C.H. Hanumantha Rao argues that the merger of Telangana with Andhra region became possible because of a series of promises made and guarantees given. But none of them has been honoured. The Gentlemen's agreement, All Party Accord, Eight Point Formula, Five Point Formula and Six Point Formula- all have been violated. Even a judgment given by the Supreme Court of India in favour of employees of Telangana region was nullified by an Act of Parliament. As a cumulative effect of all these developments, the Telangana region continues to remain backward in different sphere of activity in spite of the fact that the region is rich in resource endowment. Even the minimum and legitimate aspirations of people of the region have not been fulfilled. The natural, mineral and human resources of the region have been exploited for the benefit of outsiders. The balance sheet of development in the region left a legacy of horrible spectrum of pain, poverty, penury, suffering, starvation, stigma and struggle. There has been an extensive scale of migration from the region. The people of Telangana are once again restive, reiterating their demand for a separate state. The demand of the people of this region for a separate state is not a new development. It was voiced much before the formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh and continues to be raised even thereafter. The reason for the

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[11]ibid.

opposition of people of Telangana to join Visalandhra (metamorphosed to Andhra Pradesh) was fear of neglect and injustice in the enlarged state and the reason for their refusal to continue in the present state is the actual experience of becoming victims of neglect and injustice.[12]

The region has a distinct geo-cultural identity and its merger with Andhra State in the year 1956 was not in conformity with the spirit of the recommendations of Fazal Ali commission. The commission toured in the State and received representations in lakhs and interviewed thousands of people and finally recommended that language alone cannot be the basis for formation of a state. However brushing aside these recommendations the then leaders of Congress with grandiose designs and imperialistic outlook merged the state of Hyderabad with the State of Andhra. The Congress leadership was guided by language criterion as basis for re-organizing States in India. It is pertinent to recall the famous statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the Nizamabad meeting soon after the decision was taken to merge the state of Hyderabad with the State of Andhra when he observed that the merger of two regions was like a marriage between an innocent girl (Telangana) and a naughty boy that it was a marriage on trial and if it does not last they could part ways. The co-existence has never been based on trust, equality and respect as history of relationship between the two regions since 1956 shows. The apprehensions expressed and cautions made by Fazal Ali proved prophetic.[13]

The merger was conditional inasmuch as the people of Telangana were offered many safeguards such as local jobs for local people; revenue generated in the region to be spent for development of the region and equitable share in political power. However it is a historical fact that these safeguards were observed in breach. History also witnessed unbridled exploitation of resources of the region such as river waters, denial of employment and educational opportunities to the youth of Telangana that resulted in the 1969 Telangana agitation which took away lives of 370 young men and women. The formula divided the State irrationally into six zones for the purposes of education and

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[12] op.cit. K. Jayasankar, Jayashankar, 2008, p.5.
[13] ibid. Source: http://www.telangana.org/Papers/Article10.pdf

employment and a new concept of 'local candidate' was invented in place of 'mulki'. This is once again a gross dilution of guarantees that were given at the time of merger in the year 1956. As a result many local youth were deprived of employment opportunities. When these injustices were snowballing into a potential discontent and were threatening to take the shape of an agitation the Andhra leadership once again doused the ire of the people and blunted the discontent by issuing G.O.610 directing that the six point formula shall be implemented in letter and spirit. However this was not to happen. It took many more years for the State leadership to get the matter examined and a committee headed by Mr. Girglani, a retired Civil servant was appointed. The committee in its report exposed violations in job appointments and transfer of employees. However, the report has not stirred the conscience of the Government. The government tried to hide its embarrassment by issuing more Government Orders to implement G.O.610 but withdrew them in the wake of strong protest by the Employees Association.[14]

Separate Telangana Statehood Movement and Electoral Politics (1990s -2001)

There are two kinds of participations which are vital in democratic countries: representative politics and civil societal activism. Since the study emphasizing on second phase of Telangana movement and the notion of democratic and territorial, it intends to emphasis on people's organizations and their role and the role of political parties as well.

P. Indira Reddy[15] one of the Telangana leaders started a new political party called *Jai Telangana Party* in the year 1998 but failed to mobilize the people. On 27th Oct 1999, when young lawyers of Nizamabad organized a meeting, he was the chief guest. The media: print and electronic both covered it in the main news. It got enormous support from the people. On 5th November 1999, Praja Samithi organized a meeting addressed by several speakers. Result was within three days; Nara Chandra Babu Naidu, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh reacted in a discourteous manner and cautioned that if anyone continues such kind of movement, his government would use all the means to stop it, including the police force. It was in this backdrop Jayasankar wrote a book "What

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[14] ibid.
[15] Former Home Minister of Andhra Pradesh

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is happening in the Telangana region". It had an enormous impact on the people of Telangana. After this incident, Telangana movement once again struck roots in the region and during the same period- *Janasakti* revolutionary party supported the movement. Later, People's War also supported it. [16] He also mentioned that Telangana movement was not started by the political parties but by the intellectuals, writers, students and those who are ideologically committed and democratically strong from Telangana region. Both the times, the movement was owned by the political parties like *Telangana Sadana Samithi* (TSS-1960s) and *Telangana Rastra Simiti* (TRS-2001).

TRS as a political party revived the political process. During the phase of sensitization issues relating to injustice done to the Telangana region have been widely debated and discussed. Therefore, it is generally felt that it should be tested in the electoral process. At that point of time, Telugu Desam Party has been in power for a decade, Congress was in deep political trouble as it was not in power both at the State and the Centre. At that particular juncture, Congress Party realized that it should have an alliance with the other parties. It also realized that it would be very difficult to replace TDP independently without having an alliance with *Telangana Rastra Samithi*. Therefore, Congress High Command consisting of Ghulam Nabi Azad and Pranab Mukarjee negotiated with TRS. On the other hand, *Telangana Rastra Samithi* also realized that unless it goes with the Congress, it would be difficult to get the separate State. Therefore, there was an agreement arrived between Congress Party and Telangana Rastra Samithi in which three important points were incorporated; one) respecting the recommendations of first SRC which kept the option forming the State of Telangana open; two) in the event of conceding the demand of Telangana State, the possibility of similar demands being raised like that of Vidarbha; three) the possible need to set up the Second SRC to sort out certain problems. [17]

With this understanding, the alliance was formed between the Congress Party and TRS and also sharing of seats within Telangana was agreed upon. Consequently the Congress

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[16] ibid

[17] K. Jayashankar, op.cit., interviewed at Hyderabad on 22 November 2009.

Party and TRS participated jointly in the election campaign throughout the Telangana region in 2004 general election. During the course of this campaign, AICC president Sonia Gandhi herself made a categorical commitment while addressing election campaign on 11th March 2004 at Karim Nagar. Thereby she clearly committed herself and the Congress Party that in case the Congress party returned to power both at the Central and the State "the hopes and aspirations of the people of Telangana will be fulfilled". During the same election period, the Telugu Desam Party alliance with the BJP entered the election arena with a categorical commitment to "not to agree for the formation of Telangana State and retain the integrated State of Andhra Pradesh intact. At the same time, CPI was in favour of conceding the demand for Telangana State, yet their alliance with Congress Party had sent sufficient signals to the effect that they will not obstruct formulation of Telangana State. Therefore, it was a straight fight between two alliances. One in favour of formation of Telangana State and another opposed to it. In the polls, the Congress Party in alliance with the TRS registered an impressive victory signifying that the people of Andhra and *Rayalaseema* were not against the formation of Telangana State. On the contrary, the *Telugu Desam Party* alliance with BJP categorically asserting the commitment to the integrated State of Andhra Pradesh, has miserably lost the elections. It is also significant that people of Andhra and Rayalaseema were not very keen on continuing in the Integrated State.[18]

When the final results of the general elections were announced, the Congress Party was in a position to form a coalition Government at the Centre for which the participation of TRS became necessary, in addition to emerging as an important force in the 2004 general elections. Therefore, the Congress Party invited the leadership of TRS to join coalition government at the Centre. But the TRS insisted upon a categorical assurance and programme of action for the formation of Telangana State for joining the UPA government. With the assurance given by the Congress Party, TRS joined UPA government. As the Congress party needed the support of quite a few other political parties particularly those who were pre-poll allies, an alliance was formed called "United Progressive Alliance" consisting of a dozen pre-poll allies and some other partied. TRS

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[18]ibid.

was also one among them and insisted upon the inclusion of "formation of State of Telangana" in the Common Minimum Programme of the UPA as a pre condition for joining the alliance. At that stage all the UPA allies felt that setting up of the Second SRC was not required because of a clear verdict given by the people of Andhra Pradesh in the elections. Therefore, they felt that steps should be taken to form the Telangana State without going for yet another SRC which would open up Pandora's Box and in the process, the assurances to form the Telangana State would get diluted. Consequently all the political parties who constituted the UPA including four left parties unanimously agreed to incorporate certain provisions in the Common Minimum Programme. This assurance was also made a part of the presidential Address made to the first joint session for both the houses of Parliament. It was further reiterated by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in his first press conference after the formation of UPA government.[19]

The Congress Party for its own reasons slowly started delaying the process. It had not taken steps to arrive at consensus mentioned in the CMP. It went on and on for about six months. As a result, the TRS leadership had to tell the Prime Minister and UPA chairperson that if the steps to initiate the process of formation of Telangana State delayed, it wouldn't be justified for their party to continue in UPA government. As a result, they constituted a Committee under the Chairpersonship of Pranab Mukarjee with Raghuvamsh Prasad Singh and Dayanidhi Maran as members. The purpose of forming the Committee was to ascertain the views of all political parties constituting the UPA about formation of Telangana State. The TRS insisted that there should be a fixed time frame to complete the process. Therefore, UPA chairperson and chairman of the Committee made it clear that the whole exercise would be completed in four weeks time. The procedure explained for eliciting the views of all the political parties of UPA, each was to express and send its party's opinion at earliest to the Pranab Committee. Initially, letters were addressed to only those parties which were a part of UPA. The response was overwhelming in support of the formation of Telangana State. At that stage Mr. Pranab

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[19]ibid.

Mukarjee suggested that the letters should also be addressed to the parties which were in opposition as well.[20]

The response from NDA allies and other parties was also forthcoming in support of Telangana State formation. Thus, the strength of the parties which were supporting the Telangana State formation was having enough of majority in the parliament. Subsequently the CPI which was not willing to support the Telangana State formation initially also changed its stand and gave its consent. In this regard, even the *Telugu Desam Party* which was reticent to the formation of Telangana State had changed its stand and finally gave the letter to UPA Sub-Committee in favour of Telangana State. The consensus on this score was arrived, but the UPA particularly the Congress Party cold shouldered everything. Even though Pranab Mukarjee clarified that "a consensus" does not mean concurrence of everybody" and in the light of this stand consensus was arrived at, yet the issue was not clinched because of the reservations of the chief minister Y.S. Rajasekhar Reddy. At one stage, he gave interpretation, that the word 'consensus' used in the CMP, means "the acceptance of all the hundred crore people of India". Under this pretext Y.S.R. opposed, his party leaders were not happy.

Then, Rajashekar Reddy switched over to another argument that the Congress Party and UPA were committed to the formation of Second SRC. He successfully managed to prevail upon Digvijay Singh and Virappa Moily who were in-charge of the party in A.P. When this was questioned by the senior Congress leaders from Telangana region, the Congress leaders changed the stand off and on. Ultimately Pranab Mukarjee himself said "the formation of Second SRC was not on their agenda". The Chief Minister was publicly on record to say that he would abide by any decision taken by Sonia Gandhi on this score, but privately he pressurized and even blackmailed the Congress High Command not to agree for the formation of Telangana State. Ultimately Y.S.R became the sole opponent for Telangana State. And this fact was explained by the Prime Minister himself to a couple of Congress leaders. When it became clear that UPA and the Congress High Command was giving importance to Rajasekhara Reddy, the TRS quit from the UPA

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[20]ibid.

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government and about a year after withdrew its ministers from State government protesting against the policies and programmes of Y.S.R. which were causing greater harm to Telangana cause than earlier.[21]

During the election campaign, Sonia Gandhi has said in a public meeting that Congress Party was not opposed to Separate Telangana State in principle, the Party thinks that there is a need to consider the sentiments of the other regions, settlers in Hyderabad and problems of Hyderabad Muslims, in case Telangana state was formed. During the last Assembly session not withstanding his reservation the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh reiterated in the Assembly that government was not opposed to separate Telangana state. His party would respect the sentiments of the people of Telangana, but it has to study the problems of several sections of the State and the regions while forming the separate State. During the election campaign, the Chief Minister constituted a Cabinet Sub Committee to study the problems of other regions and security of Muslims in Hyderabad city. No opposition party joined the committee as they argued that Government constituted the committee only for political opportunism. In contrast to announcement in the Assembly, during the 2009 general elections, he said that the settlers from coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema in Telangana would become aliens if a separate Telangana state was formed. A vote for the Telugu Desam Party would mean that people of Rayalaseema and coastal Andhra regions will become aliens in Hyderabad city because the TDP had aligned with the Telangana Rashtra Samithi which was wedded to the creation of a separate state.

The Congress, in its election manifesto has said that it has no objection to formation of a Telangana state. Congress president Sonia Gandhi had promised to accord top priority to the issue. The TDP, which reversed its old stand and supported the Telangana demand and pledged that if voted to power, it would initiate the measures for carving out a separate state. Compared with this what the Chief Minister had said in a written statement in the Assembly in its last session of Assembly: "Telangana issue is close to my heart and we are committed to addressing the demand." Or, for that matter, what Sonia Gandhi said

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[21] ibid.

at an election rally at Bhongir in Telangana: "If at all there is a party which can deliver Telangana, it is the Congress. People should not trust the TDP- TRS alliance." Further, YSR also maintained that the erstwhile Telugu Desam Party (TDP) Government completely neglected irrigation projects in the region which was witnessing severe drought, triggering the demand for a separate state. His government undertook irrigation projects and other rural developmental activities in a focused manner.[22] He also cautioned the people of Andhra and Rayalaseema that supporting the TDP meant endorsing the demand for a separate state of Telangana at the expense of the interests of the people in Andhra and Rayalaseema regions.[23] the contradictions and double standards of political parties particularly the Congress party are very evident in this whole process.

The Telugu Desam Party's (TDP) decision to support the demand for separate Statehood for Telangana region has brought the issue back to the centre stage in 2009 elections and put pressure on the ruling Congress party to take a similar stand ahead of the elections scheduled to be held in five months. The fact that the TDP was forced to reverse its twenty six year-old ideological plank of unified Andhra Pradesh proves how significant the issue has become in the run up to the simultaneous polls to State Assembly and Lok Sabha. The TDP was the first major political party with state-wide presence to take a clear stand in favour of the six-decade old demand for separate Telangana State. The TDP had fought the 2004 elections on the plank of united Andhra Pradesh. The party not only lost power to the Congress party but was nearly wiped out from Telangana. The party's strength in the Assembly came down drastically to 45. The Congress had then fought elections in alliance with *Telangana Rashtra Samiti* (TRS), fighting for separate Telangana. The party was under attack for holding talks with TDP for electoral alliance without the latter supporting a separate State. The Praja Rajyam Party (PRP) floated by Chiranjeevi has also taken a pro-Telangana stand. It is only the Congress party whose stand on the issue remained ambiguous. The TDP also witnessed desertions on the issue.

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[22] Eenadu daliy news, Separate Telangana will be a safe haven for naxals, `6th February 2009.
[23] YSR Shoks Telangana, 17th April 2009, Express News Service

Its senior leader T. Devender Goud, quit to float Nava Telangana Praja Party (NTPP) to bolster the movement for a separate state.[24]

The CPI (ML) New Democracy which also changed its stand and favoured a separate State. They held that KCR took to the cause not because of his commitment to the issue but because he could not get a cabinet berth. Hence, he launched Telangana Rastra Samithi, and was compelled to voice the demand of Telangana Statehood. They further alleged that TRS participated in the elections and won a good number of seats in ZPTC, MPTC, MLA and MP and joined the UPA government along with his party colleague A. Narendra[25]. His party believed in lobbying with the Union Government but party failed in getting the support from the Congress Party as they have been postponing by constituting committees and interpreting the term 'consensus' according to their wish. They added that party has forgotten mobilization of people from village level and solely depended on lobbying that made the cause suffer.[26]

Perceptions of Key Actors on People's Movements

Jayasankar when asked about the state of the movement and dilemmas in a democratic process, he said that there could be three facets in every movement. They include sensitization, agitation and political pressure. He believes that without sensitization, there would be no strong agitation and vibrant political process. The process of sensitization starts with the educated people- teachers, academicians and intellectuals. They articulate the demand in a proper manner and study the problems deeply and try to communicate to the people with the help of media and other means. They also mobilize people to participate in agitations in order to solve their problems. He called them 'opinion makers'. They may come under the category of 'apolitical' as they are not a part of any political group which is directly or indirectly a part of policy making and implementation. They are independent in their own way. The process of sensitization is a never ending process but there may be interruptions to the movement in the process of agitations and

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[24] Telangana back in centre stage of AP politics, / Indo-Asian News Service, Hyderabad Fri-Oct 10, 2008.
[25] Member of Parliament from Medak Constituency, Andhra Pradesh (2004-2009).
[26] State Committee, CPI (ML) New Democratic, Pratyeka Telangana: CPI (ML) New Democratic vaikari, Navya Printers, Hyderabad, 2009, pp. 57-66.

political process. Second, agitation, which is one of the important phases in the democratization process. After the sensitization, people who are affected or concerned with the demand or issue, come on to the streets and participate in the agitations in support of the issue. It could be within the purview of legal or illegal protests which depend upon the response of government towards the movement. In every agitation, there could be ups and downs, as it has to fight with a strong State. And there are many other issues involved in it, different sections would participate based on the nature of the demand. Many inter-related issues and complex problems could arise. State always makes use of the weaknesses and tries to bring down the movement with the help of police and other coercive means. Agitation may face interruption or break for time being but there would be no end to the agitation. Another important facet is the political process in which political parties are launched which take part in the elections, go to the Assembly or parliament and participate in the deliberations and air their demands to the government in a formal democratic manner. They also try to mobilize all political parties in support of their cause and secure their consensus from them in favour of their demand.[27]

Nernela Kishore[28] said that in the first phase (1960s) of Telangana movement, cultural awareness in Telangana region was not much compared to the ongoing movement. The 1960s movement did not have much of ideological resonance and lacked political strategy. The movement was violent and many activists were killed unlike the second phase in which many artists participated with greater clarity and in a more democratic way. Hundreds of artists and writers endowed with creative abilities emerged. This cultural movement became a part of Telangana movement. The Telangana region is also seen outstanding artists like *Goreti Venkanna* and *Andesree*. It is important to note that Andesree is not educated and belong to a bonded labour family but has written many powerful songs. One of the songs is "*Jai Telangana…. Jai Jai Telangana"* which became a march song for the Telangana movement.[29] Another reputed writer and singer *Goreti*

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[27] Interview with Former Vice-Chancellor, Kakatiya University, Warangal, Andhra Pradesh, considered as a prominent ideologue of the Telangana movement, interviewed on 20 November 2009 at Hyderabad.
[28] Folk singer in Telangana
[29] Kakatiya University awarded Andesree with an honorary doctorate in the year 2007.

Venkanna penned many songs which created enormous awareness among the people and left an impact on poor people in general and Telangana people in particular. *Desapathi Srinivas* a writer, singer and speaker as well, *Nandini Siddareddy*, another distinguished writer portrayed in their writings a clear picture of injustice done to the region by the rulers of the integrated State. *B.S. Ramulu* wrote many essays on Telangana movement from dalit perspective. Apart from these writers, there are many other artists and writers coming from different backgrounds who have been able to influence the youth, students and common people of the region.[30] These trends indicate that the artists, singers and writers coming from different socio-economic backgrounds advance the democratic ethos that in turn may lead to an egalitarian society.

The Rise of Joint Action Committees

Telangana agitation 1969 turned out to be a long drawn out battle. It had several methods of struggles and undergone many changes. From hunger strikes, relay fasts, burning of public and private property to offering of satyagraha on mass scale and courting arrests in thousands to exhaust all tactics of mass agitation. Its nature and contents underwent substantial changes: it started as an agitation of students, has spread to politicians, trade unions, intellectuals, businessmen and finally to the Government non-Gazetted employees. There are instances where the administration in the State was paralysed. All the employees, students, political leaders, ministers, advocates, lecturers, trade unions are all vertically divided into two groups in the State on the issue of Telangana. These sections from two regions refuse to cooperate with one another. The role and response of the Central and State leadership was not as forceful as people expected. By all evidence they do not seem to be moved by the disturnbances. To them it continues to be a law and order problem. The centre has been drifting too long and it was only towards the end it started evincing some interest and that too only when the leaders pressurized the Centre. The attitude of the government towards agitators was that of utter hatred and contempt. Brahmananda Redddy the then Chief Minister ridiculed saying the upheaval as an agitation of "urchins' led by vultures. From long lasting agitation one learns that if issues are neglected for long they assume serious proportions. That's what has been recurring

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[30]ibid.

once again even 2009-2010. The experience of 1960s for the State and movement and forms of agitations point that 1990s experience of movement was not only similar but went far beyond 1969 agitation.

After 2009 general election, Telangana movement got a setback as most of the people felt Telangana Rastra Samithi (TRS) which was formed for the cause of separate Statehood for the region lost a majority of seats in which it contested. It won only ten MLA seats out of fourty five and two MP seats out of five seats that it contested. Based on the results in elections, the political parties like Congress, TDP (Telugu Desam Party) and a few other parties maintained that the people of Telangana did not support separate Statehood but were looking for development of the region as it is evident in the elections. During the election campaign, the major political parties except CPI-M (Communist Party of India-Marxist) supported the Telangana cause. The Congress (2004) and TDP (2009) had a political alliance at different points with TRS and supported the demand for separate Statehood. After the first phase of elections in Telangana region, Y.S. Rajesekhar Reddy cautioned the people of Andhra and Rayalaseema while addressing an election meeting in Anantapur district, "if they cast their votes in favour of *mahakootami* (TDP-TRS alliance) they will have to get a passport and visa to go to Hyderabad city. The people of these two regions will be considered as aliens in their own capital city and construction of irrigation projects will be stopped if the *mahakootami* (alliance) won the elections as these two parties are supportive of the Telangana State.[31]

Mr. Reddy made these comments as a Chief Minister of the State. This kind of negative statement from the Chief Minister made people of Telangana more determined to take part in the movement. There is a debate once again on the movement in Andhra Pradesh. After the TRS was defeated in the elections, the political leaders from TRS went out of TRS, as they felt, the party had failed in drawing the people's support to win the elections and always it depended on lobbying but not on strengthening the movement. Likewise the intellectuals, students, activists, writers and singers felt that TRS had failed in drawing

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[31] Bharat Bhoshan and N. Venugopal, Telangana: A State of Affairs, Hyderabad Book Trust, Hyderabad, 2009, p. 4.

the public support and did not concentrate on the basic problems of people, hence it lost a majority of seats.

The Supreme Court of India gave a judgment on Hyderabad zone stipulating that it is not a sixth zone as it was mentioned in six-point formula, but a free zone. If this is implemented, Telangana unemployed youth will lose many job opportunities. KCR took advantage of this to strengthen the movement once again. Therefore, he launched the movement and gave a call to fight against the court order and gave a call *'Telangana wala jago ....Andharawala Bago'*. After holding several meetings in Telangana, he announced his future programme before three months and went on fast unto death for separate Statehood as he strongly believed that solution for all the problems lies in separate Statehood. It is true that since 2001, TRS had continued its movement in a peaceful manner without any violence for almost a decade, no government and responsible leader responded favorably to the movement to solve the problem. Even the other political parties like TDP and Congress used this demand for their electoral advantage. For the name sake, the Congress Party constituted Pranab Mukarjee Committee at national level and Rosaiah Committee at State level but they did not work and could not submit their reports to the government to solve the problem. With this kind of negative response from the government, people fed up with the party attitudes once again became assertive on Telangana issue when KCR started his fast unto death. People supported him and participated in the movement voluntarily but the police tried their best to crack it with repressive measures.

This negative response from the State is very dangerous to notion of democratic culture and its spirit. In this regard, it is argued that in a democracy, aspirations and problems of the people will not get fulfilled merely by winning or losing the elections, but people's movements and participation in political process play a primary role in solving the problems and ultimately deepening the democracy and its culture. Thus, it argue that though the activism of TRS and KCR is a part of democratic process and promised dalits, tribals, OBCs and Minorities that after the formation of separate State, his party would make a dalit Chief Minister and Deputy Chief Minister from Minorities and ensure fair

participation to OBCs. One could observe his politics, TRS's first priority to territorial state and then focus on democratic state as TRS believed that the region should be divided first and other problems can be taken up after the state formation. With this background, it is essential to look at developments of post 2009 elections, KCR's fast unto death and the consequent political turmoil.

Impact of KCR's fast unto Death on Telangana movement

Three months prior to going on fast unto death, KCR announced his programme of action in the form of fast unto death, to be held on 29th November 2009. He informed the president of India, Ministers of Union Government, opposition leaders, Governor of Andhra Pradesh and the Chief Minister of the State. His party had organized the meetings across the Telangana particularly educational institutions to mobilize the people and explain the injustices being done to the region. Telangana Rastra Samithi decided to locate the venue of fast at Siddipet, Medak District. The media: electronic and print gave publicity to this decision. The police added their own angle to this process by filing the cases and arrested the sympathizers of the movement. On 29th November 2009 while on his way for relay hunger strike, the police arrested KCR, Jayasankar, Vijaya Rama Rao and took them to Khammam Sub-Magistrate, later was KCR shifted from Khammam hospital and to Hyderabad.

Until the arrest of KCR, movement was very calm and peaceful trusting electoral politics, public meetings and lobbying would deliver the result. After the arrest of KCR and other activists, it turned a bit violent. Kodandaram argues that it is because of the State or police's provocative attitude that movement turned violent. Against their arrest, TRS gave a call for Telangana bandh, people took part in dharnas, rallies, and effigy burnings. A.P. State Road Transport Corporation cancelled their buses and the South Central Railways too cancelled long distance trains.[32] Thus, Telangana became the battle ground. In every corner of the region, one noticed rallies, hunger strikes, dharnas, and traffic obstruction, relay strikes in front of the public offices.[33] Juluri Gouri Shankar opines that

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[32] Eenadu Daily News, Rajukunna Agni, 2december 2009,p. 1.
[33] Interview with Deshapathi Srinivas, writer and singer on 15th February 2009 at Hyderabad

"Telangana, movements took upper hand and political leaders and political parties became of secondary importance".[34] For almost last three months, roads like Rajiv Gandhi high way in Telangana presents quite a different picture. There is an exuberant expression of popular aspiration for a separate Telangana State. One could see relay hunger strikes, fast unto death, community feasts, sign boards and even vehicle registration plates marked with the alphabet TG standing for Telangana in the place of the official AP standing for Andhra Pradesh.[35]

Outburst in Osmania University

KCR's arrest had a major impact on the students of Osmania University: a few students burnt the effigy of State government and immediately police entered and lathi-charged the students. This police provocation made them start rally with a few students initially starting from the Osmania Arts College but gradually the number swelled into thousands. The police tried to stop the rally but the students demanded withdrawal of the police from the campus. While students were taking rally, the police beaten them up and assaulted even those students who were reading news papers in their rooms.

Responding to this, a few students from the mob damaged the windows and broke the plant-pots in front of house of Christopher[36] as they believed he was against the students and Telangana Movement. Once again the police resorted to lathi-charge not merely on students but also on the electronic media. The latter protested against the police repression in OU. The people from Telangana region launched rallies and dharnas. Within two days, KCR had broken his fast unto death, government released those video clips. After this news was flashed, the students got outraged on the act of KCR breaking the fast unto death. They thought that the leadership once again betrayed them. Immediately the students in OU and other Universities in Telangana burnt effigy of KCR and declared that despite KCR's breaking the fast, they would fight on their own till they

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[34] Andhra Jyothi

35 Anant Maringanti, Telangana: Righting Historical Wrongs or Getting the Future Right?, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 45, no. 04, January 23-January 29 2010, p.33.

36 Secretary to the council for higher education, Andhra Pradesh, relative of Y.S. Rajasekhar Reddy, former chief minister of A.P. and resident of Osmania University Campus.

reach the goal. Local mobilization sprang up over night from the mandal level across the Telangana.[37]

Participation of students in ongoing Telangana movement has been very substantive. Without their participation, it couldn't have been possible to pressurize the government to talk about the demand. Though prior to KCR's fast unto death, students participation was not that intensive and the political parties did not favour their participation in the movement and deliberately stopped them but when Government of Andhra Pradesh did not allow KCR to go on hunger strike on 29th of November 2009 and arrested, booked the cases against him and sent him to Kahammam sub-jail, that made them take part actively in the movement.[38] The cadre of TRS and the supporters of Telangana movement had been arrested and booked under several cases and filed bind-over cases on the leaders. During shifting of KCR from Khammam to Nizam Hospital at Hyderabad, the media covered each and every move. As KCR's health gradually got into critical condition, leaders irrespective of their parties, organizations, started coming to visit him including the Chief Minister, opposition leaders, Ministers, MLAs and MPs. In front of the hospital, supporters of Telangana kept on waiting: media extensively covered the news. A lot of pressure from the people's movements had been built on the government. The role of cultural groups has been significant. [39] At last, Home Ministry, Government of India made the announcement that "*the process of formation of Telangana State will be initiated and request the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh to move an appropriation resolution in the State Assembly*". The people of Telangana had celebrations all through the night of 9th December 2009.[40]

Several political scientists and analysts maintain that the announcement in favour of Telangana was a result of a long lasting demand for Statehood for Telangana and was close to the hearts of the Telangana people. Another reason could be after the death of Y.S.Rajasekhar Reddy, there was no strong leadership in the Congress party. The party

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37 Eenadu Daily News, Osmanialoo Teevra Udriktha, Veedyarthulapai Virigina Lathi, Charge, 30th Nov, 2009 p. 1.

[38] Eenadu Daily News, Jailulone Deksha, 30th December, 2009, p.1

[39]Andhra Jyothi, Medak District News, TRS leaderlapaina Baindovar casulu, 27th November, 2009, p.2.

[40] http://www.indianexpress.com/news/centre-says-a-guarded-yes-to-telangana/552114/

perhaps believed that Telangana State was formed, people of the region would support the party and the party will gain politically. It almost means that by bifurcating the State they plan to control the State politics. But the Seema-Andhra leaders opposed bifurcation of the State and launched a counter agitation in the Andhra region.

Counter-Agitation by the Seema-Andhra leaders

After the announcement, the representatives from the Seema-Andhra one after another threatened to resign from their MLA and MP positions and mobilize the people against the formation of Telangana State in favour of United Andhra Pradesh. They gave a call for Seema-Andhra bandh for forty eight hours. It is widely believed that the movement against formation of Telangana was started by the political leaders but not by common people. Irrespective of the parties, all the leaders came together and organized meetings, launched bus yatras and a few representatives launched fast unto death. There is a feeling in the Telangana region that the counter agitation started with a narrow motive whereas Telangana movement developed from grassroot level. With the pressure of Seema-Andhra leaders, the Government of India once again went back from its decision.[41]

In Andhra region, there were three responses; Samayka Andhra, Jai Andhra and greater Rayalaseema movements. Haragopal argues that those who are supporting the demand for united Andhra Pradesh are divided based on their political interests. Hence, there is a no strong argument for their demand except the pretext of the unity.[42] After bending to the pressure from Seemandhra representatives, the Home Ministry announced On December 23, 2009 for the initiation of a consultation process on the Telangana issue by convening a meeting at New Delhi with eight recognized political parties from Andhra Pradesh on 5th January. Home Ministry observed "a large number of political parties are divided on the issue of Telangana. There is a need to hold wide-ranging consultations with all political parties and groups in the State. The Government of India would take steps to involve all concerned in the process." On February 3rd 2009, the Home Ministry, Government of India announced the five-member Committee to have wide-ranging

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[41] Eenadu Daily News, Telanganaku Jai, 10th December, 2009
[42] G. Haragopal, HMTV live telecast at Warangal,

consultations with all sections of the people and all political parties and groups in Andhra Pradesh on the Telangana issue. The Committee has been asked to submit its report by December 31, 2010. Terms of references have been given to the Committee.[43] After Home Minister's statement, agitations stopped. The civil rights activists argue that the leaders from Seema-Andhra opposed the Telangana State because most of the leaders are big businessmen as well as political leaders who have huge investments in Hyderabad city and bought the lands around Hyderabad city. If Telangana State comes true, they believe, their political as well as economic interests would be hit. These perceptions of the intellectuals in this regard are very important to understand the leadership and their hidden agenda behind their opposition to the separate Statehood.[44]

Another Phase of Agitation for Telangana after the Home Ministry's Second Statement

After Government of India's 'U' turn, the people of Telangana, particularly students from the region believe that they have been betrayed once again by the UPA government and Congress party. To oppose the move of government against the wishes of Telangana region, once again all the sections in the region irrespective of class, caste and gender came out on the streets and participated in protests. Against the government's statement, OU student Joint Action Committee gave a two day Telangana bandh call, political-JAC supported it.[45] Once again, the agitations erupted in Telangana. It is a significant shift in

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[43] The Terms of Reference of the five member Shri Justice B.N. Srikrishna Committee constituted on 3rd February, 2010 will be the following; one) to examine the situation in the State of Andhra Pradesh with reference to the demand for a separate State of Telangana as well as the demand for maintaining the present status of a united Andhra Pradesh; two) to review the developments in the State since its formation and their impact on the progress and development of the different regions of the State; three) to examine the impact of the recent developments in the State on the different sections of the people such as women, children, students, minorities, other backward classes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes; four) To identify the key issues that must be addressed while considering the matters mentioned in items (1), (2) and (3) above; five) to consult all sections of the people, especially the political parties, on the aforesaid matters and elicit their views; to seek from the political parties and other organizations a range of solutions that would resolve the present difficult situation and promote the welfare of all sections of the people; to identify the optimal solutions for this purpose; and to recommend a plan of action and a road map; six) to consult other organizations of civil society such as industry, trade, trade unions, farmers' organizations, women's organizations and students' organizations on the aforesaid matters and elicit their views with specific reference to the all round development of the different regions of the State; seven) to make any other suggestion or recommendation that the Committee may deem appropriate.

[44] N Venugopal, writer and editor

[45] Telanganapai Vestrutastai Charchalu:Andariki Bagaswamyam, 24th December, 2009, p.1.

Telangana movement. Initially there were no joint action committees, all the parties, associations participated independently but after the move to reconsider the decision by the government and after the seeing Andhra leadership working for Samaikya-Andhra, leaders and associations from Telangana realized that they have to work together for the cause. It is also true that before Central government made the announcement in favour of Telangana, students pressurized their representatives to resign from their elected posts and join the movement, but they did not do it. The leaders from Seema-Andhra submitted resignation within a day from their posts in support of United Andhra Pradesh. This response made the people to come together and form the Joint Action Committees in Telangana region.[46]

The Response of Joint Action Committees in Telangana Movement

Crucial to the second phase agitation is formation of joint action committees (JACs) from the city down to the village level. Given the sharp political polarization that has characterized the state's politics after the emergence of the TDP, it has become almost impossible to view any issue in AP villages on terms other than party lines. Despite such intense politicization, it is striking to note that the general trust in political leadership and parties has been very low. The affiliation to political parties, it would not be far from true to suggest, have been largely instrumentalist-driven by narrow self interest rather than commitment to any ideology. In view of this, with non-party public personalities in the lead, has been seen a way out of political polarization and the resultant fragmentation. JACs have emerged in almost every village in Telangana. They are usually headed by a prominent local non-party individual, like a teacher or a lawyer and the political party leaders remained in the rear. Several castes, community and other occupational groups joined JACs. Every caste and community has taken part in the *dheekha shibirams*. A new form of solidarity was seen evolving on the Telangana demand, based on community identities cutting across political differences because of what they think, the unjustified demand for a unified State of Andhra Pradesh and the negative disposition of non-Telangana leaders. Through an interesting discursive mapping, the social and economic

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[46] Andhra Jyothi Daily News, Seemnadra Pratinidula Rajinama, 11th December 2009.

crisis in the region and the tragedies of everyday life are brought forth and tuned into support to the Telangana issue.[47]

The movement for separate Telangana Statehood has once again gained momentum in Andhra Pradesh. All the sections irrespective of caste, class, gender and religious variations have come out on the roads and joined the movement. Particularly students from Osmania University who are pursuing their masters degrees, research and professional courses played a historic role in the movement. Though they are taking part in the movement since 1990s, it picked up when KCR decided to go on fast unto death and had a major impact on the others like youth, teachers, political parties and political leaders. This participation gave a moral boost to the movement as they are non political but committed, competitive, professional and determined. Most of them are a part of different movements on the campus and belong to different social groups. A majority of students who are in Joint Action Committee (JAC) are from Dalit background and a few are from upper strata but working for the same objective. This participation partly influenced the Indian government announce formation of Telangana on Dec 9, 2009.

Osmania University which consists of several students' organizations: like SC, ST, PDSU, TRSV, ASFI, MSF, BSF, women and student wings have formed JACs and pledged that they would fight independently without any involvement of political parties till the separate Telangana State is formed. They realized that separate Telangana Statehood is possible only with people's movements but not with the political leaders. [48] One could observe that each and every day in the region some or the other form of demonstration is going on under the banners of Joint Action Committees. All the JACs are waiting for call from OU- Student Joint Action Committee as it became the epi-centre for the movement. If the students give a call for protest, all the JACs spontaneously respond. It is observed that students in Telangana are not able to concentrate on their studies, stopped going to classes and boycotted their exams thrice in all the universities in Telangana region. It is also observed that if a group of students gather at one place they

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[47] K. Srinivasulu and D. Satyanarayana, By-elections and Telangana Agitation, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XIV, No. 33, August, 2010, p. 12.
[48] OU vidyartula Joint Action Committee Erpatu,, 2nd December, 2009.

invariably discuss the developments particularly attitude of police towards the movement. They also watch the response of the State towards the movement and if they see any statement which opposes their cause, immediately hold protests in some form or the other.[49] The medical students of the region have also come forward to take part in the movement and formed their own Joint Action Committee. They held a Telangana Doctor's *Garjana* at Osmania Medical College at Hyderabad with the permission of High Court of Andhra Pradesh.

It is a new twist to the Telangana movement that Government of Andhra Pradesh rarely gives permission to hold the meetings in Hyderabad city. The students of Osmania University held Vidyarthi Garjana with the permission from High Court and Kakatiya University students too organized the Poli Keka with the permission from the High Court with certain guidelines. Osmania University students got permission on 2nd January, 2010 by the Andhra Pradesh High Court. While giving permission, it ordered that there would be no participation of non-students in the meeting and commence sharply at 4pm and end by 6: 30pm. High Court also held that any possible violence would be the direct responsibility of the OU- JAC. The High Court had directed police to allow JAC to hold the meeting.[50] Contrary to the High Court guidelines, the police stopped vehicles which were carrying students from various districts. JAC leaders allege that the police violated the court order by arresting students, using repressive measures to foil *"vidyarthi grajna"* (students' roar) Still the students from Telangana region voluntarily participated and approximately three lakh students took part in it without any special mobilization. It became a fresh issue for confrontation between the police and the students on the campus. Chukka Ramaiah[51] observed that 'the Osmania Vidhyarthi Gargana held on 3rd January 2010 shows maturity of the students as it started the meeting exactly on time which High Court suggested and stopped the meeting five minutes before the schedule. He compared the student's agitation with French Students revolution.[52] Haragopal

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[49] Author;s observation in Palamuru University, Mahaboob Nagar on 5th February, 2010.
[50] Eenadu Daily News, Shartulato Gharjanaku OK: High Court, 3rd January 2009, p.1.
[51] educationist and member of Legislative Council, Andhra Pradesh
[52] Edi Vumukti Gharjana, Nootana Shakti Masa Patrika, January 2010, p.26.

compared the movement with India's independence movement.[53] The meeting went on well as each and every student strictly maintained the discipline'.[54] These three meetings: *Vidyarthi Garjana* (students' roar) in Osmania, *Poli Keka* in Kakatiya University and Doctors *Gharjana* at Hyderabad demonstrate their strength. These meetings came as a rude shock to the Andhra political leadership opposing formation of Telangana State. The students involvement in the movement, the 'U' turn of the central government and the negative attitude of leadership made some students and youth to take recourse to suicides. Here are a few suicide cases which throws light on the intensity of the movement.

Telangana movement witnessed self immolations and suicides. As on now, media reports say, around four hundred young students committed suicides for the cause of Telangana Statehood during a period of three months. Students like Srikantha Chary, Venugopal, Venugopal Reddy, Swarna, Yadaiah are cases in point. Another incident, Kistaiah, a police constable committed suicide at Kamareddy, Nizamabad district by shooting himself with his service revolver climbing on the top of a cell phone tower in support of separate Telangana.[55]

Another youngster, Laxmaiah set himself ablaze in front of administrative building of Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited (BHEL) on 26th February demanding that vacancies in the Public Sector Undertaking (PSU) be filled only with locals. He pleaded for formation of a separate Telangana in a suicide note left behind. The student Siripuram Yadaiah set himself ablaze while raising pro-Telangana slogans in Hyderabad and died in hospital and wrote a note in favour of statehood.[56] Satish, one of the students from Osmania University made an appeal "please try to understand why we are participating

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[53] Civil rights activist, live discussion on HMTV at Warangal on February 2010.

[54] Eenadu daily news, TelchaKunte Telustam, Vidyarti Gharjana Meetingloo OU Vidyartulu, 03 January 2010

[55] He was associated with the Machareddy police station. He climbed a mobile phone tower in Kamareddy and raised slogans in support of Telangana Policemen. Civilians who gathered there tried to placate him to come down but he shot himself with his service revolver. He wrote in suicide note that 'I am dying for the cause of separate Telangana. Drive out people of Andhra from Telangana and fight for separate statehood'. He also made an appeal to the OU students not to stop their fight for a separate statehood. Telangana is important than your studies. You get jobs only in a separate state. Fight for it''.

[56] A note found in his bag stated that the government was not responding to the demand for Telangana. "People like me will get jobs if Telangana state is formed. I am giving life for Telangana and please don't stop this movement till Telangana is achieved".

in such a struggle. We have no jobs, our parents are in debt, there is no money at home, it is a matter of life and death question for us".[57] The students see the movement as a do or die battle. These are a few cases that underline the seriousness of issue and role of students and youth in the ongoing movement among others. The students have also participated in a historic padayatra for the cause of the Statehood.

Political Joint Action Committee

After the formation of OU-Joint Action Committee, all political parties that play a major role in Telangana, came together and formed Telangana Political Joint Action Committee under the convenorship of Kodandaram[58], earlier the Convenor of Telangana Vidyavantuala Vedika.[59] With this inspiration, all the Universities in Telangana region, all caste organizations, workers, women, artists, teachers, lecturers, doctors, advocates, RTC employees, Singareni workers, Youth organizations, Telangana film distributors association, private colleges and schools formed joint Action Committees along the lines of fellow organizations. The people of Telangana realised that political parties and a majority of political leaders from Telangana are not committed to the cause and making use of the demand for their political career.

Another political turmoil in political JAC is that after constituting a five member Srikrishna Committee, JAC gave a call to all the representatives from Telangana region to resign. TRS announced that their party MLAs would resign as the terms of reference are against the Telangana people and in contrast to Chidambaram's initial statement made on 9th December 2009. In contrast to JAC's decision, Congress party leaders welcomed it and said they would cooperate with the Committee but not resign to their MLA and MP positions. D. Srinivas[60] said resignations are not the solution to the problem. Congress Party had quit the JAC but the leaders from TDP who were also not happy with the terms of references stayed with JAC and sent their resignations to Kodandaram, Convenor-JAC but not to the Assembly speaker as they believed that the Committee will put the issue in

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[57] Student, from Osmania University, interview on February 25th 2010 at Hyderabad.
[58] Professor from Osmania University.
[59] Eenadu Daily News, Prajvalana- Pratina, 25th December, p.1.
[60] President, State Congress Committee and hails from Telangana region.

cold storage. They are willing to resign if Congress representatives resign. PRP Telangana-MLA, Maheshwar Reddy said that he would resign in protest against the terms of reference. BJP said that the terms of reference are against the Telangana people, and that the long duration given to the Committee makes it look like that Centre wants to put the issue in cold storage again.

Seemandhra leaders appear fairly satisfied with the Terms of References of the Committee. After all these developments, JAC gave a call to the people to pressurize the leaders to resign from their MLA and MP seats, if they do not resign, request the people to boycott them socially. In this process, a lot of pressure was built on the leaders, but they did not resign except TRS and one BJP MLA. Later on advocates from Telangana protested in front of NTR bhavan and distributed Chandrababu Naidu's speech at Indira Park. The activists of TDP physically attacked them. When Chandrababu Naidu was on Mahaboob Nagar tour, police arrested the local JAC and TRS leaders. After observing the hostile attitude of TDP, JAC boycotted TDP officially. With this backdrop, there are several issues that reflect the conflicts and complexities in the political JAC. In every movement there are concerns and complexities but movement has to overcome the problems over a period of time and try to correct them in their strategies. The problems, concerns sometimes are useful to democratize the society in general and movements in particular but sometimes these complexities weaken the movements and further give chances to opponents to divide the leaders and cadre and ultimately dissipate the democratic movements. Hence, one has to critically look into these complexities.

Student Movement, State Violence and the Intervention of Judiciary

When the *lathi-charge* took place at Osmania University, the court observed that 'to maintain peace in the university, an adequate number of civil police personnel shall be deployed in the university police station'. The High Court also asked students not to disrupt classes and exams and warned them that action would be taken on them if they resort to acts of criminal intimidation or violence. On 22nd February 2010, quite a bit of State violence has been seen on the campus. To study the police repression, the State Human Rights Commission constituted a ten member committee to look into the matter.

Government of Andhra Pradesh later constituted a Peace Committee with the University professors, Police officers and intellectuals to see that the university is peaceful and students maintain discipline and attend the classes and exams.[61]

The civil rights activists and intellectuals argue that the police seem to have made a planned and deliberate attack on Osmania University students to provoke them to indulge in violence and brand them as violent and discredit the movement. The students have been agitating non-violently and in the most innovative ways. They have been clamped with all kinds of restrictions which they have been able to successfully overcome by tapping their constitutional rights. To organize the meetings, students had to get the permission from High Court with certain guidelines and restrictions.[62]

Kumara Swamy[63] said that Osmania University campus students faced rubber bullets and tear gas shelling on them. The ambulances were not allowed inside the campus to carry even the severely injured students and one girl got bullet hit on her leg and fell down with shock. The hostel windows and glasses were damaged. The enraged students burned down the police tents and drive out the police camp from Arts college in the night itself. Once again, another round of confrontation between the students and police took place. On 22nd February 2010, Police targeted the media men, disconnected the power supply lines to campus, injured six journalists and damaged cameras. The police force had to face stone-pelting students and resorted to tear gas shelling. A reporter was thrashed by the police. Rapid Action Forces and Greyhounds personnel were all present at the scene. Seventeen OU students were shifted to Hospital for treatment. Against the police repression, students took rallies and protested in front of the police station. The JAC asserts that they would continue the struggle for separate statehood irrespective of how much blood would flow and how many shocks it might cause.[64]

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[61]Eenadu News,

[62] Public speech by Varavara Rao at Vidyarthi Gharjana at OU on 3rd January 2010.

[63] Doctoral Scholar from University from Osmania University and student leader of Student Joint Action Committee, O.U, Hyderabad.

[64] Interview with N.Kumara Swamy, OU-JAC leaders on 28th February 2010 at Hyderabad.

Potturi Venkateshwar Rao[65] who hails from the Andhra region and has been supporting the Telangana Statehood movement for the last six decades. He believes that the region has been deprived and undermined by the Andhra ruling class in all the spheres like education, employment and irrigation facilities. Apart from these developmental issues, he argues that their language and culture had been looked down by Andhra people settled in Telangana region. He maintains that the nature of the movement in 1960s and 2009 is quite different. In 1960s movement was confined to merely urban areas but at present it has spread to the rural areas. The people of Telangana were angry and carried hatred towards the Andhra people in 1960s but this time antagonism is absent. Language of Telangana people during the 1969 movement was bad-mannered but now it is soft. In nineteen sixties, social dimension was missing in Telangana movement but now it is visible. There was no organization that worked for the cause of Telangana on the caste lines in 1960s but now the organizations and leaders emerged on caste lines. In 1960s, it was started by the students in urban areas not by opinion makers like teachers, lecturers, activists and artists. Telangana agitation of 1969 turned out to be a long drawn out struggle. It used several forms of agitation and have undergone many changes starting from hunger strikes, relay fasts, burning of public and private property to offering of satyagraha on mass scale and courting arrests in thousands is so to exhaust all tactics of mass agitation. The nature of movement had undergone substantial changes. The movement started as an agitation by students and has spread to politicians, trade unions, intellectuals, businessmen and finally to the NGOs. The administration in the State stands paralysed. All the employees, students, political leaders, ministers, advocates, lecturers, trade unions are vertically divided into two groups. The agitation has completely paralyzed the routine and normal life in this part of the State.[66]

There were no joint action committees in 1960s but now there are many Joint Action Committees across the region from each village to urban areas including the cities. There are student, artisans, teachers, caste based Associations, advocates, RTC employees, Electricity employees. These sections have taken the movement to the grassroots. The

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[65] Senior journalist, interviewed on 25th March 2010 at Hyderabad
[66] G. Ram Reddy, Regionalism in India: A Study of Telangana, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1979, p.

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response of the State and the attitude of the police towards the movement and activists continue to be similar. They resort to arrests, foisting of cases on the activists, constituting the committees and delaying the decision is similar. The role of the media however is totally different. In 1960s, there were only one or two news papers and only one channel-Dooradarshan. He also felt that there should not be any recurrence of violence in the movement. The State always provokes activists to indulge in violent activities so that they could dissipate the movement.[67]

S Keshav Rao holds that Telangana movement does not merely represent the question of development but consists of self respect, dignity and any package and addditional funds for the development of Telangana, may not able to contain the movement. He argues that the Srikrishna Committee did not say anything new as many committees constituted earlier had recounted the injustices done to the region. The only solution to the problem is, he asserts, is separate Statehood to the region. [68]

Bye-elections- 2010- Post- December Agitations

After political turmoil in Andhra Pradesh on the issue of Telangana from November 2009, many political developments took place; K.C. R's hunger strike, agitation of students, statement in favour of Telangana people, Counter agitation by Andhra leaders, withdrawal of earlier statement by Home Ministry, state repression, involvement of judiciary and formation of Joint Action Committees in Telangana. All political parties except MIM and Communist Parties are a part of the Committee. Steering Committee of JAC gave a call for resignation of all MLAs and MPs to their positions opposing Home Ministry's another statement which is against the formation of Telangana separate State. All MLAs resigned their posts but Speaker of the Assembly did not accept the resignations. The TRS and one member of BJP invited the speaker accept their resignations and they were accepted. This led to be elections. TRS and BJP candidates won all the constituencies.TDP candidates lost the deposits and Congress too was

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[67] Opcit., Potturi Venkateshwar Rao, 25th March 2010, Hyderabad.
[68] Eenadu telugu Daily News, 03.04.2010, p.1.

defeated, in spite of huge resources, money power that it commanded to win the elections.

The by-elections in the 12 Assembly Constituencies of Telangana indicate that the separate statehood demand has gone far deeper. Social classes and groups seem to have abandoned their older political affiliations and coalesced around candidates who stood unequivocally for a separate statehood. The dominant political parties-the Congress and Telugu Desam-have paid heavily by not taking a clear stand and trying to play the dice. The impressive performance of the Telangana Rastra Samithi in by-elections is not much of a surprise for anyone familiar with the dynamics of the ground situation. The miserable performance of the Congress and the Telugu Desam could be seen as symptomatic of deeper crisis these parties are undergoing in the region. Their response to electoral outcome has further exposed their confusion on the Telangana issue. This has only given further credence to the TRS's claim that its victory is a clear popular mandate for the Telangana state demand. There has not been any significant opposition to this demand either from the political elite or any other civil rights group in the other region of the State. In fact, dalit and civil rights groups in coastal Andhra extended their support to Telangana, with a view that this would significantly reduce the dominance of the two powerful castes-Reddys and kammas, and thereby facilitate democratization of the political system.[69]

After analyzing the views of all the respondents, it is evident that people strongly desire Telangana State. Though there has been a movement since three decades it was non-political led by intellectuals, academicians, students and writers. It was K. Chandrasekar Rao who launched Telangna Rasta Samithi with the demand of Separate Statehood. This took the issue to political terrain. They in a way succeed in mobilizing the people. With this experience, TRS party moved from its earlier strategy of lobbying in Delhi to peoples agitations, leading to giving a call for fast unto death. The Home Ministry, Government of India responded to the pressure and decaled "the process of Telangana State will be initiated and request Andhra Pradesh Government pass a resolution in State Assembly in

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[69] K. Srinivasulu and D. Satyanarayana, op.cit. p. 13.

support of the formation Telangana State". Due to dissent from Seema-Andhra leaders the Government of India constituted a five member Committee with the chairmanship of Justice Srikrishnan on 3rd February 2010 submit its report in the month of December 2010.

The developments suggest that the Telangana movement got shifted again from the political leadership to people's movements like those of students, advocates, teachers, lecturers, caste based organizations and human rights organizations. It is clearly evident that the people were not happy with the political parties and leaders as they are making use of Telangana movement for the sake of their political career. It is also a new development in the movement that all non-political actors in Telangana came together and formed joint action committees.

The demand for a statehood passed through several ups and downs but the aspirations of the people have grown up and the cause struck deeper roots. The demand that found articulation, to start with the students was picked up by the political elite and was carried it forward but not far enough. The ball moved back to the people organizations and activist groups who activated not only people but the political parties. One significant trend that is seen in this statehood demand is the very limited capacity of the political elite and their estranged creativity. The Indian democracy and its future does not seem best or can be entirely left to the political parties. The people's direct involvement and their active support seem to be a necessary condition for the political parties to function and democracy to survive.

Separate Telangana State Movement:
The Question of Democratic Rights

"Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere"

Martin Luther King Jr.

The previous chapter emphasized on historical background and the political and social processes involved in the statehood. Since the study looks into the process of democracy: formal and substantial, it attempts to assess the movement from the angle of deepening of democracy. This chapter covers democratic debates from different social groups, political formations, democratic voices and grassroots perceptions. The study reflects on people's aspirations and underlying democratic drives. To probe into the process of democracy, this chapter looks at the nature of the ongoing debates and their democratic import. In the backdrop the study tries to see democratic rights demands within Telangana movement with a hope that it would provide a deeper insight into the dialectics and dynamics of democracy.

The People's Movements in Andhra Pradesh: Democratic Urges

The State of Andhra Pradesh has a distinct place in the history of social movements in India. It witnessed anti liquor, Dalit, Tribal, women, Naxalite and Telangana movement in addition to a civil rights movement. The Telangana movement of 1969 was a struggle for economic and cultural autonomy and in post 1990s seem to be raising the question of social emancipation. The rebirth of Telangana movement indicates this time fresh democratic demand like distribution of land to the landless, self respect, self rule, share in the political power, cultural assertion demand for the Telangana stood in the vanguard of such movements for the last six decades.[1] The movement is rooted in a historical context and a development model. The regional disparities in terms of economic, social, cultural are a part of the reality. After formation of linguistic states, every economic or developmental model, be it green revolution or globalization, ended up with widening the differences and disparities. Added to it is the reckless cultural Urbanization leading to imbalanced and unplanned growth of the city of Hyderabad. This city is geographically in

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[1] Human Development Report-2007, Andhra Pradesh, Centre for Economic and Social Studies (CESS), Vidhya Graphics, Hyderabad, 2008, pp.19-21.

backward Telangana region but attracted a lot of capital investment. This entire direction of development sharpened the contradictions and created new tensions. The ongoing movement is a search for some resolution to contradictions without the necessary political culture and capacity and is the paradox of dialect of development.[2]

In the year 1998, Telangana Jana Sabha argued that the issue of Telangana demand is a democratic demand and to start with demanded for implementation of 610 G.O. opposed to establishment of corporate colleges in the region and respectable place for history of Telangana. With these demands, Telanagna Jana Sabha started village to village campaign or what was called "Rachha Banda". All these developments were inspired by civil society organizations.[3] In the wake of these developments in Telangana, the separate State movement was taken up by K. Chandrasekar Rao who quit of the Telugu Desam Party. For more than a year, he reviewed the history of Telangana movement and formed a political party called Telangana Rastra Samithi (TRS) in the year 2001.

Though there are political parties who have taken up a stand in favour of separate statehood of Telangana, they strongly believe including CPI that state will be formed through electoral process. The exception was the CPI (ML) New Democracy which believe that the demand will be realized through peoples participation and mobilization. The party further maintains that state is not merely territorial but democratic. It further argues that whoever was working for the cause of separate Telangana State has to work together, irrespective of the ideological differences. It is natural to have diverse ideas and ideological stands but when there is a common issue all should work together for a democratic cause. It is not happening since one decade. It may not be possible to form a fully democratic State, but in a semi-feudal, pre-capitalist prone system the basic problems remain even after formation of the State. Unless one could struggle against them, there was no possibility of democratic society. Hence, after formation of the State, CPI (ML) New Democracy would strive for a new democratic society with the support of people from grassroots and other civil society associations. Separate Telangana is

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[2] G. Haragopal, Telangana People's Movement: the Unfolding Political Culture, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XLV No.42 October 16, 2010, p.56.
[3] ibid. p.56.

possible only with people's struggles, and that alone would be a check on movement, leaders and their self interests. The Party believes that people of Telangana are facing problems of land, employment and freedom. These are the basic problems and without solving these problems, there would be no possibility of creation of a democratic society. The basic problems would be solved through the new democratic revolution. The party would initiate the democratic struggle for rights and thought Telangana Statehood movement is a part of that democratic agenda.[4]

Maha Padayatra of Telangana Students

The agitation of students appears to be a part of democratic process. A majority of Student Joint Action Committees seem to be more committed to democratic Telangana and not mere statehood. They employed several means to pressurize the governments as well as the leadership of their own region at one level and raise popular consciousness at another level. The chapter covers March-past of students which they have undertaken in pursuit of their goals. This part is an attempt to look at the dynamics of this form of public protest.

The students from Telangana Universities started the March-past (Padayatra) from their respective universities and toured the villages and reached Kakatiya University at Warangal and took part in the *Poli Keka* meeting on 7th February 2010. The students were divided into two groups; one) *Doddu Komuranna* group (south Telangana); two) *Komuram Bhim* group (north Telangana). The strategy was to mobilize rural people and explain about injustice being done to them by Andhra leaders and create awareness among the people on social issues. They also emphasized on solutions for solving problems relating to the Telangana issue as well as mobilize the people to attend *Poli keka* at Warangal. One of the participants in *mahapada Yatra*, Temaji[5] said that they started the *padayatra* from Telangana memorial statue at Hyderabad on 18th January and they ended it at Warangal on 7th of February. They toured for twenty one days (six hundred ten kilo meters). They stressed in their speeches on what kind of Telangana they

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[4] State Committee, CPI (ML) New Democratic, Pratyeka Telangana: CPI (ML) New Democratic vaikari, Navya Printers, Hyderabad, 2009, pp. 57-66.
[5] Research Scholar from University of Hyderabad, interviewed on February 25th 2010 at Hyderabad.

desire. Getting just territorial Telangana State was not a solution to all the problems rather one should fight for democratic Telangana in which all sections in Telangana shall live with dignity, decent life and equality on all grounds. They got immense response from the people wherever they entered the villages and towns. The people welcomed them warmly by taking rallies, organizing cultural programmes (*dhoom-dhaam*) and holding meetings. This ranged from small children to old women. During the march the student leaders emphasized that '*they want Telangana to live with self-respect, self-rule and develop by themselves*'. In some places, local leaders also took part in the padayatra.[6] The leaders recounted that an old woman donated five hundred rupees from her daily wages earnings indicating involvement of the people in the movement irrespective of the age. He mentioned that sometimes 'we felt tired and suffered minor ailments like leg pains, headache but when we saw the response we forgot those minor ailments and went ahead reassured'. They were also given send-off and followed them until another village reached. They reached finally Warangal on 7th February 2010 morning.[7] Most of the students are from SC, ST, Minority and backward classes. It maintains that it is a mile-stone for the movement at one level and indicate the potential to democratize the society.[8]

In addition to the students another active section was advocates. Their role in the ongoing movement is equally impressive. Many times during the second phase of Telangana movement, they boycotted the courts and participated in the protests. When, OU students gave a call for Assembly Muttadi (attack), police department did not give permission. Against the decision of State, advocates tried to enter OU campus, and the police latchi-charged them. They also participated in 'Parliament Muttadi' at Delhi and organized the meeting at Jantar Mantar. They further demanded that equitable

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[6] Muthyam Reddy (Congress), MLA from Dommata constituency, Medak district and Padma Devendra Reddy (TRS) and many others also participated in the padayatra

[7] The students who have taken part in *padayatra* are from different Universities that includes Osmania University, Kakatiya University, Mahatma Gandhi University, Satavahana University, University of Hyderabad. The students of Palamuru University launched bus yatra and toured Mahaboob Nagar district. Both the yatras became landmark in Telangana movement.[7] Most of the students are from SC, ST, minority and backward classes.

[8] Interview with D. Temaji, Ph.D Scholar from University of Hyderabad on 17th February, 2009 at Hyderabad.

representation to advocates from the region in the posts of government pleaders, assistant government pleaders and standing counsels. Later, the advocates organised sit-in in front of the main High Court gate causing traffic snarl on the road. To pressurize the government, three advocates[9] observed fast-unto-death. It is noted that their demands are restricted to their profession, it has a link to the movement in a broader context. It is clear that agitation of any section in Telangana pressurizing the government for statehood and mobilizing and sensitizing the people has a democratic import.[10]

State's Repression and Intervention of Judiciary: Democratic Concerns

The democratic character of the movement is evident from the resistance and the nature of repression. At one stage the police took control of Osmania University campus when they approached the High Court, the police was ordered to leave the campus.

Justice L Narasimha Reddy of the High Court was angry with the DGP and police for not complying with his order on 22nd February 2010 to leave the Osmania University campus. The judge directed Joint Police Commissioner, Hyderabad, PSR Anjaneyulu to appear before the court and explain the police action on OU campus within two days. He also observed "the state police are a lawless lot and accountable to none. It looks that they are acting at behest of somebody. The CM as well as the cabinet appears to be helpless if their statement that they did not witness the incidents on the campus is any indication". He further observed "we do not find such kind of a situation in any other part of the country. It's all the more unfortunate that such things are happening at a time when a renowned former police officer is the governor of the state. His presence should act as a deterrent on the police. But the reverse is happening". The judge also criticized that "the DGP is busy in fighting his own litigation. He is in need of a court order to continue in the post, but he does not respect an order from the same court". With this observation, the court had ordered withdrawal of the forces and removal of the barricades on the OU campus".[11]

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[9] S Satyam Reddy, Jyothi Kiran and Vijay Kumar Goud
[10] Govt bows to T-advocates - The Times of India http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/hyderabad/Govt-bows-to-T-advocates/articleshow/6582910.cms#ixzz12mP75ZPl

[11] Eenadu, *Chattamante Gouravam Ledu..* Aayana DGPya, 17th Feb, 2010

The judge said that "even general Dyer (responsible for the Jallianwala Bagh massacre) could not escape the censure by the British parliament for his actions. But there is none here to question the lawlessness among our police. There are several Dyers here and the government is not competent enough to control them," The judge ordered "the police forces to withdraw all its Special Forces which have been put up on the Osmania University campus" and also ordered the Director General of Police (DGP) and the Police Commissioner, Hyderabad "to withdraw forces and also vacate the campus". The judge noted, "Why this hungama? Was there any looting, arson or murder? Even girl students were ill treated. The police attack was indiscriminate and aimed at creating terror in the minds of the students due to which they now feel insecure on their own campus," The court was of the view that 'the police in thousands seem to be determined to enter the campus and create tension and insecurity on the campus." He also observed that 'the police force should be established only in case any trouble arises'. The court also ordered that 'the University should take security measures to check the entry of outside vehicles or persons and said that peace should be maintained inside the campus and no student should violate the law'.[12]

Against this judgment, government of Andhra Pradesh went to Supreme Court and argued (on 24th February 2010) that Maoists have infiltrated into the movement for a separate Telangana state. The Supreme Court stayed the State High Court's direction for withdrawal of paramilitary forces from Osmania University campus, the hub of the agitation. The bench stayed the High Court direction till February 23, 2010 and directed the State Home Secretary to supervise the paramilitary forces and ensure that they do not misbehave with the students in any manner. The apex court observed "we are concerned with the students". A Supreme Court Bench also constituted a three-member committee comprising the State Home Secretary, Hyderabad Police Commissioner and the Vice-Chancellor of the University to review the law and order situation on the campus on a day-to-day basis and accordingly decide on deployment of forces. The Apex court upheld the high court judgment and opined that the High Court has not done anything wrong by passing the direction. The Court merely ordered that the central forces should be

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[12] Ibid.

withdrawn from the campus. The court has also ordered that "the government pay up the medical expenses of the injured OU students who are undergoing the treatment".[13]

The Vice Chancellor of Osmania University appealed to police 'not to enter the campus without informing the university authorities' and advised students 'to maintain peace during their protests as the disturbances were affecting their studies and examination schedule'. The Home Minister, Sabitha Indra Reddy[14] officially stated that the lathicharge at the Osmania University campus[15] justified that the police used force only when they were provoked by the students who were getting into unruly behaviour. She added "the police were only trying to bring the situation under control". The apex court[16] allowed the state to let paramilitary forces stay in the university but with some riders.[17] The Telangana movement, student's agitation, the response of the State and intervention of judiciary explains the democratic issues and dilemmas of the state. The movement almost is an experiment and assertion of democratic rights.

Separate Telangana Movement: Democratic Debate

The activists, academicians, singers, writers, administrators, political leaders were interviewed as they are a part of the movement. The study depended on purposive sample and exploratory method. Based on the response, this chapter focuses on territorial and democratic view points to assess working of Indian democracy at a micro level in the wake of a peoples movement.

In Telangana movement, one could see that civil societal organizations and political parties have been working for the cause of separate statehood, notwithstanding their identities and ideologies. They strongly believe that one of the effective weapons to mobilize the people is the cultural activities. There are many civil society associations which are directly or indirectly supporting Telangana Movement. The intellectuals, academicians and human rights activists have been raising their voices in support of

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[13] http://beta.thehindu.com/news/states/article113984.ece
[14] on 16th January 2010
[15] That took place on 14 January 2009 and .
[16] on 19th January 2010
[17] Eenadu Daily News, Vidyartile Kavvincharu, Sabitha Indira Reddy, 18th Feb, 2010.

separate statehood. Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee (APCLC), Human Rights Forum (HRF), Viplava Rachaitala Sangam (Revolutionary Writers Association) and revolutionary groups all are in support of the cause. They all argue that the Statehood for Telangana is a democratic solution to the problems of the region as the region has been pulled down in all spheres in spite of rich natural resources.

Many civil societal organizations, associations have been demanding construction of irrigation projects that can meet the needs of the region and a comprehensive land distribution programme be undertaken in the state with special focus on Telangana.[18] Telangana Vidyavantula Vedika (Forum of educated Telanganites) under the leadership of Kodandaram, Telangana Development Forum, Telangana Aikya Vedika, Telangana cultural organizations, Telangana teachers organizations, Telangana Non gazetted Employees organization, Telangana Vemochana Samiti launched by Dileep Kumar[19] have been insisting not only territorial but democratic Telangana. Telangana History Forum held that history of Telangana has been undermined and they started recounting their cultural and political landmarks. Various caste organizations fighting for their rights in the society[20] have all become a part of the separate Telangana Movement. All these groups formed their own Joint Action Committees and participating in ongoing movement.

The Telangana Cultural Fronts have been formed by the artists and writers to protect and promote the language, culture of Telangana and opposed globalization. This front argues that the culture of Andhra and Telangana are different and distinct. Thus they reconstructed the cultural and literary histories of this region in many aspects. Several groups from Telangana argue that in the name of Telugu language and Telugu Talli, have been undermined. Those opposed this approach like artists and leaders brought the concept of Telangana Talli on to the political stage. This concept has been used as a

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[18] S. R. Sankaran, Negotiating Peace, Committee of Concerned Citizens, Hyderabad, December 2006, pp.1-2.
[19] Member of Legislative Council, Andhra Pradesh and the Convenor, Telangana Vemochana Samiti.
[20] like Yadava, Gouda, Vaddera, Poosala, Boya, Vansaraj(Pichchakuntla), Holia Dasari, Budaga Jangala, Mondi, Munnuru Kapu, Rajaka, Dakkali, Nayi Brahmana, Budabudakkala, Lambadi, Madiga, Uppari, Mala, Mudiraj, Gangaputhra, Bhatraju, Weavers.

slogan of the movement. TRS installed the idols of Telangana Talli all over the region. Since the chapter focuses on responses and democratic import of the Telangana movements, here are varied points of view which focus on the democratic debates. They are interrelated and interdependent. This helps in broadly assessing the democratic dimensions of the ongoing movement. The views of persons and personalities known for their people oriented thinking or ideas centering around democratic essence are presented.

Jayasanker tries to see all the three facets in the Telangana statehood movement since 1950s. Prior to the formation of Andhra Pradesh State, there were employees and students from the Telangana region who sensitized the people and participated in the agitation on the grounds of exploitation, discrimination and injustice that was likely to happen if Andhra Pradesh State formation took place. There were agitations against the Non- Mulkis in the year 1952. In the decade of 1940s, after the police action and at the last stage of Nizam rule, Military administration brought outsiders to Hyderabad state, despite opposition from employees and students. There were outsiders, mostly from the Andhra region as Telangana people were not qualified and lacked administive skills. Those who came to Hyderabad State felt victorious and misbehaved with the locals (Mulkis). For instance, in the Intermediate College, Waranagal, there was a meeting, a few lecturers hailed from Andhra region working in the college invited Aiyaa Devara Kaleshwar Rao[21] and organized a lecture in the month of July 1952 on the theme of '*Vishalandra*'. He spoke against Telangana culture, language. Students of the college protested and police ordered *lathicharge* on the students. It soon spread all over the Telangana region. K. Jayasankar himself was one among them, and was beaten up by the police in the *lathicharge*. In response to this *lathicharge*, there was a big rally in Hyderabad in front of Osmania general hospital, on August 1st 1952.

In this agitation seven students died in police firing. To enquire into this incident, government of Andhra State constituted an Enquiry Committee under the chairmanship

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[21] Freedom fighter of India.

of Justice Jaganmohan Reddy.[22]   He also stresses on Nehru's views in this regard.[23] Before the formation of Andhra Pradesh, Jawaharlal Nehru as a Prime Minister visited Andhra region. In his visit, a few Communist Party activists argued with him and demanded *Vishalandra* State but Nehru opposed the demand. Later on Nehru Government was compelled to constitute States Reorganization Commission with Fazal Ali.

Jayashankar stresses on Fazak Ali Commission[24] and maintains that it was possible as Andhra elite were strong in terms of power and resources. They had good rapport with the central Congress leadership whereas Telangana leadership did not have much rapport. He further holds that in spite of the opposition from the people of Telangana, the Report of SRC opposed the merger of Telangana with Andhra region but despite opposition to formation of Andhra Pradesh, Government of India declared formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh with certain contradictions. Gentlemen Agreement was a part of it. After formation of Andhra Pradesh, the very next day, rulers who were a part of the Gentlemen Agreement started violating the agreement. They did not offer Deputy Chief Minister position to the Telangana region. This proves the point that from the very beginning the leaders from Andhra region did not allow the leaders from Telangana to grow politically and those who have grown politically did not get support from the Andhra leaders. Those who were in power brought the educated youth from Andhra and provided employment in Telangana despite the fact that rules were in favour of Telangana people. These anti-Telangana attitudes made people of Telangana start agitation in late 1960s. These hostile

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[22]K. Jayasankar, op.cit., Hyderabad.
[23] Before the formation of Andhra Pradesh, Jawaharlal Nehru as a prime minister had visited Andhra region, in his visit, few Communist Party activists had argued with him and demanded *Vishalandra* State but Nehru opposed their demand and said it was an inhuman and thought that exploitation was involved in their demand. Later on the Government of India constituted the States Reorganization Committee with Fazal Ali.
[24] Fazal Ali has launched the collection of public opinion on separate Statehood to Telangana from all the regions. Jayasankar, who was a student representative, met Fazal Ali and suggested him not to add Telangana region with Andhra and Rayalaseema. At last Committee submitted its report to the government of India and suggested not to merge the Telangana region with Andhra region.

attitudes of the rulers explain negligence of the region.[25] In this movement, 378 students died in police firing.

Ravada Sathyanarayana, the Vice Chancellor of Osmania University advised all the teachers, lecturers and intellectuals to write articles, research papers on Telangana Movement as it was the responsibility of the educated class to stand by people. This approach made many teachers to engage in writing papers including Jayasankar who put forward their views.[26]

Mrs. Indira Gandhi responded to this issue and intellectuals were invited to Delhi to discuss the issue. They met Indira Gandhi, Babu Jagajeevanram and Morarji Desai. As as a result, the issue attracted nation's attention as a part of the process. Mrs. Gandhi sanctioned Jurala Project which got incorporated in the Bachawat Award in the decade of 1970s. In this regard, he added that in the 1960s, activists who were working for the cause of separate Telangana State got the support from the Vice-Chancellors.[27] Jayashankar, who is considered as the ideologue of the movement has rich memory that is evident from this interview. He has been a party and deeply involved in the movement right from his young days and witnessed all the twists and turns in the Telangana movement. His entire focus is on achievement of separate statehood first. Asked the question what type of Telangana, he replied that this question can be taken up once the state formation is complete.

G. Kodandaram Convenor of JAC said in 1960s initially, Telangana movement was started by the OBC, artists, students who were influenced by the left wing politics. It

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[25] From the Andhra region made Ravindranath to start the fast unto death at Khammam and Mallikarjun, a student leader and some others have started sensitizing the people of Telangana over the issue of injustice done to them by Andhra leaders in the integrated Andhra Pradesh State. And later Madan Mohan started Telangana Praja Samithi. Jayasankar too participated in the movement directly in the process of sensitization.

[26] On irrigation which explains how the Telangana was undermined in the developmental activities like constructing irrigation projects. Especially he focused on Nagarjuna Project construction. How the rulers were trying to dilute the left canal water to Krishna district. In the light of this paper, G.S. Melkote-Member of Parliament raised the same question in the Lok Sabha and even the issue came in the Parliament news.

[27] ibid. interview with Jayasankar on 20 November 2009 at Hyderabad

continued till the formation of Telangana Sadana Samithi. After the formation of TSS, movement became political. Against the separate Telangana movement, there was Jai Andhra movement and the result was 'Gentle Men's Agreement', five point, and six point formula. And P.V. Narsimha Rao became the first Chief Minister in the year 1973. Against the Telangana Movement, Jai Andhra movement was launched. After some years there was no movement for Telangana State. In the first phase of the movement there was not much participation of artists and writers. Though movement was strong but confined to the elite leadership. There was also no scientific agenda and strategy in the movement. There was even no substantive developmental agenda in separate State. They demanded implementation of the mulki rules; spend the budget for the development of Telangana region by the state government through the income, revenue and taxes coming from the Telangana. They even demanded for the employment for the Telangana youth. Only because of the movement, N.T.R. issued the 610 G.O to ensure employment for the Telanganaites. He said, it was the victory of the Telangana movement. He also added, oppression, exploitation and domination is encouraged by the Andhra leadership (few elite castes, leaders and bureaucrats) who exploited all the resources like land, business, employment, etc., which had direct impact on Dalits, Tribals, backward classes and minorities. It is not necessary to see the levels of exploitation and argues that the only solution to these problems is accepting a separate Statehood of the region. he is confident that all social problems will get solved in a separate state. In Telangana region, Dalits and other marginalized sections are conscious is evident from the fact that there were not many atrocities and humiliations on Dalits. Though there was the feudal system in Telangana, it was well confronted by several movements. Telangana movement is not merely political and economic movement it is also a movement against cultural dominance; movement for self-respect, decent and dignified life. So, the cultural aspect are also involved in it. Hence, installing idols of Talli Telangana (mother of Telangana), celebrating *Batakamma (goddess)* festival, Telangana *Sambaralu*, and *Moharam* festival all constitute a part of restoration of self respect.[28]

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[28]ibid.

Lokeshwar[29] argues that the party has to change its strategy from electoral politics and lobbying to peoples movements. Activists[30] and others believed that TRS neglected the issues like SEZs, land acquisition from poor people, privatization and cautioned that if TRS neglects these problems, it has to face the consequences in future. They also suggested taking up the problems like Jal (water), jungal (forest) and jameen (land) and strengthening the movement. This pressure from the people's organizations made the party change its political strategy. TRS has realized that it should start the movement from the grassroots.

Balachander Mungekar[31] held that the demand for separate Telangana is legitimate and justifiable. When justice has been denied in the combined State, the people are bound to articulate their demand for a separate identity on the basis of region, caste, ethnicity or language. That's what happened in the case of Telangana. He said if the present model of development pursued further, there would be greater demands for smaller states. In the next ten years there would be a demand for fifty to sixty States in the country. Drawing comparison between Vidharbha and Telangana, Mungekar maintains that development in the regions has been uneven and unequal both in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. The one-language, one-state theory is neither justifiable nor practicable; he cited the example of more than two Hindi- speaking people. He argues that though Hyderabad had ten Universities, no one should consider that the Telangana people benefited from these Universities. The development of Hyderabad took place because of the metropolis development pursued in the last twenty years by the Centre. Out of fifteen lakh jobs in the State, Telangana got only three lakh jobs. As per the population, the Telangana people deserved 40 per cent jobs. Out of thirty three departmental heads only seven to eight from Telangana occupy these positions. The Telangana dialect was not found in the textbooks as it was considered inferior. Hence, he argues such kind of cultural sub-ordination and feeling of discrimination leads to the demand for separate states. He pleaded that the movement should be non-violent suggesting that the ruling class would

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[29]Paravastu Lokeswar, Telangana Chuputoo Chhattisgarh Scooter Yatra, Hyderabad Book Trust, Hyderabad, 2009, p.33.

[30] Haragopal, Varavara Rao, Gaddar, Kesavrao Jadav, Pasam Yadagiri, Bellaiah Naik, Dilip Kumar and others.

[31] Former Member, Planning Commission of India and Member of Parliament in Rajya Sabha.

force violence and impair instruments of agitation. He also suggested that "once Telangana State is realized, it should not pursue the same exploitation in the separate State".[32]

Devender Goud[33] argues that every movement should run with people's active participation without which it cannot succeed. These days movements are lacking a humane ground as the leaders turned selfish and work for their own political ends. Hence, he feels that the students, youth, employees and common people's participation is required in the movement to protect and promote democratic spirit. He believes that these sections work with enormous commitment and without any political motives. He said that Telangana movement since 2001 did not have much participation of above mentioned sections; rather only political parties played a vital role. As they always think about alliances and coalitions only to capture the power: like the number of seats they demand as a share of their party. He also maintains that *Telangana Rastra Samithi* as a part of its strategy has mostly depended on lobbying, alliances, coalitions and joined UPA Government and enjoyed power for two years and later resigned for their positions. They went for by-elections twice in which they lost half of their seats. This kind of strategy would not help for any movement in general and Telangana movement in particular. He added that Telangana Movement has to simultaneously take the social issues, create awareness on rights among the SCs, STs. This method could be useful for both: movement and development of these sections. He thinks that this kind of participation leads to strengthening of the very notion of democracy.[34]

Devendar Goud further adds that Telangana Rastra Samithi has never striven for mobilization of the youth and students. Hence anti Telangana formation have been making use of this drawback and dared opposition to the demand for Telangana state. He also feels that the demand should not confine to mere separate statehood but go beyond

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[32] Former Member of Planning Commission and Member of Parliament in Rajya Sabha, delivered the 14th Prof G Ram Reddy Memorial Lecture at the Centre for Economic and Social Studies (CESS) on `Regional dimensions of new economic paradigm: The case for Telangana.
[33]TDP leader and former Home Minister, Government of Andhra Pradesh.
[34]President, Nava Telangana Praja Party, Telangana Vidyarthi Sadassu, Chakali Ilaimma Pranganam, Osmania University, 9.08.08.

the statehood issue. Every problem should be considered as a Telangana problem: Dalits, students, farmers, workers, poor people, and craftsmen, unemployment, untouchability, landlordism and corruption. It is the responsibility of leaders, parties, civil and political organizations to create confidence among them for future role after formation of separate Telangana state. On the issue of Telangana demand, politics of representation failed. Hence it is the responsibility of people's movement to warn the government, political parties that demand for a separate statehood- is a demand for a democratic Telangana and not a territorial Telangana.[35]

Pradeep Haglave[36] argues that in movements of this kind the political leaders and political parties make use of the movements for their self interest and political career and try to get power. After getting all the benefits, they forget the spirit of movement. Such experience be seen in separate Telangana state movement too. Political leaders like Chenna Reddy, Narendra, K. Chandrasekhar Rao and spate of other leaders enjoyed/ still enjoying political power but a few are striving for the democratic upliftment of the people. This, according to Haglave, is because political parties and leaders lack commitment and responsibility. Hence, he maintains that it is the responsibility of the artists, poets, intellectuals, students and youth to lead the movement till they get separate statehood and strengthen and promote democratic spirit instead of electoral politics.[37]

G. Krishna Reddy[38] argues that the ongoing separate Telangana State movement is different from that of 1960s movement. There was less participation of intellectuals, artists, writers, but in this phase from 1990s, there was higher participation from intellectuals, activists, civil society organizations. The first meeting at Warangal in the year 1994, culminated into intellectuals' forum. There were already mobilized sections who took part early in Telangana movement in 1960s. They created the grounds for

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[35]ibid.

[36] Hails from Dalit background, belongs to Mumbai, Maharashtra and Head of the department, Centre for Ambedkar Studies, Mumbai University.

[37] Head of the department, Centre for Ambedkar Studies, Mumbai University, delivered a lecture in 4th state meetings at Karimnagar, Telanganaloo Samskruthoodyhamam Modalaindi, Poru Telangana p. 72.

[38]Professor and director of Centre for the study of exclusive and inclusive Policy, University of Hyderabad, delivered a lecture on Separate Telangana Statehood Movement: Past, Present and Future, organized by the Bahujan Students Front, University of Hyderabad , at Hyderabad on 24th September 2009.

political mobilization. This phase initially brought all the sections or identities (Dalits, Tribals, Adivasis, middle classes, backward classes and other castes) together and struggle for separate Telangana State. Massive literature has come up on several issues. Telangana movement gave scope for growth of dalit literature, feminist literature, and history of Telangana movement, the question of tribal, dalit and women empowerment, the issue of minorities and empowerment of backward castes. In fact, it is multi dimensional. Knowledge has sprung in terms of books and songs. Intra-state distribution of resources including irrigation became important factor. From school children to intellectuals all are in know of Government Orders, river water distribution and construction of irrigation projects and comparison of benefits from development activities within the State. Leaders started mobilizing the people based on two reasons: one could be injustice done to the region and second is self-respect and dignified life. It carried different perspectives altogether. Democratic heritage is a great resource. All the sections are with Telangana Rastra Samithi. Hence TRS, after formation of the party, was able to win majority of seats in local body elections and an impressive number in 2004 general elections.[39]

TRS party in initial stages was trying to be a representative of different groups on the platform of Telangana movement, but after 2007 elections, it dropped its initial approach and went to an extent where it did not tolerate any kind of other representatives in the name of Telangana demand. But in the year of 2008 by-elections, it started losing the support from these sections because of the monopolistic attitude of its president and the party not being able to hold different organizations together.[40] He further maintained that in the initial phase of TRS, intellectuals played a crucial role. Party got the intellectual support but later on the party started bypassing and alienating them. Intellectuals had a control on TRS party in the beginning but gradually lost it. This led to a gap between the TRS and intellectuals. There was a collapse of dialogue and absence of debate within the party. The role of students in Telangana statehood movement in 1960s was prominent, but confined to urban areas, now enormous support and participation has come forth from

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[39]ibid.
[40]ibid.

students and youth after the year 2000. Students' participation and influence is widespread in the movement but their role and participation in the decision making is missing.[41]

However, TRS gradually started moving from its original character and moved closer to individual centric politics. There was not much of internal deliberations in the party, losing its secular character. TRS strongly believed in the politics of 'lobbying' but failed in getting consensus in favour of Telangana. Krishna Reddy felt that Andhra Pradesh State never attained Statehood with the support of electoral consent as states like Jharkand, Chittisgarh and Uttaranchal in India, though they too followed the strategy of lobbying, but could not succeed. It is reflected in case of TRS model of politics.[42] The other development is that all the political parties in Andhra Pradesh except CPI (M) supported directly or indirectly the separate Statehood without taking up the issues or problems of Telangana region. Once again in 2009 general elections, TRS had an alliance with TDP, CPI, and CPI (M). Among these parties, CPI (M) is opposed to bifurcation of the state, and TDP supported separate statehood for Telangana formally. There was no seriousness in TDP's commitment. All these contradictions within the alliance made people not to believe these parties and their political commitment. People of Telangana did not believe these parties and they lost the elections. Congress party under the leadership of Y.S. Rajasekhar Reddy went to the elections maintained in principle that they are not opposed to separate Statehood. They promised, if people gave an opportunity to rule the state another term, they would consider it seriously. People of the region got confused in electing their representatives from different political parties. They also did not believe the alliance which consists of TRS, TDP and communist parties. At the same time people of Telangana did not give full consent to the Congress party in general elections. Congress won a majority seats across Andhra Pradesh and formed the government once again. [43] Krishna Reddy on the whole thinks that the ongoing movement has a better democratic character than the 1960s movement.

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[41]ibid.
[42]ibid.
[43]ibid.

K. Srinivas[44] has argued that every movement has to be built based on its history, economy, social issues, literature and culture. For every identity movement, there could be a common culture and common symbol. They unite the people and make them work till they reach the goal. The Parties, organizations or individuals who are a part of the movement could think on all these grounds and come with substantive agenda to build the movement through which they could pressurize the government. In case of Telangana, he says, it should fight against globalization as globalization effects backward regions more than developed regions. The political parties who are supporting the separate Telangana Statehood are not supposed to have separate division in their parties, it should be a part of their unified policy making and implementation.[45]

Belliah Naik[46] argues that in separate Telangana State movement, initially the activists and the leaders from the elite class have taken part. As there was not much of representation of activists from Dalits, Tribals and Adivasis were not politically enthused. But after 1980s leaders, activists and artists from Telangana started participating in the movement as they got initiated to the movement by the writers and the people's movements. He thinks that Dalits are politically conscious and are politically more aware in the region of Telangana which is evident from less occurrence of atrocities in the region, unlike the Andhra region where atrocities like Tsundur massacre, Vempenta, and Karamchedu took place in which Dalits were killed, their women raped. In Telangana, there were not many killings because of revolutionary movements in the region.[47] He further thinks that in a separate Telangana state, Dalits and other marginalized sections would enjoy all the privileges without any dominance from the upper caste landlords. He added that if Telangana state is formed, the rich class in Telangana region would get lesser support while Dalits will get an additional support in terms of political and economic to struggle against the dominant sections. Apart from this, population of weaker sections in the region is high, they are conscious about political and cultural

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[44] Editor, Andhra Jyothi,

[45] Editor, Andhra Jyothi, delivered a lecture at CPI (ML) New Democratic, Pratyeka Telangana: CPI (ML) New Democratic vaikari, Navya Printers, Hyderabad, 2009

[46] Tribal leader- Andhra Pradesh

[47] Bellaiah Naik, President of Lambadi Hakkula Porata Samithi, interviewed on 2008 August 16 at Hyderabad.-

issues. [48] All these sections, if come together politically, there is a possibility of political power getting democratized, and deepening of Indian democracy.

Epuri Somanna[49] maintains that people of Telangana have a long history of Peasant struggle and also the Naxalite movement which had a major impact personally on him. There are many like him who are inspired and that was what created the artists to participate with a lot of commitment. He touched upon the question of development, culture, caste, and globalizations and tried to assess Telangana movement from a change perspective. During 1990s, Telangana movement came up as the global market, privatization and liberalization adversely effected the economy especially of Telangana region. The handicrafts got ruined and lakhs of people lost employment working in smaller ventures because of the private institutions, companies/industries which grew with government patronage. Both the governments behaved like facilitators of multinational companies instead of protecting smaller enterprises for welfare of people. The sections which are affected from the process of globalization, protested against global institutions and the governments. Individuals, institutions, political parties and political society resisted the privatization. This phenomenon had an impact of its own on Telangana people. The people believe that that separate Telangana State is only the solution for all these problems.[50]

He further maintains that Telangana State should be formed and it has to be socially responsible, politically effective, and economically helpful. The common people must feel that they will be secure in the separate state. He said most of the artists and activists who are working at the grassroots level are from the Dalit, Tribal, Backward classes and hail from the rural background and very few of them are from elite classes. Most of them are ideologically strong, committed to the Telangana movement. They were able to propagate the issue of Telangana very effectively. Generally artists take the issues and air them, pen the songs in local language and render them in a simple language and try to

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[48] President, Telangana Sangarshana Samithi, interviewed at Hyderabad on 12th December 2008.
[49] Artist and folk singer from Nallagonda, Andhra Pradesh.
[50] ibid., interviewed at Hyderabad on 14th December 2008

pass on the message to the people effectively.[51] As he comes from a dalit background, he got attracted towards the Telangana movement. He believes that it is a democratic movement which is widely supported by the civil and political society. He also holds that all the political parties are trying to use the traditional symbols like the idols *of Telangana Talli, Samakka and Sarakka deities, Moharam (Peerulu),* martyrs of Telangana movement and the symbol of Komaram Bhim to evoke the Telangana sentiment, and they narrate the history of Telangana, its culture, socio-economic conditions of vulnerable sections. This is the way through which they mobilize people to build up pressure on the governments: state and central to recognize the demand for separate statehood for Telangana sub-region.[52]

Khasim[53] a powerful orator said in terms geography, culture, awareness, and the history, the Telangana region is completely different from that of Andhra region. In the history of Telangana from the beginning, folk culture and songs played a major role and the ideology of Communism which influenced people enormously. The personalities like *Sarvai Papanna, Meera Saheb* fought against the feudal system and for welfare of the people. They also took active part in welfare of common people like construction of streams like *Panagallu* stream in Mahaboob Nagar district. Though these militant assertions were apolitical, they left an impact on the people. Though they were all treated as dacoits by the rulers, they struggled on behalf of poor and marginalized. The poor people own them as their leaders. He maintained that the writers, activists and artists have been influenced not merely by identity and gender movements but by revolutionary movements and Telangana armed struggle. He further felt that farmers of Telangana were more active and aware of the political issues and levels of exploitation. They participated in the movement even before 1917-Russian revolution. All these historical factors created consciousness on several issues like dominance, exploitation and made this generation participate in the movement.[54]

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[51] Eppuri Somanna, artist and activist in Telangana Separate State movement, interviewed on 12.12.2008 at Hyderabad.
[52] ibid.
[53] Lecturer in Telugu Department, Telugu Sahitya Academy, Oriented College, Abids-Hyderabad and Activist of Revolutionary Writers Association.
[54] Khasim, interviewed at Hyderabad on 16th December 2008.

Khasim further added that in the decade of 1960s, separate Telangana Movement has created political awareness among the people in the region. Many revolutionary leaders like *Kondapally Seetaramaiah* and *K.G. Satya Murthy* supported the movement. the revolutionary parties also extended their support. These movements fought against social, political, economic and cultural exploitation. This leadership was politically strong, ideologically committed and created political consciousness. Their continuous struggle led to several political parties' formation. They include *Raitu Kooli Seva Sangam,* writers and youth Associations, Revolutionary Writers Association and Jana *Natya Mandali.* There were people's movements like Naxalite movement though started at Naxalbari in West Bengal and Srikakulam, it had spread to Telangana region. They conducted surveys on political issues and tried to educate the people on exploitation, fraud, land issues, atrocities on Dalits and of the emergency that Mrs. Gandhi imposed. They campaigned against the anti people policies that affected the common people's every-day life and livelihood and the demand for social justice in separate Telangana state. He holds that getting merely a state will not give any fruits to the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Other Backward classes. The state should provide all facilities to people to live a comfortable and a meaningful life. Separate state should make people dignified. It is the responsibility of the new State to distribute the land to the landless along with irrigation facilitates and other necessary inputs to the farmers and also develop the state industrially. Irrigation projects and employment opportunities have to be provided; free education has to be given at all the levels, handicrafts have to be encouraged and provide employment opportunities to the qualified youth. To implement these Programmes, government sector has to play a major role. In separate Telangana state, Government should not accord any priority to private agencies particularly in sectors like health and education. To provide all these welfare programmes, he maintains, people need democratic Telangana and not merely a territorial Telangana.[55]

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[55]ibid.

Gaddar[56] and popular Balladeer holds that people of Telangana don't want a geographical Telangana but people's Telangana. In a separate Telangana, surplus land has to be distributed to the landless, the system of landlordism should be eliminated and feudalistic nature of the rulers should be fought. There are factories, natural resources, investment industries which have to be taken over from the ruling classes and feudal lords. The property should be distributed to the poor and disadvantaged. When these problems get solved, poor people could be developed. All these sections together should fight for a separate Telangana state which is possible only by people's movements. It is only then the majority people will get a leverage including the political power. He thinks that in separate Telangana state, land should be given to the landless people, equal distribution of wages to men and women. People should fight against social evils like untouchability, caste oppression and humiliation. The problems of water distribution: both irrigation and drinking to be solved. Governments shall consider social justice as high priority to dalit, women, and minority based on their population and Muslims shall be given reservations. The issues like opposing globalization, borrowing from international agencies and depending on technology from foreign countries should be reconsidered. Small scale industries have to be started, right to work should be guaranteed, and avenues for self employment have to be provided to the educated youth.[57]

Gaddar undertook 400-km '*padayatra*' or 'cultural peace march' from *Manuguru* in *Khammam* district for the cause of separate Telangana. The slogan was "people's Telangana and democratic Telangana". Given the caste-ridden and unrepresentative character of the Indian State, he argues that only a few sections are enjoying all sorts of privileges. Unless the majority sections of population find representation at all levels of power structures, India cannot be called a democratic state. During peace march, he tried to create awareness among the people on the need for a separate State, campaigned for the rights over their land, resources and water. Under his leadership, all artists formed an

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[56] Comes from radical political background , he is a revolutionary singer and president of Telangana Praja Front (TPF).
[57] Gaddar, Lecture at Telangana Diary-2009 inauguration meeting at Ravindra Bharati, Hyderabad on 4th January 2009.

Aikya Cultural front. In contrast, there are political parties, electoral process, political agendas who are working for a separate state without any such agenda.

Arundhati Roy renowned writer supports the demand for Statehood for Telangana region in principle while raising the question; what would be the contours of the State after formation of the state? She maintains that one would expect a developmental model in favour of poor people in smaller State. All the governments in India today are following developmental model based on LPG, SEZs and cutting of employment opportunities. She adds that States in which Congress party is ruling opened up free market and job security removed. If the same policies continue in Telangana State, what will be the use? She argues that there should be a developmental agenda for a better society. She adds, what kind of leadership is promoted is also important to see the State follow an egalitarian model of development. She also emphasizes that this debate is not merely confined to Telangana State but to the other states as well. She holds that people do not need merely a geographical but a democratic state in which all marginalized communities- dalits, tribals and adivasis will live with decent and dignified life. The fundamental rights and democratic voices must be protected and respected. She also wants that one should reflect about the culture, history and level of consciousness of the people of region, identities and geographical conditions as they are all preconditions of development. She advocates for a Telangana that meets all these conditions is desirable. She further maintains that in the name of democracy, media is manufacturing peoples consent and has been dominated by a few corporate agents and elite class. This mode of media manufacturing is reflected in Andhra Pradesh politics. She assumes that media is not able to reflect peoples aspirations, concerns, commitments and problems. Governments too are withdrawing from their responsibilities and opening doors for free market, global agents and corporate industrialists. She fears that these unjust developments are dangerous to the very notion of democracy. In this regard, she cautions that Telangana people should be careful and keep a close watch on their own leaders and developmental process.[58]

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[58] Booker Prize Award Winner and an Activist, New Delhi, interviewed on 12th July 2010 at Hyderabad.

Ms. Vijayashanthi[59] demanded a crash Programme to be adopted to improve educational facilities in the identified backward Mandals in the region. She further argued for special measures to be adopted to improve the economic and social position of the Dalits, *girijans* (tribal people) and minorities.[60] She further demanded for a high-powered committee to undertake a comprehensive study of the imbalanced development among different regions and districts. A development index for each Mandal should be developed and on this basis a comprehensive plan be prepared. There should be strict implementation of GO No. 610 and rectification of past distortions and special funds to be earmarked in every budget and a separate mechanism to be created to oversee the implementation of the special plans for the backward areas.[61] These developments indicate that movement for Telangana is taking a new shape in Indian politics.[62]

Kalpana Kannabiran[63] argues that the agenda for Telangana is born out of the struggles of diverse communities in the region. The leadership of the struggle must lend voice and recognize the contribution of these diverse constituencies in order to be truly representative – and the burden of ensuring falls on the shoulders of progressive civil liberties leaders in the movement. It is well within the realm of the possible because social and intellectual base of the movement is its strength. At this time one need to move beyond assuming that justice will follow after the struggle, because representation should be a defining component of the goal itself.[64]

Sanjay[65] argues that political parties beyond promising Chief Minister position to a dalit in Telangana State, it should think about the basic problems that have been faced by the Dalits and Tribals. It is necessary to focus the source for these problems and try to identify them and have a strategy to solve the problems with commitment. One has to

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[59] Member of Parliament (2009-2014) from Medak Lok Sabha Constituency, Andhra Pradesh, India.
[60] Vijayashanti, No personal agenda, http://www.hindu.com/2007/01/22/stories/2007012212000400.htm
[61] Press release by Prakash Karat, Genera; Secretary- CPI (M) Stand on Telangana Issue.
[62] ibid.
[63] Professor of National Law School, Hyderabad.
[64]Kalpana Kannabiran, in The State of Telangana, Sanhiti, 23 January, 2010; ; source: http://www.countercurrents.org/kannabiran230110.htm
[65]A Dalit scholar from Andhra region and presently working as Assistant Professor in Indraprasta University, New Delhi.

think about the nature of leadership in the region, if it is not favourably disposed, then, what should be done, how the leadership should be transformed is a serious question. Apart from these issues, all the parties who are struggling for a separate Telangana state should come with concrete agenda, if they get separate State, the rulers should create awareness among the people. The priority should be given to free education, health care, social security and employment. Unless one concentrates on these issues, he believes, it is useless in getting a separate state.[66]

Gogu Shyamala[67] argues that a separate State comes under the purview of constitution. The demand should not be confined to mere Statehood but fight against the lumpen political class. It also has to strive to stop exploitation of one region against other. The liberation of oppressed sections is possible only with militant struggle. With this method, one could liberate them and form a new democratic society. Separate Telangana means changing of rulers but not change in ruling classes. Hence, after formation of Separate Telangana State, there would be people's movements. She also believes that separate Telangana movement is a tool to struggle against the ruling class.[68]

These political developments indicate that there are contradictions and complexities in the movement. There are disparities arising between the elite class, Dalits and OBCs in Telangana movement. These developments have to be understood from rights perspective as well.

Separate Telangana Movement: Dalit Perspective

The formation of smaller States could be seen from the Ambedkarite perspective. Ambedkar argued that formation of separate States would diffuse the monopoly of the dominant castes and pave the way for the majority sections of population to take over the state power that was long denied to them.[69] By participating in separate Telangana movement, excluded sections are aspiring to get justice in a separate State and they

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[66] Sanjay was interviewed on 24th September, 2009 at Hyderabad.
[67] Gogu Shyamala, writer and activist, interviewed on 15th Novemebr 2008 at Hyderabad.
[68] ibid.
[69] Seminar on People's Telangana, organized by People's Telangana Foundation, Saturday, Hyderabad, June 30, 2007.

believe that it would lead to inclusive politics. All these groups believe that after the formation Andhra Pradesh, Telangana region has been undermined in all spheres and hold that only separate Telangana State is the solution because they would rule the state on their own. There is also a demand coming from backward classes: what kind of Telangana: geographical or democratic? If Telangana becomes a separate State, which sections would enjoy political power? A question of rights is involved in it. A few scholars demand for distribution of land and financial support to Dalits to cultivate their lands. They also argue that irrigation projects to Telangana be ensured. Unless feudal social dominance is fought, there is no possibility of Dalit development. It is held that Dalits should get mobilized, unite and lead a Dalit movement complimentary or parallel to Telangana movement: it would give rise to new leadership from Dalit community and strengthen them politically. That would also enable them to bargain for political power after formation of a separate State. Hence Dalits started asserting their rights and demanding their share in political power. Another section of Dalit scholars also argue that they don't want Telangana to be a separate State but want to live with self-respect and dignity and rights should be protected and respected. A third section of Dalit group are supporting and actively participating in Telangana movement. They argue, if separate state is formed, dominant castes may get weakened in terms of political and economic power as they will not have support from their fellow communities from the others regions.

Muthaiah[70] argues that constitution does not act on its own but it depends on the rulers of the country. Government may not know all the problems that people are facing. Hence people's movement plays a vital role in articulating the problems. To pressurize and represent the problems of the people to government, a few individual/ associations capable, have a humane concern, mobilize the people and hold the protest movements, some-times in democratic manner and some-times beyond the formal democratic methods. He cited Ambedkar's words: "unless one: he or she democratizes, one cannot democratize the society". Based on it, he argues, in separate Telangana state, one has to

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[70] Advisor, MRPS movement in Andhra Pradesh and Professor, in the Department of Political Science, Osmania University; interviewed on 23rd March 2009 at Hyderabad.

create awareness among the people especially among Dalits, Tribals and Adivasis. There should be a strong movement against the landlordism, feudalism, caste suppression and untouchability. He argues that before attaining the separate Telangana state, Dalits in the region should feel that their concerns are well respected. Government should prepare and implement a common agenda for Dalit empowerment. He argues that upper caste people came forward first and mobilized Dalits to strengthen the movement, but they are never committed for the upliftment of Dalits. He advocates a separate Telangana State with social justice is what is needed.[71]

Indian social system has witnessed social, cultural and economic disparities. Telangana movement is no exception. The growing criticism is that Poltical-JAC is dominated by the upper caste leaders. A few leaders like Manda Krishna Madiga feel " if the upper class starts discriminating SC, ST, BC and Minorities before the formation of State, if the State is formed, they would influence the polity, economy more and do not allow the majority people to play key role either in policy making or implementation. He argues that Political JAC shall give the leadership to the majority people like SC, ST, BC and minorities as these sections have been playing a major role in the movement except in political JAC. This argument also reflects the democratic voice in the movement. There is also opposition to Manda Krishna that the Telangana movement is based on regional identity but not on caste identity. It is true that the caste problems are also important and ahave to be addressed, the problem of caste is not seem to be linked to the regional movement. It is necessary that these two problems have to be addressed simultaneously.

Separate Telangana Movement: Tribal Perspective

The separatist movement also led to an idea of separate state for tribals. Chanda Lingaiah belonging to tribal community hailing from Khammam district strongly believes that a separate Tribal state itself is the solutions for the problems of tribals. He also adds that in such a state, all the tribals will live with similar culture, history and geography. Hence they believe that solution for their problems is a separate state i.e., Manya Rastram. He reiterates that self rule is a solution to their problems. Although they lived in forest for

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[71]ibid.

centuries that life is eroded as the governments are not concerned about degradation of forest and selling of the lands to the industrialists. Instead of securing and giving the land rights to the Tribals, in the name of SEZs, government is taking the land from the poor and bartering it to the elite classes. The other civil society organizations within Telangana argue, it is not right time to stress on this issue, though, it is a genuine demand. They further argue that whenever the demand of Telangana comes forward, such other demands are coming up.[72] This kind of debate, however, suggests the vibrant nature of the movement.

K. Chandrasekhar Rao promised Tribals that in separate Telangana state they would take all the steps to develop the region on all grounds and promised that they respect tribals. His party will setup the statues of tribal leaders like Komaram Bhim. 12 % reservations will be given. All tandas will be recognized as panchayats, distribution of three acres of land with irrigation facilities and loan will be given for a year without any interest. Birth and death anniversary of tribal leaders will be celebrated. K.C.R further holds that TRS party has a political agenda to solve the problem of Naxalism after formation of separate Telangana state. He emphasized that the separatist movement was not an ethnic struggle targeted at people of coastal districts. People demanding the separate state had no right to disturb the lives of people hailing from the coastal districts who had settled down in the region, particularly, Hyderabad. The movement would lose the human angle if the migrants were targeted, he said. Moreover, development of the region would be effected by mutual acrimony. He emphasized development is the civic right of people and separate state is their birthright. Development was no substitute for self-respect and self-administration. Development in real terms meant to increase the purchasing power of people which had not happened in the last decades. [73]

Separate Telangana Movement: Minorities Perspective
At this juncture, it is important to take a look at the political scenario of Muslims in the region of Telangana. After formation of Andhra Pradesh, the dominance of Andhra elite

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[72] Sripathi Ramudu, Bahujana Keratalu, Vol.2 No.7 July 2010, Ongole, p. 15.
[73] Delivered a lecture in a round table discussion on Relevance of smaller states Demand organized by Academic Staff College-University of Hyderabad on 4th Feb 2008.

and propertied class got accentuated in the city of Hyderabad. The development adversely affected all the professions of Muslims. Over a period of time, small business, industries, employment and land got affected. With the result a large section of Muslims in Hyderabad lost their livelihood and rendered helpless. After the 2001 attacks on World Trade Centre, it left its own impact on Hyderabad Muslims. They were under surveillance and their activities are looked suspiciously by the governments. They are politically marginalized, culturally eroded and economically deprived. In this regard, M.D. Waheed maintains that development of Muslims is possible only in a separate State. It is the responsibility of political parties and civil society organizations to give moral support and confidence to the Muslims that they would live in the separate State peacefully and would develop economically, politically, socially and culturally.[74] They shall get their share in political power based on their population. They could be encouraged and mobilized to participate in the movement.[75]

Mohd. Mushtaq Malik[76] argues that the united Andhra State not only usurped several thousands of acres of wakf land, it also neglected the Urdu language which flourished earlier and Osmania University once was offering the MBBS degree in Urdu. About 829 acres of Wakf land was sold for Rs. 444.40 crores by the state government. It was an accident of fate that the ruler of erstwhile princely State of Deccan happened to be Muslim. Liberation of State following police action in 1948 and thereafter formation of Andhra State in 1956, have both cumulatively resulted in targeting Muslims and their interests by Andhra vested interests in a systematic and planned manner. Muslims had to bear the brunt of injustice and harassment. Post-police action and thereafter formation of Andhra State resulted in ousting of 38000 Muslim employees of State Government at one stroke. Muslim employment in State Government dwindled down to 3% as per Sachar Committee report of November 2006. [77]

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[74] M.D. Waheed, 'Telanganaloo Tellavarani Muslimla Batukulu', Pooru Telangana, Hyderabad, Dec 2007, p. 21

[75] Interview with K. Jayasankar at Hyderabad on 24th September 2009.

[76] Hails from the city of Hyderabad; belongs to Muslim community; Chairman of Telangana Muslim Joint Action Committee, Hyderabad.

[77]ibid; report submitted to SriKrishnan Committee, constituted by Govt. of India 2010;
source- http://www.ummid.com/news/2010/April/18.04.2010/telangana_and_MUSLIMS.htm

Other Muslim groups like Muslim Forum for Telangana and Telangana Muslim Front have also come up to spearhead the movement. The issue of Muslim participation in Telangana movement has always been crucial as they constitute nearly 20 per cent of the population in the region and were mostly concentrated in Hyderabad and other urban centers like Nizamabad, Kamareddy, Warangal, Karimnagar, Adilabad and Nalgonda. Abdul Rahman Al Attas, the former Telangana Rashtra Samithi member of Legislative Council sought to dispel the impression that Muslims as a community were opposed to Telangana state. They argue Telangana state should be formed on the basis of justice. Md. Sardaruddin argues that in integrated state many Muslims lost their job opportunities, like Azam Jahi cotton mills and Allwin Company. Most of the Muslims in the region depend on small business. They feel that they got displaced by the Andhra businessmen. He argues that, if Telangana state is formed, their language could be revitalized, culture could be revived. He also added that the smaller states could be helpful in providing good governance.[78]

In addition to the perspectives of different segments and sections of the society, an attempt is also made to see the trends at the grassroots level. For this purpose select opinion makers in three districts with varied levels of development and their equally varied involvement in the separate statehood movements are interviewed. This is only an attempt to see the trends and not serious underlying processes. This is partly owing to the time constraint.

Perception from Grass roots

This survey of grassroots does indicate broad trends and supplement or complement the major argument of this work. The following are the findings from where the opinion makers were selected and interviewed.

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[78] Belongs to the Muslim Community, Venkat Rao Palli village, Karim Nagar district, interviewed on December 16th at Hyderabad.

Bhoomaiah[79] argues that the overall perceptions at village level seem to be that the people's movements have some sort of commitment whereas political parties do not have commitment and sincerity on the issues. They feel during the 1960s, when separate Telangana Movement reached a stage where the leaders were able to pressurize the government with support of people's organizations, students, employees, leaders like Marri Chenna Reddy and others entered the movement and made use of it for their selfish political ends. After a long gap, this time people are expecting the leadership to carry on a sustained struggle for the Statehood. Although there were activists from different walks of life working for the statehood they are apolitical and waiting for political party to take up the demand of Telangana seriously. It was in this backdrop K. Chandrasekhar Rao formed the TRS and got support from all the sections in the region. Initially TRS worked according to the wishes of the people. Hence, spirit of the movement got a fillip. Initially all the sections supported TRS. But those who supported earlier and became MLAs became rebels and supported the Congress party and YSR. Most of them happened to be from Reddy community. Based on this experience, it is noticed that in the Telangana movement, caste and community variables keep on working in such a way that they weaken the movement further. Most of the leaders from dominant community resigned to the party and joined the other parties. This resulted in loosing its own representation in both the Assembly and Parliament. Bhoomaiah maintained that a lot of literature has come up on the Telangana issue. Even the government has established several Universities in Telangana like Mahatma Gandhi University, Sathavahana University, Palamuru University and Telangana University. Both the governments: State and Union constituted Pranab Mukarjee Committee and K. Roshaiah committee to study the demand of Telangana movement. He also said, though people have strong aspirations for a separate Telangana State, ironically, leaders from the region from all political parties are working for their own political and opportunistic interests. He believes that people want a separate State with democratic essence and the rights of all the sections should be respected.[80]

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[79] Bhoomaiah hails from the backward class by profession he is a teacher, studied master's degree, village, Bandamedi Pally, Mahaboob Nagar Interviewed on 23th September 2009.
[80]ibid.

Niranjan[81] maintains that the people of Telangana in terms of education have not developed substantially especially in Mahabbob Nagar district. The district is a labour migrating district and most of the working labour migrate to far off places in search of work. The employment opportunities in Hyderabad and surroundings areas have been mostly availed by the Andhra labour and educated youth. Niranjan further holds that all the sections of the region should enjoy social, economic and political equality encoded in the Indian Constitution. Political opportunities should be given to the Dalits, Tribals and other backward sections as per the Constitutional mandate. If it does not happen, there is a scope for people's movements against the dominant sections. He argues that the movement is not going in a right direction as there is no proper strategy, no proper mobilization process. Though people are interested but there is no committed political leadership in the movement.[82]

Ongur Srinivas[83] believes that if Separate Telangana comes, there is a possibility of demand for more funds from the Union government. The political parties could demand equitable irrigation facilities and equitable distribution of water to the region as that would legally enable them to represent their demand to Water Tribunal or Award Committees. It is not possible to represent their problems as there is no such statutory provision in Constitution for intra regional demand for the share in water. He says that if Telangana state is formed, only a few elite power castes/classes would dominate over political economy of Telangana as the lands and resources are in their hands but there is bound to be strong resistance from the people as there is high political consciousness.[84]

Manohar Goud[85] says that political parties working for the separate Statehood have to take up the problems of poor people like food, shelter, education, work, employment and so on. The first priority could be given to their basic needs which guarantees decent

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[81] Niranjan argues, driver belongs to Scheduled Caste from Bandameedi Pally, Mahaboob Nagar, interviewed on 22rd September, 2009.
[82]ibid.
[83] Ongur Srinivas from the Scheduled Caste, Bandameedi Pally, Mahabbob Nagar, interviewed on 24th September, 2009.
[84]ibid.
[85] Manohar Goud from the backward caste, Bandameedi Pally, Mahaboob Nagar, interview on 23rd September, 2009.

livelihood. The political parties should give first priority to fulfill such demands as a poor man cannot participate in the movement unless his or her basic needs are addressed. This is not happening as the political parties are lacking character. The issues like SEZs, land grabbing, resource allocation have not been addressed by any party. He also added, if a separate Telangana state is formed, it has to be a democratic state.[86]

Manjali Venkatesh[87] argues that he studied up to 7th standard runs a hair cutting shop and argues if Telangana State is formed, it would not make any difference to him. The present leadership is not inclined towards the poor and the needy. If the same leadership continues in separate State, the same model of development and the nature of leadership, then, how could common man expect any fruits from such kind of leadership? He added that he has been applying for a loan for opening up hair–cutting shop but no leader is helping him. If Telangana State is formed, he is happy, although it would not directly benefit him. From his response, it is seen that, though he supports a separate State, poor and middle classes have to get their due share in the new state. He is not happy with the political leadership and the way they are carrying politics.[88]

Rathnamma[89] maintains that in an integrated State, the people of Telangana are treated as second grade citizens in employment opportunities and developmental activities. First priority is given to the persons from Andhra region as the rulers hail from the that region. Telangana region has been neglected in terms of politics and development: agriculture and industry. People of Telangana believe that their culture, language and history have been undermined. Many scholars and activists from the region believe that the new politics or micro political movements both by the political parties and people's movements should strive for strengthening of democracy. She argues that peoples movements should democratize the state and create awareness among the people of their rights and promote new leadership of all sections of the society. She further draws the

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[86]ibid.
[87] Mangali Venkatesh from the backward class, Bandameedi Pally, Mahaboob Nagar, interviewed on 23rd September, 2009.
[88]ibid.
[89] Ratnamma, teacher belongs to the Scheduled Caste from Bandameedi Pally, Mahaboob Nagar, interview on 24rd September, 2009.

attention to 610 Government order. As the organizations, political parties, intellectuals and teachers have been demanding implementation of the 610 G.O. for the last three decades, the government did not implement it. To fight against these kinds of anti-Telangana activities, all civil societal organizations, political parties should work unitedly. The leaders indulge in mutual criticism and forget their common agenda i.e. Separate Telangana Statehood. Regarding women's rights, she says, though there are rights for the welfare of women in the Constitution they are not implemented. As dowry deaths, women killings, sexual harassment are taking place. In separate Telangana state, rights of women should be ensured. The separate State should be pro-women. The self-respect and dignified life should be secured.[90] From the findings of the village, study intend to assesses that though respondents of this village support separate state but have no faith on their leaders. They argue that representatives have to work for the development of all sections and help unemployed youth to get job opportunities in separate State, there will be no caste and gender discrimination. Such democratic state is needed for Telangana region as it deepens democracy in the country.

Rajendra Prasad Rao[91] argues that when the consciousness of people gets intensified, involvement of the people increases. That is what happened in the case of Telangana movement during the last six decades. He further argues that civil society organizations, activists, teachers, advocates should educate the people on the issue of injustices done to the region the ruling class from the Andhra region. The people of Telangana have been demanding for a separate State, self rule and self respect. Regarding the relationship between political parties and civil society organizations in a democracy are inter-related and interdependent. But political parties are craving for political power whereas peoples' organizations are working without any political ambition. It is held that Telangana movement is a result of failure of political parties in dealing with the demands and made use of it for their political ambition. Media also has been playing a major role in articulating the demand. He felt that since media is in the hands of Andhra people, it has

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[90]ibid.

[91]Belongs to the Velama community, Venkat Rao Palli village, Karim Nagar district, interviewed on 20th February, 2010.

not been supporting the Telangana demand nor addressing people's expectations.[92] Narsimulu Mudiraj[93] argues that Telangana movement arose because of discrimination in recruitment, educational opportunities, irrigation facilities, undermining of the language and culture. He also argues that Telangana State is the first priority and internal problems like the question of caste discrimination, territorial or democratic Telangana are secondary. It is evident that all the sections irrespective of their caste, community and religion are supporting the movement. He further says the political leaders from both the regions are responsible for the backwardness of Telangana.[94]

Yellaiah Yadav[95] opines that culture of Telangana is different from Andhra. Though people speak the same language, Telangana accent is different. Though People of Telangana speak Telugu it has a mix of Urdu as the region was under the regime of Muslim rulers. Hence, he adds that Telangana has no common history with Andhra region. Disenchanted people of Telangana wish to have a separate Statehood for their own development. The caste discrimination and feudal legacy were at one point strong in Telangana, but that is no more the case as most of the Scheduled Castes and backward classes have now access to education. Thus, he argues that in a separate Telangana State, there will not be much of social problems. If they arise, there will be strong resistance against social evils as Telangana region consists of strong opinion makers and activists. He hopes that they would continue to struggle on behalf of the oppressed sections against social evils and feudal dominance even after the state formation. It is also true that in ongoing Telangana movement, most of the student leaders, activists are from the dalit, tribal and backward class background. There is a possibility that this leadership may be able to influence the polity and economy in future.[96]

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[92]ibid.
[93]Belongs to the Backward Class community, venkat Rao Palli village Karim Nagar district, interviewed on 20th February, 2010.
[94]ibid.
[95] Yellaiah Yadav, belongs to the Mudiraj community, Venkat Rao Palli village, Karim Nagar district, interviewed on 20th February, 2010.
[96]ibid.

Kailash[97] maintained that after formation of the state, it depends on whom the people elect as their representatives and on what basis they elect them. The level of assertion in this region is much higher compared with the Andhra region. He thinks there will be no possibility to exploit and discriminate them on caste grounds. If in case, it persists, there will be a strong resistance against feudal legacy and caste oppression. Governments and leaders from Andhra are propagating that Maoists are supporting the movement but wherever Maoists find injustices, they fight against those injustices in whichever form they exist. They believe that Telangana demand is against feudal dominance. Hence, Maoists are supporting as they recognize the injustice done to this region by Andhra leadership for the last six decades. He wishes to see a separate Telangana State with democratic values.[98]

Venkaiah[99] argues that all sections ranging from school children to old, all the castes and communities rich and poor are supportive of the movement as they believe that they are betrayed by the Andhra leaders. He believes that Andhras exploited employment opportunities, irrigation projects that legitimately belong to Telanganites. After formation of Telangana State, the State should be a democratic state. The people should have ultimate sovereign power. Rulers have to be responsible to the people. The spirit of human rights and values has to be observed in governing of the State and there should be full fledged political democracy. He adds that responsible activists, students should uphold democratic values and take equal responsibility along with the political leaders to create awareness among the masses on the rights, good governance, social problems and social values. Then only the spirit of Telangana movement could be realized.[100]

Sanjeev Reddy[101] argues that in Telangana movement, the question of caste and creed would not arise as most of activists, artists, writers and singers are from Dalit and Tribal

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[97] Kailash , belongs to the SC community, Venkat Rao Palli village, Karim Nagar district, interviewed on 20th February, 2010

[98] ibid.

[99] Venkaiah, belongs to the Backward class community, Venkat Rao Palli village, Karim Nagar district, interviewed on 20th February, 2010.

[100] ibid.

[101] Sanjeev Reddy belongs to the Reddy community, Venkat Rao Palli village, Karim Nagar district, interviewed on 20th February, 2010.

communities. They are able to influence the movement. This debate has to take place but there are different issues and have to be addressed separately. It is not the time to politicize the issue and sideline the basic demand. The movement has been on for the last six decades not based on caste or religion but based on regional backwardness, deprivation, negligence of the region, culture and language. If any problems arise, those problems will be solved within the Telangana region and others should not be allowed to make use of the vulnerabilities of the movement. He adds that all the sections are fighting to save their history, culture, festivals, self respect and self rule.[102]

Yellam[103] argues that if Telangana State comes true, there is a possibility of getting jobs for the unemployed youth, increase of daily wages and launching of industries. Since consciousness gradually has been increasing, there is a scope for Dalits to get their share in political power in the Telangana State.[104] Sundar Ram[105] said that the caste consciousness in the region is less deeper than in the Andhra region as class discourse plays a major role in this region. Though, there are social problems, they are taken up by the Naxalite movement and anti feudal struggle legacy. He also argues that if Telangana State is formed, there is a possibility of greater irrigation facilities and agricultural growth can also be an important factor for change.[106]

Jothsna[107] argues that Telangana demand is a legitimate demand and struggle has been there for the last six decades supported by the activists, lawyers, students and journalists. People of Telangana do not agree for any new Committees and Pacts as there were Committees, Government orders which have not been implemented. She adds that Telangana demand is a democratic demand but response from the State machinery has not been democratic. The recommendations of the committees' became ornamental. It is

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[102]ibid.

[103] Yellam, belongs to the Scheduled caste, Venkat Rao Palli village, Karim Nagar district, interviewed on 20st February, 2010.

[104]ibid. Jothsna, belongs to Venkat Rao Palli village, Karim Nagar district, interviewed on 2st February, 2010.

[105] Belongs to the Scheduled Caste, Venkat Rao Palli village, Karim Nagar district, interviewed on 21st February, 2010.

[106]ibid.

[107] Belongs to the Backward class community, Venkat Rao Palli village, Karim Nagar district, interviewed on 21st February, 2010.

seen that during the last general elections, the major political parties are supportive of the Telangana demand but none of them stood on their earlier stand. Hence all the sections in Telangana from the lower classes to socially privileged castes, workers, artisans, Dalits, minorities and students formed Joint Action Committees to fight for the democratic cause.[108]

Laxman[109] stated that the Telangana demand is a democratic demand, it has to be formed. The debate on Territorial and democratic Telangana is political and meant to dilute and weaken the demand. He argues that caste system, feudalism, hierarchy, dominance of a few elite classes in politics is not merely confined to Telangana region but it is there elsewhere in the country. This debate should not be linked with the Telangana but have to be addressed at national level.[110]

Balraju[111] holds that people of Telangana want separate State as he believes that there is a possibility to get jobs with the opening up of industries in the region. He also argues that in separate State, the values of equality, justice will be promoted and no caste discrimination would be observed. He holds that Medak district is having largest number of industries and the skilled workers come from the other regions as it is assumed that there are no skilled workers in the district. Most of the youth from this district, pursue ITI (fitter, welder, electronic and those completing electrical) and other technical courses hoping that they get jobs in industries but observed that youth from this district are not even called for interview. Other instance of exploitation by Andhra investors in the district in the agriculture sector, a peasant in the village gave his land to lease to Andhra investors as a part of contract with them. They cultivated Bt cotton. After they took away harvest, the land was not fit for grazing. He gave the land for lease to circumvent the financial problems but he did not know that his land would be worse off and will not be useful for further cultivation. Hence, he thinks, separate Statehood is the only solution to

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[108] Belongs to Backward Class, Venkat Rao Palli village, Karim Nagar district, interviewed on 22th February, 2010.
[109] Belongs to Backward class, Village Huggelli, Medak District interviewed on 9th July 2009 at Huggelli.
[110]ibid.
[111]Belongs to SC community, village Huggelli, Medak District interviewed on July 9th 2009 at Huggelli.

such kind of problems.[112] Barrur Sanjeev Reddy[113] maintains that "if we think about democratic Telangana, the whole issue would be sidelined". Hence, all social problems could be dealt only after formation of Telangana State and there should be unity in the movement. If we are divided based on the caste, and religion, the leaders from the other region would make use of these divisions and try to weaken the movement.[114]

Vishwanatham[115] argues that Telangana movement has been built up by common people irrespective of their background. He argues that it is the responsibility of leaders to see that all the concerns, sentiments and rights are protected in separate Telangana State. He believes, local leadership is not concerned with the poor and the needy. Both issues are very important as Dalits of Telangana have been suffering from two dominations; one, dominance of ruling class of Andhra region and other problem is untouchability and problem of landlessness. These two forms dominance have to be dealt but since Andhra dominance is powerful, it has to be fought and then the rights of dalits and tribals in Telangana State could be tackled.[116]

Mohd. Khajamiya[117] maintains that the security and the rights of minorities in separate Telangana State have to be protected as a section of minorities in the region do feel insecure in separate state if Hindu communal forces get upper hand. If this happens, getting separate State will be hopeless for minorities. He pleads for formation of and enforcement of policies in favour of minorities. They should get political representation as per their population. When this section gets their share in polity and economy, it promotes democratic values. In fact this progressive development will lead to solidarity and fraternity among all religions in region. It obviously upholds the very notion of democracy in general and Constitution in particular. Hence, he feels it is the responsibility of State, political leadership, civil society organizations to see that

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[112]ibid.
[113] Belongs to Reddy community, Huggelli, Medak District interviewed on July 10th 2009 at Huggelli.
[114]ibid.
[115]Vishwanatham, belongs to Padmashali community, Huggelli, Medak District interviewed on 1st September 2009 at Huggelli.
[116]ibid.
[117]Mohd. Khajamiya Comes from Muslim community, Huggelli, Medak District interviewed on 2st September 2009 at Huggelli.

development should be balanced and religious tolerance in separate State is important. If these do not happen, he says, there would be crisis of governance. This is not good for Indian democracy.[118]

Ramulu Yadav[119] says that democracy in India has not fully succeeded as fruits of freedom struggles have not reached the disadvantaged sections in the country. There are still regional disparities, inter-state and intrastate conflicts, communal conflicts. There are problems like caste system and untouchability despite the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles in Indian Constitution. Some extent, SCs, STs and OBCs are able to pursue education and get employment opportunities because of reservations provided to them. Despite the Constitutional guarantees, still they have not been fully implemented. Reasons are: lack of committed leadership and effective administration. He adds that if the same leadership continues to dominate in the separate States like Telangana, the same experience may be repeated.[120]

Koninti Swarna[121] believes that to realize democratic values in a country like India, protests movements are as important as representative politics; both have equal responsibility to protect and promote democracy. These logic is reflected in Telangana Movement. For decades, separate Telangana agitation has been going on. All castes and communities have been taking part in the movement. There are opinion makers like teachers, advocates, artists, writers and intellectuals and human rights activists striving not merely for statehood but also creating consciousness among the people of the region on public policies and rights. They are putting pressure the leaders of their own region to fall in line. When the political parties forget the objectives, the opinion makers have to fill in the void. She further adds that though Telangana movement is a democratic movement, it is found that there is not much of visible of female leadership in the movement. Though there is some presence, it is confined to participation in agitations

[118]ibid

[119]Ramulu Yadav comes from BC community, Huggelli, Medak District interviewed on 2st September 2009 at Huggelli.

[120]ibid.

[121] Koninti Swarnna, SC community, Huggelli, Medak District interviewed on 5st September 2009 at Huggelli.

and not in decision making. Starting from TRS-political parties to Joint Action Committees, they are all dominated by male. This counter trend in representation weakens the democratic culture in the movement. Hence she maintains that women want not merely territorial Telangana in which male and a few elite sections dominate. She wants a democratic Telangana in which all sections from grassroots to state level both men and women and all castes get equal representation.[122] It is observed that all communities are supportive to the separate state as respondents believe that in integrated state, development of Telangana undermined and holds that Territorial state is first priority and the question of caste discrimination, land distribution, untouchability, and the question of political power to Dalits, Tribals and Minorities will be addressed in separate State. It is further observed that if any injustice takes place in future in separate state, they would fight against them and further hold that newly emerged leadership with ideological stand would certainly fight against injustice and social evils.

Summing up

The chapter focused on separate Telangana movement from democratic perspective. To assess the very notion of democracy-formal and substantive, it attempted to focus Telangana movement from rights perspective. It revealed or examined on several viewpoints like dalit, tribal and Muslim. It further explores views of opinion makers from three districts: Mahabboob Nagar, Karimnagar and Medak starting from conventional to unconventional political process. It is observed that State merely to the region is not sufficient as it will serve political parties and elite sections. They think that disparities, feudal legacy, political dominance are very much persisting in the Telangana region. it has to be fought and it is possible in State with democratic content.

Singers, writers and peoples organizations believe that movements not merely try to solve the problems but also throw up creative individuals and groups who keep working for strengthening of democracy. Artists in the movement are not formally qualified, they are from rural and weaker sections. They communicate the demand to the grassroots and their knowledge on regional, national and international issues is rich and very creative.

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[122]ibid.

From several interviews, it revealed that political parties failed to mobilize the people and their strategies are not vibrant enough to get the problems solved. Hence, they feel people's agitations are important. Strategy like lobbying is necessary but not enough to build the movement from grassroots which is missing in Telangana movement. The study compared the views of respondents from urban and grassroots. It reveals that on the issue of Telangana, respondents from grassroots argue that separate territory is important, but after formation of Telangana state, they prefer a democratic Telangana. Based on these findings, it is found that though Indian democracy provided the Constitution, provisions to end poverty, caste system and ensure values of equality and dignity, and a federal set up to reduce disparities between States and Centre but in reality the Constitutional remedies did not work as effectively as they should. This gap between the Constitutional promise and poor performance in realization of the promise has to be filled by people's movement. There is the expectation that Telangana movement will work towards these objectives.

The response from three districts shows widespread support to Telangana Statehood Movement. However, opinion makers feel that India's democracy considered as formal democracy but not substantial. Those who are in Telangana Statehood have some reservations on functioning of state machinery the nature of leadership. They argue that leaders of Telangana are not effective. This kind of leadership has to be changed. It is possible through people's agitations. Territorial statehood benefits a few sections in the region. The democratic demands have to be addressed in a separate State. If any anti people policies are formulated, caste system and elite dominance continue in the separate State, there will be a wide ground for people's agitations and assertions for realizing democratic aspirations.

Conclusion

"Democracy is not merely a form of government. It is primarily a mode of associated living of conjoint communicated experience. It is essentially an attitude of respect of reverence towards fellowmen"

-Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

The democracy and human rights are interrelated and interdependent. It holds that with the result of sacrifices of several people, revolutions and wars, today humanity is witnessing human rights and democracy. There are several international human rights organizations apart from governmental institutions which are striving for promotion and protection of human rights. India is too a part of this whole historical process. The study found that though humanity has witnessed the rights that existed in the universal documents but they have not been effectively implemented. Indian freedom struggle gave boost to the evolution of rights discourse in India and it has had a major impact on Indian constitution which emphasized on freedom: social, economic, political and cultural. But after sixty years of independence, it is found that there is a gap between formulation and implementation of constitutional values. This gap gave scope for people's agitations. Many scholars argue that people's movements strive for deepening of democracy. To understand these theoretical debates, the study focused on ongoing Telangana movement and tried to see the political trends which indicate the overall direction of peoples movements and the underlying principles of democratic advancements.

The study indicates that democracy cannot confine itself to a few elites but has to involve all the sections and have to have institutional arrangement that ensure individual rights and promote peoples freedom. One cannot see one without the other as both stand for freedom and dignity. This is possible through collective action which promotes self-confidence, dignity, which in turn, leads to enlargement of the scope of rights. The study further indicates that income inequalities, scale of poverty, incidence of hunger, and unequal distribution of means of production, gender inequalities, caste inequalities and discrimination, lack of education entitlements, poor access to health, unemployment, globalization and commercialization of social services, agrarian crisis can lead to

people's agitations. The right to agitate turns into a major democratic instrument in a system which fails to respond to people's aspirations through conventional modes of politics nor institutional arrangement which is devoid of concerns for equitable development and enlargement of Justice.

The study analyzed formal and substantive forms of democracy and finds that the spirit of freedom struggle in India is gradually shrinking, memories of independence are dwindling and leadership is becoming self-centered. The electoral politics provided more opportunities to elite sections than poor people. This leadership, by and large, is not working for the holistic development of communities. This callous attitude of leadership led to violation of human rights and inevitably gave rise to people's agitations. For instance India which is considered a democracy formally lacks substantive content. It is suffering from several limitations like jati, ethinic identities, cultural variations and geographical differences. The study holds that Indian democracy is facing several hurdles like great pessimism among the people and disappointment with the institutions. Leaders who occupy positions in these institutions lack principles. The study further holds that there has been a decline of morality in public life with rampant corruption and growing of an unclean political climate. There has been a sharp increase in social disharmony and therefore caste conflicts and casteism have become the key factors of expression of dissent.

It also observed that the State gradually shifting its responsibilities to non state actors: national and international. The state has been depending on experts to study the problem and suggest solutions to overcome the problems. This strategy, it argues, many times State has been using either dilute the issue or delay the process and escape from its responsibilities. These expert committees have been giving their reports based on their pre conceived notions that they have. The state is encouraging the experts who believe neo liberal model of development from corporate background and trained abroad. This is sad symptom of Indian democracy. These people give advices to the governments that are not based on welfare model of development. The Andhra Pradesh political economy is an example. The Government of India constituted Justice Srikrishna Committee to study the

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demand of Telangana movement, but the intellectuals felt that the Committee did not consider actual realities from the grassroots feelings and experiences. It is widely felt that Government constituted this Committee to delay the issue and sideline the problems. It further gave scope for people's agitations. It holds that instead of solving the problem, the State further aggravates the problem. It is also seen that the constitutional provisions or formal arrangement do not get enforced effectively. Thus, role of movements seem to be more to protect rights as there is a gap between the formal and substantive components of democracy.

The neoliberal model of development has further widened the inequalities and became metropolis-centric. Consequently the disparities particularly between the regions instead of being bridged, they are further accentuated. The episode of Telangana regional movement is a fallout of these shortcomings of the democratic experiment of India.

The Telangana movement has been in vogue for more than a decade. After a decade of struggle, the movement picked up. It led to assertion of students, advocates, teachers, employees, communities, trade unions, teachers, lecturers, women, labour, retired army employees and NGOs. These groups formed Joint Action Committees and participated in the movement. The State employed repressive methods. This response of state indicates that the state has not yet matured enough in politically handling the movement. The state considers the movements as law and order problems. Such an approach creates more problems and widens the gap between the state and the people. The study also indicates that people of the region do not have faith in their leaders as the latter stopped respecting the feelings and sentiments of people. Hence the people from all sections without having any political background came forward to participate in the movement. This response has come in the form of mass agitations in entire Telangana region irrespective of their socio-economic background. In this movement, there is a political response from the Home Ministry, Government of India which announced the process of formation of Telangana State.

The leaders from Seema-Andhra region threatened to resign their MLA and MP positions, if the demand for Telangana state is conceded. The Telangana political leadership was not quick to respond nor are united on the demand. This failure of formal political leadership of a backward region made the central Government to go back on its announcement. This led to a series of assertions and heightening of the political movement in the Telangana region. The students from all Universities started relay hunger strikes and some committed suicide. There is a spurt in emergence of Joint Action Committees literally from every walk of life. All these developments suggest seriousness of the demand and do indicate that the electoral politics did not respond to the problem the way they should, forcing the people to go for agitations. Many civil society organizations, caste based organizations, workers, employees, students, women and intellectuals have been participating in the agitations. They used several forms of agitations like fast unto death, relay strikes, blockage of the roads. Dharnas, boycotting educational institutions and Courts became regular activity in the region. Apart from this, leaders from different political parties in the latter stage came together and participated in the movement along with other organizations and individuals though they have different ideological stands.

Several people: youth, students and young women including constable committed suicides. Government employees resigned for their posts. Junior doctors and advocates participated in the movement that gave a moral boost to the movement. It is noticed that though the political leaders took part in the movement but only when the demand came from the Joint Action Committees to resign to their posts. Yet they have not resigned to their MLA and MP seats. Though they resigned because of pressure from the people, the Speaker of the house did not accept their resignations. It indicates that people of the region realized that the state is not sensitive towards the democratic demand like Telangana issue and using the repressive methods to contain the movement.

There is no scope to raise voice and pressurize state to get the problem solved. Instead of solving the problem, state's attitude got further hardened giving rise to the gap between the state and people. With this backdrop, they preferred to commit suicides. The

TRS and one BJP MLA struck to their decision causing a bye-election. During the bye-election campaign, all the Joint Action Committees campaigned for the candidates and this active participation of Joint Action Committees led to the stunning victory of the candidates. The people's organizations, intellectuals, individuals, students, youth and other sister organizations and human rights groups became crucial in the electoral politics. These sections not merely participated actively but succeeded in raising consciousness among the people.

Political parties and institutions have not been effectively functioning and political leadership is not concerned about the problems and democratic demands of the people. In reality the procedural democracy has not been able to address the democratic demands and people opted for agitations to fulfill their democratic urges. In Andhra Pradesh, several political parties have been dominating and a few powerful communities hijacked these parties. Outsides the formal politics there were also several movements like Anti-liquor movement, Dalit movement, Naxalite movement and other identity movements including the Telangana and Jai Andhra movements. Especially Telangana movement has been in debate for the last six decades. Several political parties and peoples organizations emerged for the cause of the separate State and mobilize the people in support of the cause.

The State responded to the movement through coercive and cooption modes. It is found that the state has been delaying the solution constituting Committess, arriving at Pacts and agreements. No agreement has been fully implemented. This approach made the people of the region impatient assertive that led to the demand for separate state rather that integrated state. It is observed that political parties and leaders have not been representing the people's aspirations but using the demand of separate state for their political career. The people lost confidence in political parties and leaders. This resulted in formation of non political organizations like caste based organizations, professional organizations. Advocates organization, teachers, lecturers, Non Gazetted Officers, students and youth came forward and formed into Joint Action Committees. They started organizing people without any "political" motives. These organizations have not been

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merely working for the demand of separate state but raising several questions like dalit rights, tribal rights, monitories rights and women's rights. It is noticed that political parties and leaders failed in addressing these democratic demands but people's organizations are trying to address these issues. In a way, peoples movements for substantive democracy create conditions for creative and democratic society.

The Telangana statehood movement witnessed a wide ranging democratic agitations and created men and women of courage and conviction. The Telangana people's movement is rooted in a historical context and a faulty development model. This entire direction of imbalanced development sharpened the contradictions and created new tensions. The ongoing Telangana movement is a search for some resolution to the contradictions. It maintains that caste and cultural composition, caste oppression, atrocities on Dalits and domination of upper strata is similar in all the three regions. The elite sections in all the regions are strong in terms of land holdings, economy, polity and social domination. It also found that for the last six decades, there were not many efforts to develop this region. Different political formations were formed exclusively to champion the cause of separate state in this region. A few parties succeeded partially in mobilizing the people in support of the demand but quite a few of them have been confined to electoral politics which have no adequate potential to respond.

Political parties have started maintaining dual standards in dealing and making use of the movement for their political gains. The political leadership has been lumpenized as people who have been entering politics in the state of Andhra Pradesh for the last two decades have been from the real estate business, liquor mafia and elite classes that rose from the leakages of huge resources that the state invested in irrigation, roads, public enterprises, mining and other infrastructural development. This pattern of public expenditure through contractors gave rise to a neo-rich class and a wide range of middlemen as they were the direct beneficiaries of the leakages of public funds. These sections are not concerned about the poor and needy and solely working for promoting their own political interests. This leadership has been questioned by the peoples organizations in the Telangana region. The lumpen or mafia lack a basic value framework

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in public affairs. Thus a set of opportunistic, money hunting power elite have been let loose by a faulty developmental model. They became an important component of the political processes of the state. The same leadership is considered as representative of the people as well as movements in Andhra Pradesh. Thus, failure of the leadership made the general mass and opinion makers take the responsibility to fill this gap in the polity and movements.

In the Telangana movement it is clear from the bye-election that people are taking part from all the castes, religions, rural and urban regions. Prior to (2010) KCR's hunger strike, leadership was confined only to a few sections. Though there were people's organizations, activists, intellectuals, students and youth who took recourse to agitational politics, there has been a rise of non formal political processes when many new students' organizations, joint action committees have come up. They included the caste based and profession based organizations who participated in relay strikes all over Telangana region. The students from schools to Universities have been supporting, justifying, participating and forming human chains across the region in support of the movement. The movement not only merely strengthened the voice of people but created awareness among the people. It has also led to creation of new literature and saw birth and rise of new writers, singers, women activists and young boys and girls.

The movement has witnessed two dimensions: the demand for democratic and territorial Statehood. It reveals that most of the opinion makers from weaker sections don't want a mere territorial State but a democratic state in which rights of weaker sections are protected and respected. They are arguing that fruits of the movement should reach the most disadvantaged sections. It is widely felt that territorial statehood is not adequate to meet the democratic aspirations as it benefits political parties, elite sections and leaders. Political dominance of a few elite sections has always been there. This should change. This led to a demand for a democratic society which means that welfare policies have to be implemented in a substantive manner and change in social relations. A few opinion makers felt that there should be a policy on land distribution to develop weaker sections and evolve proper mechanism to implement pro-poor policies in an effective manner.

The movement has witnessed that those who are taking part in the movement are not merely pressurizing the state but engaged in educating the people and educating themselves. Artists who are well educated hailing from rural and weaker sections are able to communicate the demand powerfully to the grassroots. Their knowledge on several issues is extensive. These developments indicate that movements help in creating new political culture. It further observed that political parties have failed to mobilize the people and this void has been filled by the Joint Action Committees. Strategies like lobbying proved inadequate to pressurize the state and the agitations from the grassroots have become necessary. The study observed that views of opinion makers from urban are similar to that of grassroots responses. At grassroots there are widespread democratic concerns. They feel that just a separate state is not useful to weaker sections unless it responds to the feelings of weaker sections. What emerges from the study is that though Indian democracy formally is constitutional, there are provisions to end poverty, disparities, and inequalities. In a real sense they have not been on serious agenda of the elite classes. This gap between promise and performance is obvious. It is such movements which are likely to make the constitutional arrangement relevant not only in terms of its vision but in realizing that vision.

Telangana movement is in the process of filling the gap between electoral politics and peoples aspirations. The movement is going on and many political developments have been taking place as a part of the movement. There is a noticeable tension between the formal democratic parliamentary political process and the substantive socio-political demands through the non-parliamentary Joint Action Committees and other people's organizations. The question that the movement poses is: whether the substantive democratic urges make a difference to parliamentary politics or the latter will marginalize the democratic process? The future research on democratic theory and practice may have to probe into this new and emerging domain of knowledge.

SCHEDULE

POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS
TELANGANA PEOPLES MOVEMENT

Section-I

Name:
Educational Qualification:
Caste:
Gender:
Urban/Rural:
Income:

Section-II

1. In which organization are you working
2. When did the organization emerge
3. Under whose leadership was it started.
4. Under what circumstances it has emerged
   a. Spontaneous
   b. Ideological
   c. Specific problem
   d. Any other reason
5. Which form of protest is more effective that you know ?
6. Do you think about protests?
   a. inter-related
   b. inter-dependent
7. why you have chosen these forms
8. If you have not protested why you have not chosen any form of protest.
9. Do you think that your problem get solved through these forms of protest. Yes or No
   a.   If yes, explain
   b.   If not, why you're agitating.
6. Do you think for solving any problem there has to be a protest? Yes or No
   a.   If yes, explain the reasons
   c.   If no, is there any other alternative, explain
7. Before you start protest what were the other means you used to get the problem solved
10. In a democratic society when we have electoral politics why should we have a protest? Give reasons
    a.   Why do you think so?
    b.   Who are responsible for protests?
11. Give a few examples of people's movements and struggles that you know in Andhra Pradesh since a decade.

12. Do you work for the cause of Telangana separate state?
   a. Yes.
   b. If yes, explain the reasons
   c. If no, why
13. From section do you get the support (moral, financial and other supports)?
   a.   Intellectuals
   b.   Common man
   c.   Human Rights Activists
   d.   Civil societal organizations
   e.   other sister organizations
   f.   State institutions
   g.   Media
   h.   Above sections
   i.   Any other
14. Why do you think so? Why do you think so?
15. How does it influence the government policies
16. It is argued, "Some times protests are becoming violent and going beyond constitutional limitations which are disturbing the government institutions as well as violating human rights of Poor, middle class and others". What is your opinion on the above statement?
17. conflict of interest
18. how should the movements resolve them

Section: III

19. What is the role of political organizations in the movement
20. Which section (class/caste/gender) is participating actively in the movement?
21. Why that particular section/sections are more active than others.
   a. Social background
   b. Economic status
   c. Political motivation
   d. Education
   e. Personal integrity
22. What is the role and involvement of Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes in the Telangana Separate state movement?
23. Are the Dalits of the region participating in the movement with voluntarily? Yes or No.
   a. Political motivation
   b. Sentiment
24. If they support, why they are supporting. Give the causes
25. If not, why they are not supporting.
26. What kind of Telangana are they aspiring.
   a. Territorial
   b. Democratic

27. What is the social status of dalits in Telangana region compared to the other regions in Andhra pradesh?
    a. Vulnerable
    b. Tolerable
    c. Better-off;   d. No bar
28. Could you give the instance of atrocities on Dalits in the region of Telangana?
29. Counter to atrocities; are there any movements for self-respect and dignity?
30. How do you see the Mala Mahanadu and MRPS movements in the separate Telangana state movement?
31. Do you think, there is a need for a dalit movement against the suppression of upper caste in the region parallel to the separate Telangana movement?
32. Do you think dalits in the region are aware of their rights comparing with the other regions?
    a. Education
    b. Political
    c. Social issues
    d. Cultural
    e. Economic issues
33. *Telangana Rastra Samiti* promised to give the Chief Minister post to Dalit community. What do you think so
34. What actual factors made them to give such a kind of promise?
    a. Dalit movement
    b. Political opportunity
    c. Commitment
    d. Mobilization of the poor
    e. Any other
35. There is an argument that "in separate Telangana state, Dalits will not get any political power"
    a. Agree
    b. Do not agree
36. What is the role of dalit Telangana movement?
37. What is the role of women Telangana movement?
38. What is the role other backward classes Telangana movement?
39. What are the problems that are faced?
40. What is the role of Maoists in the Separate Telangana Movement?
41. why are they supporting
    a. Political power
    b. Increase their strength
    c. Ideological stand
    d. Leadership from Telangana region
    e. another
42. If separate Telangana state is formed, do you think that the problem of Naxalism could be peacefully solved in separate Telangana state?
    a. If yes, give the reasons
    b. If no, why do you think so

43. There is an argument that "if the government delays in giving separate Telangana state, there is a chance of Maoist movement getting strengthened". Do you agree with this argument? Yes or No
    a. If yes, why
    b. If no, why
44. When they have come for the peace talks with Government of Andhra Pradesh, what was their stand and agenda on Separate Telangana statehood demand
45. What kind of Telangana state are they aspiring.
    a. Territorial
    b. Democratic
46. why they are supporting particular kind of (above given) Telangana state
47. What is the role of artists in the Telangana movement?
48. What means are they adopting in their protest movement?
49. What is the social, economic and political background of the artists
50. Who are the main artists participating actively in the movement? Please name them
51. Explain what their ideological background.
52. What kind of Telangana are they aspiring.
53. From where they get funds for their activities
54. Do all the artists work together? Yes or No
    a. If yes, explain
    b. if no, why

Section: IV

55. Does the Telangana Rastra Samiti have any agenda for the upliftment of Dalits, Tribals, Minorities and women? Explain them.
56. Do the TRS implementing the agenda substantially in its party committees. Explain briefly.
57. Do you think backward castes are happy with their representations in TRS?
58. Do you think marginalized sections have proper representation in TRS?
59. What do these sections think about TRS?
60. Do they own it? Yes or No
    a. If yes, explain
    b. If not, why.
61. Does it have any support from political parties/organizations/individuals who are struggling for Telangana?
62. If yes, give explanation. If not why?
63. What kind of strategy the Telangana Rastra Samiti (TRS) followed since its formation.
64. Does the TRS succeed? Yes or No.
    a. If yes, explain
    b. If no, give reasons
65. Could you explain strong points of TRS? What is the impact of these developments on the movement?
66. Explains the limitations of TRS

67. Explain why TRS party had set up idols of Telangana Talli in the region.
68. What does the idol represent?
    a. Regional sentiment
    b. Creating the awareness among the people
    c. culture
69. What are the forms of protests followed
    a. Rallies
    b. Padayatra. d. Dhoom-dhaam programme; c. others
70. What is the response they got from the people? Is it positive or negative? Are they able to influence the people as well as government
71. What are the main objectives of the dhoom-dhaam programme?
72. Do the organizations have any conflict/differences among themselves or with the other political parties that are working for the same cause?
    a. If. Yes, give the causes
    b. If not, explain briefly
73. If they have differences, why the differences have arose. Give the reasons. Is there any impact on the strengthening/weakening the movement?
74. What is the difference between the Telangana movement in 1960s and ongoing Telangana agitation since 1990s?
    a. Strategy
    b. People's involvement
    c. Commitment of leadership
    d. Student participation
    e. youth participation
    f. Ideology
    g. State response
    h. Response from other regions

Section: V

75. "It is possible to coordinate the movements and political process with reference to Telangana movement". Comment on this statement.
    a. It is difficult
    b. Lot of risk involved
76. How does government make use of this situation to bring down the movement?
77. Is there anything that one can learn from the other movements which struggled for the separate statehood in the country?
78. Is there any agenda of the political parties to develop these sections after the formations of separate state?
    a. Reservations
    b. Political opportunities
    c. Educational opportunities
    d. Handicrafts
79. What is your opinion about the other political parties who supports for the Telangana separate statehood demand?

a. Telangana sentiment
b. Assertion of the people
c. Political opportunism
d. Self interest
e. Above all

80. Explain briefly on Chiranjeevi's notion of social justice with reference to Telangana movement.
81. Do you think that Backward Classes would get political power, as they are more in number in the region?
82. Do you think that there is a chance to continue the Telangana movement by taking the issues/problems of SC/ST/OBCs.
83. "As on today why the movement doesn't dealt with the social problems in the region"? What are the reasons? Comment.
84. Why the common people from these communities think about separate Telangana Movement? Do they favour fort separate Telangana state?
   a. If yes. Why
   b. If no, why
85. How is the response from the OBCs in Telangana movement?
   a. Are they are participate voluntarily
   b. Forcefully
   c. Just for the sake of selfish motives
86. What is the role of youth in the movement?
87. What are the means that the political parties and civil society organizations using to mobilize the youth to build the movement.
88. Do they have youth organizations?
89. Could you explain briefly about the students/scholars involvement in the movement
90. What kind of strategies they are using to strengthen the movement?
91. Students who are actively participating in the movement are from which caste/community or poor/middle/ rich class.
92. Why only these sections are participating in the movement
   a. Respect for their region
   b. Hate the people of the other regions
   c. Self-rule and self-respect
   d. Cultural factors
   e. Historical aspects
   f. Impact of the other regional movements
   g. All above
93. What do you think of women's participation in the movement?
94. What do you think about film actress Ms. Vijayashanti's movement for Telangana cause?
   a. Women assertion
   b. SC/ST assertion
   c. Political opportunitism
95. What kind of Telangana she is aspiring for.
   a. People's Telangana

b. Telangana state that respects women
96. Do you think she is getting support to strengthen the movement? If yes? From where?
   a. Intellectuals
   b. Women
   c. Dalits
97. Are women in favour of Telangana state? If yes, why?
98. Do they have respectable representation in the organizations?
99. Are they getting a role?
100. From which community women mainly participating in the movement.
101. Do they have any plan to form a separate organization to participate in the movement, so that, they would have the scope/role in the policy making in separate Telangana state?
102. Are the Muslims supporting the Telangana movement? Yes or No
   a. Which are the sections that are supporting
   b. Which are the sections that are opposing
103. Political party like MIM is not supporting the movement. Why
   a. Political opportunitism
   b. Religious sentiment
   c. Separate Hyderabad state
104. What are the promises that the political parties make to develop the Muslims in the region?
105. Could you mention few promises that make by the political parties for dalits,
106. Could you mention few promises that make by the political parties Tribals?
107. Could you mention few promises that make by the political parties, B.C.s
108. Are women satisfied with those promises?
109. What is the role of electronic and print media (electronic-ETV, TV-9,TV-5, NTV,HMTV and print-Sakshi, Eenadu, Vaartha, Andhra Jyothi and Sakshi) on the separate Telangana movement?
   a. Supportive
   b. Opposite
   c. Neutral
   d. Democratic voice
110. What are strategies that the government uses to bring down the movement?
   a. Divide the leaders and activists
   b. Use the religion and caste
   c. Use the force
   d. Encouraging the leaders of other regions for integrated state

111. What do you think about representative politics in Indian democracy?
   a. Effective
   b. Not effective
112. Do you think people's movements could be useful in running the government effectively?

113. What is the response of the state towards people's movements in general and Telangana movement in particular?
114.

Section: VI

115. How do you define democracy?
116. What do you think of Indian Democracy
117. Explain briefly politics of Andhra Pradesh.
118. Explain the politics of Telangana region
119. Do you believe that has Indian democracy succeeded?
    a. If yes, give explanation
    b. b. If not, explain some reasons

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<u>SYNOPSIS</u>

POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS TELANGANA PEOPLES MOVEMENT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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IN

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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Introduction

This study tries to understand the overall trends of democracy and people's movements. It attempts to conceptualize democracy, human rights, civil society, development and people's movements and see the differences, interrelation and interdependence among them. It also analyzes role of political associations and tries to analyze formal and substantive democracy. It examines emergence of struggles and traces evolution of the notion of rights, liberalization process and its impact on Indian Polity. In this backdrop it looks at the separate statehood agitations and more specifically separate Telangana movement in post independent India and looks at relevance of people's movements to a democratic society. It also looks at dynamics of an evolving democratic polity in a transitional society and polity.

Human rights and democracy have historically been presenting varied notions and parallel concepts but they are basically interrelated and interdependent. Democracy refers to government by the people, and human rights refer to universal rights that apply to all individuals in all societies. However, both human rights and democracy as concepts are dynamic and diverse, and both the ideas have led to a discourse that recognizes their mutual relation. Definitions of democracy have expanded beyond the traditional procedural democracy to the ideals of a substantive democracy. Likewise, human rights framework has begun to further develop conceptions of social, economic, and cultural rights, in addition to civil and political rights. Thus, the notion of human rights expands to human security and freedom at the collective as well as individual levels. These expanded definitions present opportunities for recognizing the convergence of the theories and fields related to human rights and democracy

The term democracy has been used as a generic term and the term has undergone a series of changes in meaning. Democracy as evolved by the Greeks in the 4th century B.C. meant direct rule of the assembled people. Democracy was then widely projected as a form of government which provided a just society.[1] As it entails a system which ensured the participation of the ignorant masses and decisions are made on the basis of the majority decision. This majority principle was not considered as a substitute to the system of rule by the Monarchs. After the

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[1]Eva Erman, Human Rights and Democracy: Discourse Theory and Global Rights Institutions, Ashgate Publishing Company, Burlington, 2005, p.4.

American and French revolutions human society arrived at the principle or form of representative government. The modern democracy often equated with liberal democracy. It developed in the Age of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century in opposition to the divine rule of the Monarchs and the idea that all people are created equal questioned the foundation of political authority based on noble blood. One of its main concerns was promotion of individual rights. Its corner stones are equality, liberty, justice and limited government. This modern form of liberal democracy has been enlarged mainly by capitalism and its commitment to and promotion of individual rights. However, since democracy is used as a generic term it cannot be equated with liberal democracy. George Sorenson pointed out that democracy is a "dynamic entity that has many different definitions" as a result of which "its meaning remains subject to debate". Democracy has come to acquire the most widespread ideological legitimacy in the world as a form of government by the end of the twentieth century. Despite of its worldwide appeal, it is not free from controversies. This is so, since democracy is invariably a work in progress.[2]

The democracy and human rights are interrelated and interdependent. It holds that with the result of sacrifices of several people, revolutions and wars, today humanity is witnessing human rights and democracy. There are several international human rights organizations apart from governmental institutions which are striving for promotion and protection of human rights. India is too a part of this whole historical process. The study found that though humanity has witnessed the rights that existed in the universal documents but they have not been effectively implemented. Indian freedom struggle gave boost to the evolution of rights discourse in India and it has had a major impact on Indian constitution which emphasized on freedom: social, economic, political and cultural. But after sixty years of independence, it is found that there is a gap between formulation and implementation of constitutional values. This gap gave scope for people's agitations. Many scholars argue that people's movements strive for deepening of democracy. To understand these theoretical debates, the study focused on ongoing Telangana movement and tried to see the political trends which indicate the overall direction of peoples movements and the underlying principles of democratic advancements.

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[2]ibid. p.4.

The study analyzed formal and substantive forms of democracy and finds that the spirit of freedom struggle in India is gradually shrinking, memories of independence are dwindling and leadership is becoming self-centered. The electoral politics provided more opportunities to elite sections than poor people. This leadership, by and large, is not working for the holistic development of communities. This callous attitude of leadership led to violation of human rights and inevitably gave rise to people's agitations. For instance India which is considered a democracy formally lacks substantive content. It is suffering from several limitations like jati, ethinic identities, cultural variations and geographical differences. The study holds that Indian democracy is facing several hurdles like great pessimism among the people and disappointment with the institutions. Leaders who occupy positions in these institutions lack principles. The study further holds that there has been a decline of morality in public life with rampant corruption and growing of an unclean political climate. There has been a sharp increase in social disharmony and therefore caste conflicts and casteism have become the key factors of expression of dissent.

It also observed that the State gradually shifting its responsibilities to non state actors: national and international. The state has been depending on experts to study the problem and suggest solutions to overcome the problems. This strategy, it argues, many times State has been using either dilute the issue or delay the process and escape from its responsibilities. These expert committees have been giving their reports based on their pre conceived notions that they have. The state is encouraging the experts who believe neo liberal model of development from corporate background and trained abroad. This is sad symptom of Indian democracy. These people give advices to the governments that are not based on welfare model of development. The Andhra Pradesh political economy is an example. The Government of India constituted Justice Srikrishna Committee to study the demand of Telangana movement, but the intellectuals felt that the Committee did not consider actual realities from the grassroots feelings and experiences. It is widely felt that Government constituted this Committee to delay the issue and sideline the problems. It further gave scope for people's agitations. It holds that instead of solving the problem, the State further aggravates the problem. It is also seen that the constitutional provisions or formal arrangement do not get enforced effectively. Thus, role of movements seem

to be more to protect rights as there is a gap between the formal and substantive components of democracy.

The Telangana movement has been in vogue for more than a decade. After a decade of struggle, the movement picked up. It led to assertion of students, advocates, teachers, employees, communities, trade unions, teachers, lecturers, women, labour, retired army employees and NGOs. These groups formed Joint Action Committees and participated in the movement. The State employed repressive methods. This response of state indicates that the state has not yet matured enough in politically handling the movement. The state considers the movements as law and order problems. Such an approach creates more problems and widens the gap between the state and the people. The study also indicates that people of the region do not have faith in their leaders as the latter stopped respecting the feelings and sentiments of people. Hence the people from all sections without having any political background came forward to participate in the movement. This response has come in the form of mass agitations in entire Telangana region irrespective of their socio-economic background. In this movement, there is a political response from the Home Ministry, Government of India which announced the process of formation of Telangana State.

The leaders from Seema-Andhra region threatened to resign their MLA and MP positions, if the demand for Telangana state is conceded. The Telangana political leadership was not quick to respond nor are united on the demand. This failure of formal political leadership of a backward region made the central Government to go back on its announcement. This led to a series of assertions and heightening of the political movement in the Telangana region. The students from all Universities started relay hunger strikes and some committed suicide. There is a spurt in emergence of Joint Action Committees literally from every walk of life. All these developments suggest seriousness of the demand and do indicate that the electoral politics did not respond to the problem the way they should, forcing the people to go for agitations. Many civil society organizations, caste based organizations, workers, employees, students, women and intellectuals have been participating in the agitations. They used several forms of agitations like fast unto death, relay strikes, blockage of the roads. Dharnas, boycotting educational institutions and Courts became regular activity in the region. Apart from this, leaders from different political

parties in the latter stage came together and participated in the movement along with other organizations and individuals though they have different ideological stands.

Several people: youth, students and young women including constable committed suicides. Government employees resigned for their posts. Junior doctors and advocates participated in the movement that gave a moral boost to the movement. It is noticed that though the political leaders took part in the movement but only when the demand came from the Joint Action Committees to resign to their posts. Yet they have not resigned to their MLA and MP seats. Though they resigned because of pressure from the people, the Speaker of the house did not accept their resignations. It indicates that people of the region realized that the state is not sensitive towards the democratic demand like Telangana issue and using the repressive methods to contain the movement.

There is no scope to raise voice and pressurize state to get the problem solved. Instead of solving the problem, state's attitude got further hardened giving rise to the gap between the state and people. With this backdrop, they preferred to commit suicides. The TRS and one BJP MLA struck to their decision causing a bye-election. During the bye-election campaign, all the Joint Action Committees campaigned for the candidates and this active participation of Joint Action Committees led to the stunning victory of the candidates. The people's organizations, intellectuals, individuals, students, youth and other sister organizations and human rights groups became crucial in the electoral politics. These sections not merely participated actively but succeeded in raising consciousness among the people.

The State responded to the movement through coercive and cooption modes. It is found that the state has been delaying the solution constituting Committess, arriving at Pacts and agreements. No agreement has been fully implemented. This approach made the people of the region impatient assertive that led to the demand for separate state rather that integrated state. It is observed that political parties and leaders have not been representing the people's aspirations but using the demand of separate state for their political career. The people lost confidence in political parties and leaders. This resulted in formation of non political organizations like caste based organizations, professional organizations. Advocates organization, teachers, lecturers, Non

Gazetted Officers, students and youth came forward and formed into Joint Action Committees. They started organizing people without any "political" motives. These organizations have not been merely working for the demand of separate state but raising several questions like dalit rights, tribal rights, monitories rights and women's rights. It is noticed that political parties and leaders failed in addressing these democratic demands but people's organizations are trying to address these issues. In a way, peoples movements for substantive democracy create conditions for creative and democratic society.

The Telangana statehood movement witnessed a wide ranging democratic agitations and created men and women of courage and conviction. The Telangana people's movement is rooted in a historical context and a faulty development model. This entire direction of imbalanced development sharpened the contradictions and created new tensions. The ongoing Telangana movement is a search for some resolution to the contradictions. It maintains that caste and cultural composition, caste oppression, atrocities on Dalits and domination of upper strata is similar in all the three regions. The elite sections in all the regions are strong in terms of land holdings, economy, polity and social domination. It also found that for the last six decades, there were not many efforts to develop this region. Different political formations were formed exclusively to champion the cause of separate state in this region. A few parties succeeded partially in mobilizing the people in support of the demand but quite a few of them have been confined to electoral politics which have no adequate potential to respond.

In the Telangana movement it is clear from the bye-election that people are taking part from all the castes, religions, rural and urban regions. Prior to (2010) KCR's hunger strike, leadership was confined only to a few sections. Though there were people's organizations, activists, intellectuals, students and youth who took recourse to agitational politics, there has been a rise of non formal political processes when many new students' organizations, joint action committees have come up. They included the caste based and profession based organizations who participated in relay strikes all over Telangana region. The students from schools to Universities have been supporting, justifying, participating and forming human chains across the region in support of the movement. The movement not only merely strengthened the voice of people but

created awareness among the people. It has also led to creation of new literature and saw birth and rise of new writers, singers, women activists and young boys and girls.

The movement has witnessed two dimensions: the demand for democratic and territorial Statehood. It reveals that most of the opinion makers from weaker sections don't want a mere territorial State but a democratic state in which rights of weaker sections are protected and respected. They are arguing that fruits of the movement should reach the most disadvantaged sections. It is widely felt that territorial statehood is not adequate to meet the democratic aspirations as it benefits political parties, elite sections and leaders. Political dominance of a few elite sections has always been there. This should change. This led to a demand for a democratic society which means that welfare policies have to be implemented in a substantive manner and change in social relations. A few opinion makers felt that there should be a policy on land distribution to develop weaker sections and evolve proper mechanism to implement pro-poor policies in an effective manner.

The movement has witnessed that those who are taking part in the movement are not merely pressurizing the state but engaged in educating the people and educating themselves. Artists who are well educated hailing from rural and weaker sections are able to communicate the demand powerfully to the grassroots. Their knowledge on several issues is extensive. These developments indicate that movements help in creating new political culture. It further observed that political parties have failed to mobilize the people and this void has been filled by the Joint Action Committees. Strategies like lobbying proved inadequate to pressurize the state and the agitations from the grassroots have become necessary. The study observed that views of opinion makers from urban are similar to that of grassroots responses. At grassroots there are widespread democratic concerns. They feel that just a separate state is not useful to weaker sections unless it responds to the feelings of weaker sections. What emerges from the study is that though Indian democracy formally is constitutional, there are provisions to end poverty, disparities, and inequalities. In a real sense they have not been on serious agenda of the elite classes. This gap between promise and performance is obvious. It is such movements which are likely to make the constitutional arrangement relevant not only in terms of its vision but in realizing that vision.

Telangana movement is in the process of filling the gap between electoral politics and peoples aspirations. The movement is going on and many political developments have been taking place as a part of the movement. There is a noticeable tension between the formal democratic parliamentary political process and the substantive socio-political demands through the non-parliamentary Joint Action Committees and other people's organizations. The question that the movement poses is: whether the substantive democratic urges make a difference to parliamentary politics or the latter will marginalize the democratic process? The future research on democratic theory and practice may have to probe into this new and emerging domain of knowledge

Studies on Democracy

In the book 'Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy written by Barrington Moore Jr. explain the varied political roles played by the landed upper classes and the peasantry in the transformation from agrarian societies to modern industrial ones. It is an attempt to discover the range of historical conditions under which either or both of these rural groups have become important forces behind the emergence of Western parliamentary versions of democracy, and dictatorships; the right and the left; fascist and communist regimes. The first part of the book presents a discussion of the democratic and capitalist way to the modern age as this transformation worked itself out in England, France, and the United States. The other part of the text focuses on Germany and Russia in order to show how the social origins of fascism and communism in Europe differed from those of parliamentarydemocracy. As part of this process new social arrangements have grown up in certain countries by political leaders at different points in time during the first half of the twentieth century. The focus of interest is on innovation that has led to political power, not on the spread and reception of institutions that have been hammered out elsewhere, except where they have led to significant power in world politics. The analysis of the transformation of agrarian society in specific countries produces results at least as rewarding as larger generalizations. It is a necessary designation for certain violent changes that took place in English, French, and American societies on the way to becoming modern industrial democracies and the historians connect with the Puritan Revolution (the English Civil War), the French Revolution, and the American Civil War. A key feature in such revolutions is the

development of a group in society with an independent economic base, which attacks obstacles to a democratic version of capitalism that have been inherited from the past. [3]

Rajni Kothari's 'Rethinking Democracy' is a monograph on democracy and it revisits the core arguments that he has laid down in his varied writings in the past four decades. Kothari interrogates some of his earlier formulations on democracy, state and civil society, developing a new paradigm on the basis of his experience. Kothari makes a critique of current democratic theory and practice in the changing global as well as Indian context and concludes that democracy has failed to achieve its objectives of human emancipation. However, he says, this disillusionment with democracy does not deter Kothari from searching for an alternative model for a decentralized, participatory and emancipatory democracy. Rethinking of democracy offers once again what should be termed a Kotharian framework of political theory that combines empirical observations, critical analysis and far-reaching vision. The author tried to conceptualize democracy in the twenty-first century. Kothari develops some interesting perspectives that seek to transform the current pessimistic questioning of the democratic way of life into 'an agenda transformative politics, and social and cultural emancipation. Crucially, for Kothari, rethinking democracy does not mean rethinking politics or the role of politics. Rather, in response to the challenges posed by socio-economic inequalities, the workings of the late capitalisms, the ambiguous implications of globalization and fundamentalist communalism, democracy ought to be more than politics. He believes that it could be a tool of social and economic transformation by extending its concerns from functional institutional arrangements to a multiplicity of emancipatory drives that encompass a range of human behaviour and activities from productive capacities to moral development. Democracy is effectively seen as a function of contradictory process. On the other hand there appears to be a resurgence in democratic faith among the poor and the hitherto victimized', as projected by grass-roots movements of ecologists, feminists and tribal groups. The persuasive arguments that challenge the myth of representative democracy in the post-cold-war era notwithstanding, some important points do call for closer scrutiny. Kothari's model of transformative democracy depends on notions of 'pluralism' and the 'masses' that are non-conflictual and non-confrontational. Certainly remains as how irreducible difference allows for the emergence of such a democratic system in the first

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[3] Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in Making Modern World*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.

place. Rethinking Democracy is a statement of mission, informed and informative. Despite his disillusionment and the contradictions of Indian democracy, Kothari is of the view that India has forged a truly democratic future for itself and recognized the need to think beyond the merely 'political' and tap deeper psycho-spiritual dimensions of Indian reality.[4]

In the article "Micro Movements in India: Towards a Politics of Participatory Democracy" D.L Sheth envisages the relevance of micro movements in the era of globalization. He argues when the global discourse on democracy has become undimensional, purveying the neo-liberal model of market democracy as the one and universally desirable model. When Indian state begun to link itself to the vertical hierarchy of global economic and political power, strong countervailing political and social movements have emerged in India at the local and regional levels. These micro-movements led by grassroots groups of social activities, have been active in different parts of India for over three decades working on different issues, albeit all concerning struggles of the economically marginalized and socially excluded population of the poor. But actually in the decade of the 1990s, many of these micro-movements have aligned together and formed larger alliances to protest against the Indian state on the issue of globalization even as they get in direct confrontation with the institutions and organizations representing the global economic and political parties. In this process of opportunity to globalization, the micro-movements in India have begun to raise a new discourse on democracy and invent political practices, expanding the arena of politics much beyond the representational institutions of elections and political parties. Thus, the micro movements have been fighting politically on several issues concerning the poor much before they joined the globalization; it is the challenge of globalization that has brought many of them together on common political forums at the provincial and national levels and making issues of participatory democracy a part of their ongoing struggles. This paper also analyzes the discourse and politics of micro-movements and their role in reinventing participatory democracy as a form of social action and political practice, creating new spaces and infusing deeper meaning to democracy in the globalizing world. He has taken several movements and tries to assess relevance of politics of participation and democracy, how it could be useful to strengthening and deepening of Indian democracy.[5]

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[4] Rajni Kothari, Rethinking Democracy, Orient Longman Publications, New Delhi, 2005.
[5] D. L. Sheth, Globalization and New Politics of Micro Movements, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 39, No. 39, Jan-Feb, 2004, pp.47-59.

Objectives

- Conceptualization of Democracy, Movements and Human Rights.

- Assessing Indian democracy: formal and substantive

- Assessing movements and see the trends of strengthening or weakening of democracy.

- Examining the Telangana Statehood movement: origins, issues and concerns.

- Assessing the role of political and societal organizations in Telangana movement.

- Focusing on Telangana people's Movement and electoral politics in the region.

- Assess the Telangana movement: Territorial Versus Democratic.

Scope and Limitations of the study

Indian State has been witnessing the people's movement for long time. Though, there were movements in 1970s but they gradually started increasing from 1980s as globalization and privatization process has been initiated during this period. It is argued that the State is gradually moving away from its responsibilities and private sector is taking over the public domain like industry, education and health sectors. This negative response of the rulers and State led to spurt in people's movements like Dalit, tribal, women, environment, student, farmers, regional and sub-regional movements. Telangana separate Statehood movement is one of them. All civil societal organizations and political parties have been debating directly or indirectly over this issue. A few studies argue that in the region of Telangana, a majority people demand separate State, hence, it is important to study the movement to understand politics of participatory democracy in the perspective of rights of marginalized sections. This kind of study and research in Political Science and Human Rights will fill in the gap and provide deeper meaning to the study.

The study on democracy, movements and human rights is not a new field in the academic world. Several studies have been done on those issues, but it is in fact further studies on those areas need to be explored. As India's democracy is in dilemma its successes or failure depends on the nature of functioning of democracy. There is in-depth debate that is going on among the scholars in the academic world. The 'Telangana Peoples Movement' provides a vantage point. To asses Indian democracy and its formal and substantive notions, this case looks at many social concerns, commitments, grassroots participation from all the sections. The demand of Telangana

also includes rights of Dalits, Tribals, Adivasis, and Minorities which helps in exchanging the scope of the study.

The Telangana movement is a fit case to understand even the nature of the State vis-à-vis people's assertion. In the process, the study also tries to understand the interrelation and interdependence among them, and try to asses how grass-root movements could strive for deepening, substantialization of democracy and ultimately create human beings with human concerns. They study does not claim that it has achieved it but it believes that research should be carried on in that direction. The study interviewed activists who are a part of the movement. To cross check the views of the activists, study has also covered rural opinion makers in the three districts in Telangana region. In each district, one village has been selected. Researcher also observed public meetings, seminars, protests organized by the activists of Telangana region.

Hypothesis

"People's movements would deepen and transform formal democracy into substantive democracy in terms of enlarging the space for people's participation and assertion of human rights, particularly of the marginalized sections".

Methodology

The study looks at agitation that espoused the cause of Telangana and the methods that it adopted either as a part of the movement or parallel to the movement. The study covered cross section of the people that include political leaders, academicians and several activists. The secondary data includes various articles published in journals, Internet, regional and national news papers. Study also used exploratory methods, open-ended questionnaire and purposive sample to elicit relevant information. The Study interviewed the respondents from urban and rural Telangana, the limitations being that it interviewed only the opinion makers from three districts in the region; viz; Karim Nagar, Medak and Mahaboob Nagar but not the people. The districts are selected based on purposive sampling of opinion makers as they represent varied levels of involvement in the Telangana Movement. This, it is hoped, will give a fairly representative view of public opinion and also participation.

Chapterization

Introduction chapter tries to understand the overall trends of democracy and people's movements. It attempts to conceptualize democracy, human rights, civil society, development and people's movements and see the differences, interrelation and interdependence among them. It also analyzes role of political associations and tries to analyze formal and substantive democracy. It examines emergence of struggles and traces evolution of the notion of rights, liberalization process and its impact on Indian Polity. In this backdrop it looks at the separate statehood agitations and more specifically separate Telangana movement in post independent India and looks at relevance of people's movements to a democratic society. It also looks at dynamics of an evolving democratic polity in a transitional society and polity.

One chapter focuses on Democracy and Human Rights: Concept and Context. It tries to comprehend the essence of people's movements and their impact on democracy. It is also focus the theoretical concepts of liberal democracy, human rights, development and inter-connection among them. This chapter attempts to see the notion of democracy in a critical manner. The study intends to focus on Bentham's utilitarianism and Rawlsian theory of justice to assess the concept of individual and collective. This study analyses also further several perspectives of democracies: liberal, feminist and neo-liberal. It also focuses on human rights, their evolution and human rights movement in India, its prospects and challenges.

Second chapter explores Politics of Participation: Deepening of Democracy. It focuses on relevance of social movements in general and people's movements in particular and tries to comprehend the notion of participation. It assesses how movements strive for transformation of the Nation State from authoritarianism to democracy. The study also tries to contextualize the concepts like movements, social movements, politics, participation and people's movements. The study covers inter-related and inter-dependent issues of movements.

Third chapter focuses on Indian Democracy: Vitalities and Vulnerabilities. it intends to intends to analyze Indian Democracy in both the aspects: strengths and limitations. To assess the Indian democracy through its practices, the study argues that formal system carries philosophical and theoretical milieu from its past experience but shows that it hasn't been implemented

substantially. Indian democracy is not an exception to this debate. The study critically looks at the assessment social scientists of success and failure of Indian democracy.

Fourth chapter deals with the Separate Telangana Movement: The Demand for Statehood.

The chapter deals with Separate Telangana Movement: the issues and the concerns that are involved in it. It focuses on the brief history of Andhra Pradesh particularly of the Telangana region. It analyzes the reasons for the movement, examines the electoral politics and the political developments in the movement. This chapter further explores the attitude of the State and of the leadership and the complexities involved in the movement after 2009 general elections. It tries to see the relation between the electoral politics and the movement. It looks at the attitude of law enforcement agencies and judiciary towards such movements. In probing the phenomenon, the study tries to assess the democratic processes and trends that this movement has thrown up.

Fifth chapter emphasizes on the Separate Telangana Movement: The Demand for Democratic Rights. It attempts to assess the movement from the angle of deepening of democracy. This chapter covers democratic debates from different social groups, political formations, democratic voices and grassroots perceptions. The study reflects on people's aspirations and underlying democratic drives. To probe into the process of democracy, this chapter looks at the nature of the ongoing debates and their democratic import. In the backdrop the study tries to see democratic rights demands within Telangana movement with a hope that it would provide a deeper insight into the dialectics and dynamics of democracy.

Last chapter presents findings and trends of the movement.