

Contesting Municipal Elections: Motivations & Strategies

(A Study of Kalyan-Dombivali Municipal Corporation Election 2015)

Report of a Research Project
Undertaken by
Mr. Sanjay Patil

Under the Guidance of
Professor Surendra Jondhale
Department of Civics & Politics
University of Mumbai

An Initiative of
Institute of Democracy and Election Management
A Wing of



State Election Commission, Maharashtra
2016

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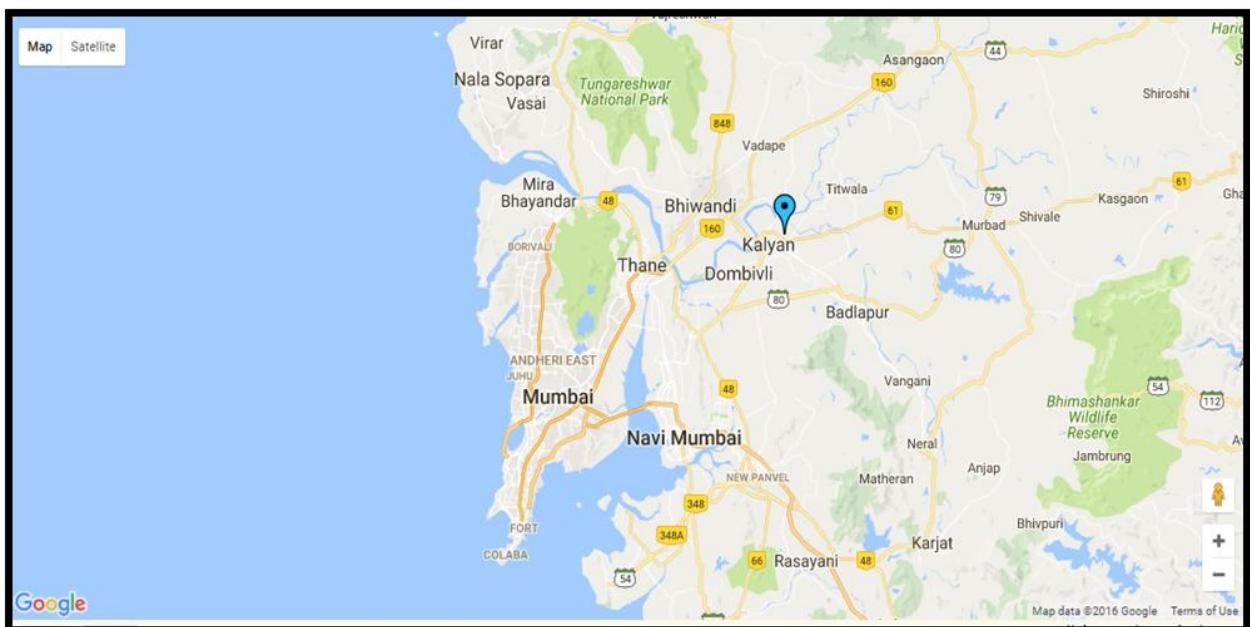
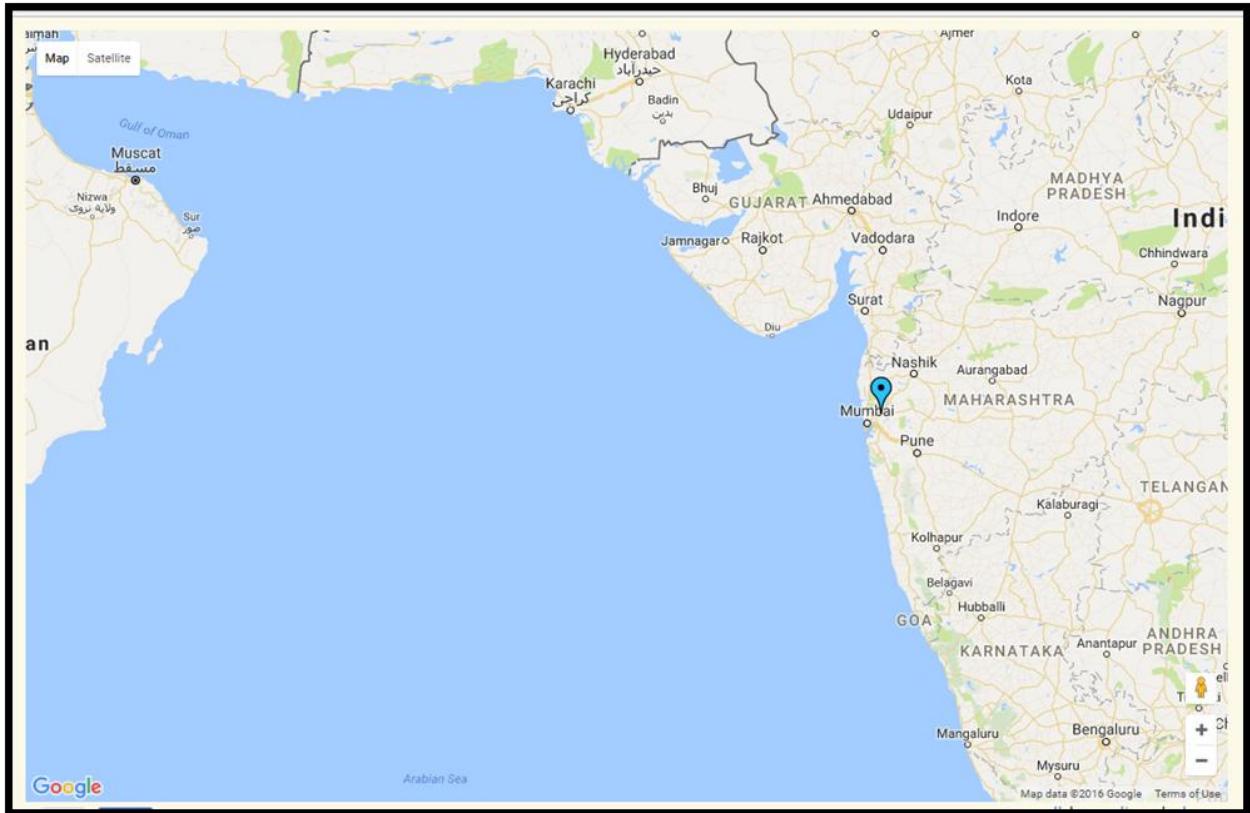
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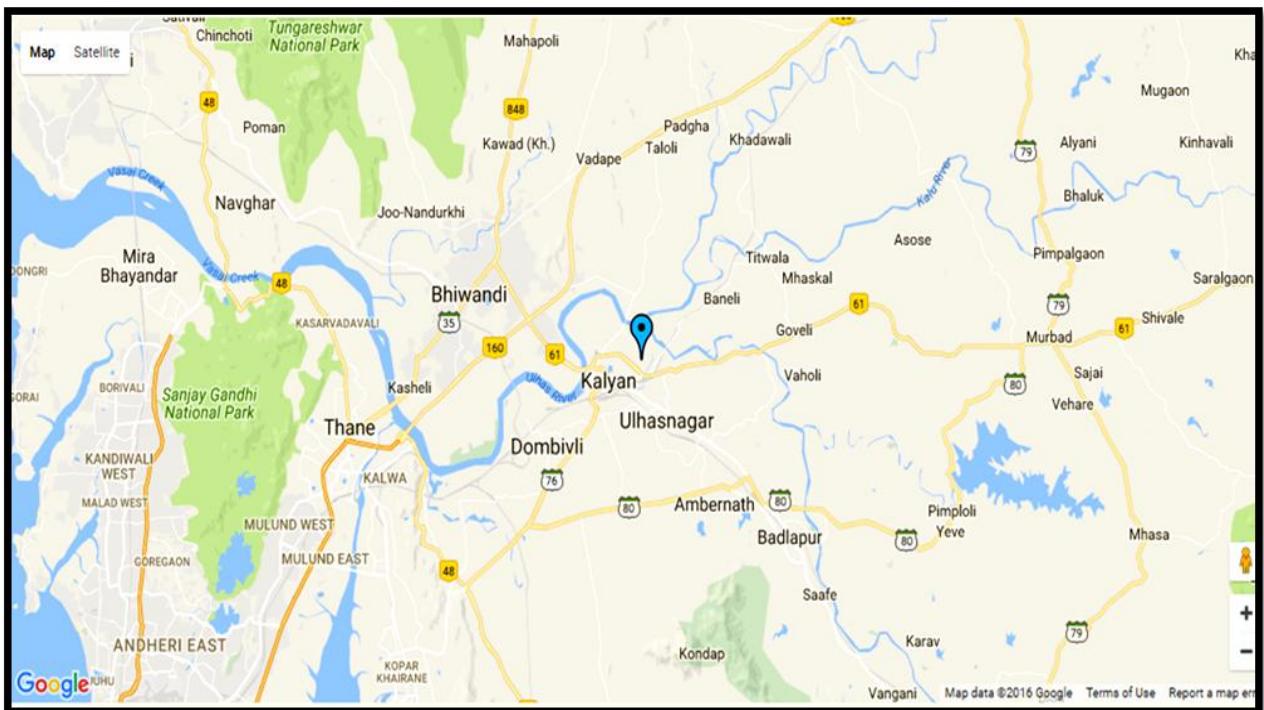
**Professor Surendra Jondhale
Department of Civics & Politics
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Locating Kalyan-Dombivali from google satellite map





(Source: <http://www.maplandia.com/india/maharashtra/thane/kalyan/> accessed on 20th August, 2016)



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Foreword

Realising the importance of grass root level democracy, the Indian Constitution was amended in 1992 paving the way for an independent State Election Commission in each state for conducting free, fair and transparent elections to the Local Bodies.

Totally different dynamics of politics probably exist in the local body elections since they have a very small elector base and revolve around local issues. In any case they are contested more fiercely.

State Election Commission, Maharashtra realising the need to understand the dynamics of politics of these elections decided in April 2015 to involve various Universities and Research Institutes in the task of knowledge creation in this neglected area.

I am happy that the Department of Civics and Politics, University of Mumbai is one of the first Universities in the State to undertake a Research Project in this direction titled “Contesting Municipal elections : Motivation and Strategies” with reference to the elections of Kalyan Dombivali Municipal Corporation held in September – October 2015. The State Election Commission provided the necessary funds of Rs. 1.20 lakhs for carrying out the above project.

The main objective of the above study is to understand the motivational factors behind contesting the local elections, strategies used to influence the voters and to identify the sources of funding.

The Research Report has been completed by Mr. Sanjay Patil (Research Coordinator) over a period of nearly six months under the guidance of Dr. Surendra Jondhale and patronage of Dr. Sanjay Deshmukh, Vice Chancellor of University of Mumbai.

I expect this Research Project to be of use to all stakeholders including those in Government, Researchers, Municipal Corporations, political parties, prospective candidates and the general public.

**Shri. J.S. Saharia
State Election Commissioner, Maharashtra**



University of Mumbai

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SANJAY DESHMUKH PhD

VICE-CHANCELLOR

PREFACE

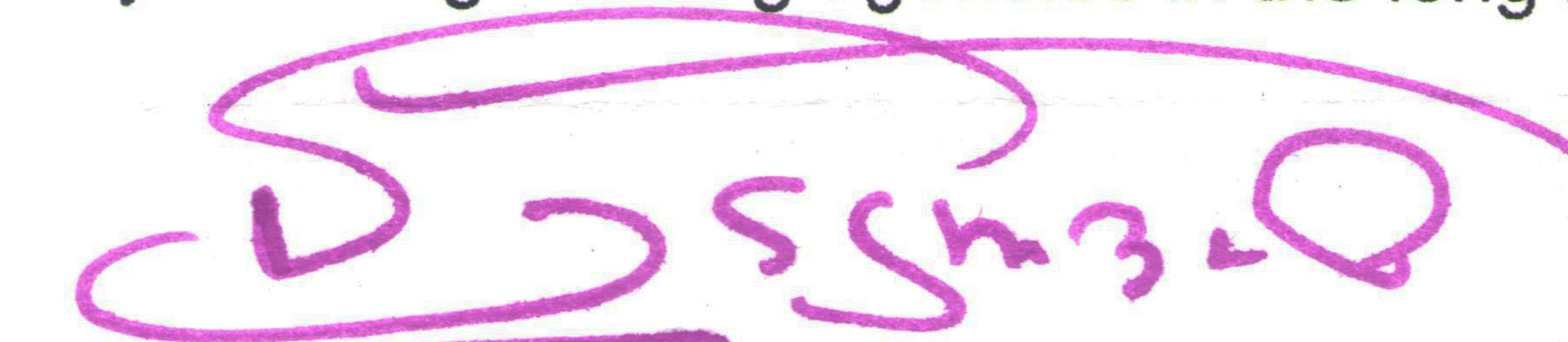
Elections in India are regarded as the biggest celebration of its democracy. A study of elections and electoral reforms is critical for understanding both the working of a country's democratic system and its interactions with the social systems.

The University of Mumbai, established in 1857 is committed towards academic excellence. Through several research projects, surveys and field action projects, students and faculty members of the University have worked closely with governmental agencies, often aiding the policy making process at various levels. The Department of Civics and Politics, University of Mumbai has been working in the area of election studies for last few years. In this regard, I appreciate the initiative of the State Election Commission, Maharashtra to engage universities and civil society organisations into election related studies in order to facilitate and further the studies on local body elections.

Having said that, I take immense pleasure in introducing the research report titled 'Contesting Municipal Elections: Motivations and Strategies' by Mr. Sanjay Patil (Research Co-ordinator), under the guidance of Dr. Surendra Jondhale, Professor, Department of Civics & Politics, University of Mumbai. The research project throws light on some critical aspects of local level elections including- motivations and strategies of candidates while contesting an election, role of reservations at local level elections, challenges faced by candidates in the whole process, sources of electoral funds, etc.

Through an in-depth study, based on the analysis of nomination forms and affidavits of the candidates contesting the 2015 Kalyan-Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC) election, the research tries to throw light on some of the challenges and concerns faced by the State Election Commission in order to keep the electoral process free and fair. The research report has also listed a set of recommendations and suggestions that would help in policy formulation and implementation at the state and the local level.

With the growing significance and prominence of elections and electoral politics in our day to day lives, this research, which is one of its kind in the country, would help researchers, policy analysts and governing agencies in the long run.


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I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all those who assisted and supported me during this research work.

I am extremely grateful to the State Election Commission of Maharashtra, the University of Mumbai and Honourable Vice Chancellor Dr. Sanjay Deshmukh for giving me this opportunity and entrusting me with this responsibility. The research was financially supported by the State Election Commission of Maharashtra. I am really thankful to Shri. Jageshwar Saharia, State Election Commissioner, Maharashtra for extending an opportunity, in the form of this project, to the Department of Civics & Politics, University of Mumbai. I also wish to extend my gratitude to Shri. Pradeep Vyas, then Secretary, State Election Commission, Maharashtra, for his involvement in the project through his timely and valuable guidance to me. My sincere and heartfelt thanks to Shri. K. Suryakrishnamurty, Assistant Commissioner, State Election Commission, Maharashtra, for his excellent guidance and support throughout the process of the project. He not only guided me for the administrative formalities but also gave excellent academic inputs at every stage. I am also thankful to Shri. Jagdish More, PRO, State Election Commission, Maharashtra and Shri. Atul Jadhav for their help and support.

I am grateful to all the members of Research Committee of State Election Commission for their inputs and encouragement.

I am highly indebted to the Election Department of the Kalyan Dombivali Municipal Corporation, especially Shri. Sanjay Jadhav, Smt. Suryavanshi and Shri. Vijay Nimbje for providing the necessary information regarding the project and also for their guidance and support during its completion.

This project would not have seen the light of the day without the guidance, sheer ambition and goodwill of my excellent teacher and guide Dr. Surendra Jondhale. The journey of this research began when I accompanied him to the office of the State Election Commission for the discussion on electoral reforms. He extended his selfless support and guidance during this endeavour.

The data analysis was a big task ahead of me with the huge volume of data that was generated. Thanks to Dr. Santosh Gite and Dr. Srinath Jagannath who guided me at each point and make things simpler-both technically and theoretically.

I express my gratitude to Dr. Jose George (Former Professor), Dr. Sudha Mohan (Professor & Head), Dr. Mrudul Nile and Other esteemed faculty of the Department for their continuous support

and cooperation. Dr. Mrudul Nile was always a great source of inspiration for me throughout this project. He stood by me through all the challenges from data collection to analysis and always gave valuable feedback at each point. His inputs were very crucial, especially for the data analysis. A special thanks to Prof. Sachin Pardhe and Smt. Sneha Shete, for the continuous encouragement that kept me going.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my teacher Dr. Chandrasheel Tambe. It was his idea to analyse nomination forms and affidavits of all the candidates who had contested the recent KDMC election to understand their social, economic and political background that played a major role in the development of this project. He was just a call away anytime I needed help especially with my research methodology and was like guiding light in times of confusion and anxiety.

Thanks to Prof. Prashant Kelkar, Dr. Harshad Bhosale, Dr. Swati Pitale and Prof. Surendra Athawale for their theoretical inputs, continuous encouragement and guidance to complete this research work.

I would also like to thank Mr. Ravindra Swami for his wholehearted assistance in the cover page design work.

I am grateful to the entire staff of the Department of Civics and Politics for the facilities and the help that they have offered throughout this project.

I wish to send heartfelt thanks to my partner Ms. Ankita Bhatkhande for her overwhelming support and help not only in the entire process of data collection but also for helping me write more articulately. She is the biggest source of strength and inspiration in the entire process. My gratitude also goes to her mother Smt. Anagha Bhatkhande for her encouragement during the final reading of the research report with Ankita which was a painstaking effort.

Finally, I would like to express my very special thanks to my parents and my entire family for bearing with me and extending each and every kind of support during the entire course of this project.

I also owe this project to all my friends and all well-wishers who have contributed directly or indirectly to the successful completion of my research work.

Sanjay Pandurang Patil

Summary

The State Election Commission of Maharashtra has taken up the initiative of collaborating with Universities and Civil Society organizations engaged in election-related studies and reforms to undertake research on local bodies of self-governance. The rationale behind it was the lack of studies on local body elections.

The current study focuses on the motivations and strategies of the candidates contesting Municipal elections with reference to the recent Kalyan Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC) Elections of 2015. The study has its basis in the discussions and debates held by the State Election Commission of Maharashtra with Universities and Civil Society organizations to overcome the problems of low voter turnout and malpractices during the elections. The main objective of the study was to understand the motivational factors of candidates contesting local elections. It also aimed to understand and analyse the strategies used by the candidates to influence voters during the elections. Further, it tried to identify the sources of election funds of the candidates. The study was undertaken with an intention to contribute to the process of policy formulation and election-related reforms by studying local bodies of self-governance in detail. The study of local body election (municipal elections) was conducted with reference to the Kalyan Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC) Election 2015.

Elections these days have become very competitive and require a huge amount of funds for political campaigning and propaganda. Further, contesting election means aiming to secure a political or public office thus losing privacy to a large extent and becoming open to public scrutiny for both- public and political actions. Even after winning elections candidates have to face continuous pressure from people and the opposition parties to perform well. It thus becomes imperative to see why candidates still risk all their resources in order to contest elections.

The ‘Why and How’ of contesting elections may involve a complex process of decision making for individuals those who are interested in it. Arriving at the decision of contesting an election may comprise multiple stages in terms of discussion with the ‘Self’ and ‘Others’ before reaching the final decision of contesting election. ‘Others’ includes family, friends, community members, support networks, party etc. Opportunity structure, personal

ambition, leadership skills, time and resources are essential aspects which shape the candidates decision about contesting an election.

Keeping all these factors in mind, it is very interesting to see and understand why, despite all these risk factors does an individual choose to contest an election- the motivations both immediate and long term behind his decision.

The research has explored the following research questions:

1. What are the motivational factors for candidates while contesting local elections?
2. What difficulties do the candidates face while completing formalities for the nomination form?
3. What strategies do they employ for their election campaigning?
4. How do the candidates arrange for funding their election?

Specific objectives of the research were as follows:

1. To analyse the social, demographic and economic background of the candidates contesting the election
2. To suggest the reforms to simplify the process of filling the Nomination form
3. To analyse the means used by the candidates for influencing the voters
4. To understand the sources and influence of money used by the candidates in the elections

The research focused on KDMC Election 2015. Kalyan and Dombivali city is governed by the Kalyan-Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC). KDMC is divided into 122 electoral constituencies. In the recent 2015 KDMC Election, 750 candidates contested for 120 seats in the assembly. Of the 122 wards under the KDMC, voting initially took place across 117 wards, as two villages had boycotted the election and three villages elected candidates without any opposition.

The most prominent reason behind studying KDMC in this research was the October 2015 elections whose outcomes provided an interesting ground to study grass root factors influencing elections. Kalyan-Dombivali is the classic example of growth of urbanisation in last two decades, where urban politics has been shaped by the dual forces of dynamics of new economy and social-demographic structure in the region. The researcher found the

KDMC election of 2015 as the right case for the study considering the recent experiences of the candidates about means used and strategies deployed in the latest election.

Research Methodology:

The study was undertaken in the two stages- In the first place, affidavits and nomination forms of all the candidates (746) who had contested the KDMC 2015 election were analyzed through quantitative techniques to understand their social, demographic, economic, political and criminal background. Based on the trends in the socio-economic data, 26 candidates from KDMC were systematically selected for in-depth interviews (structured, open-ended questions) in order to understand their motivations and strategies for contesting elections.

Quantitative Analysis of Affidavits and Nomination Forms of the Candidates:

On the basis of the affidavits and nomination forms filed by the candidates for the KDMC 2015 Election to the Election Commission; the researcher has analysed a candidate's socio-economic-political and criminal background. Around 20 variables were identified from the affidavits and nomination forms in order to understand their social status and demographic background. The basic purpose of this analysis was to understand the patterns of the socio-economic and political status of the candidates who had contested the recent Municipal Elections.

Qualitative Analysis: In-depth Interviews of Selected Candidates:

On the basis of socio-demographic trends (caste, gender, income, education, age) the researcher systematically selected and interviewed 26 candidates through in-depth interviews in order to understand the primary research question of the study i.e. - 'what are the motivational factors for candidates contesting a municipal election?' Both categories of candidates- those who had won the election and those who had lost the election were considered for the interviews. Keeping a brief questionnaire as a reference point, these interviews were jotted down individually and then trends were analysed for the said research. Most questions that were asked to the candidates were open ended and had huge scope for detailed responses.

The researcher interviewed 14 female and 12 male candidates from the 2015 KDMC Election. All the candidates were interviewed by the researcher himself either in their own

spaces (homes, offices) or in the office of the municipal corporation. Each interview took three to four hours on an average for completion.

The research problem was studied within the theoretical frameworks of urban politics, political recruitment, political rationality, political motivation and decision making.

The survey of existing literature shows that the theoretical models developed to study the political motivations and electoral competition (Wittman, 1983; Calvert, 1985, Callander, 2008; Drouvelis et al., 2012; Parker, 2012) especially in the Western countries highlight-seeking power and implementing policies as the key motivations behind contesting elections. No systematic attempt has been made to study candidates' motivations and strategies especially with reference to local body elections in India.

Candidates and their contexts: Looking at their Socio-Economic and Political Background

Elections for the Kalyan-Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC) were held in November 2015. Out of 122 wards under the KDMC, voting was conducted in 117 wards, as two villages had boycotted the election and three villages elected candidates without any opposition. About 47 per cent of the total voters cast their votes for 117 seats in the 122-member house. For the 2015 Municipal Election, as per the provision of 50 per cent reservation to women in Local body elections, 61 of the 122 seats in its constituencies were reserved for female candidates. The internal reservation pattern for General as well as Women constituencies was as follows:

KDMC Election 2015- Reservation Pattern

	General	SC	ST	OBC
General Constituencies	38	6	1	16
Women Constituencies	36	6	2	17

For the 122 seats, 750 candidates contested the 2015 KDMC elections, either from different political parties or independently. As per the data analysis, 48.3 per cent (360) candidates were male whereas 51.7 per cent (386) candidates were female. In terms of the election result, 46.7 per cent (56) male candidates and 53.3 per cent (64) female candidates won the elections.

The data also shows that 45.4 per cent (339) candidates contested from the constituencies reserved for Women while 54.6 per cent (407) contested the elections from the General Constituencies. Further analysis reveals that out of 407 candidates who had contested from the General Constituencies only 11.5 per cent (47) of the candidates were women and 88.5 per cent (360) were men.

Out of the total 746 candidates who had contested the KDMC elections, 29.8 per cent (222) candidates contested from reserved constituencies while 70.2 per cent (524) candidates contested from non-reserved constituencies.

On an average 7 candidates per constituency- from Non-reserved constituencies average 5 candidates per constituency- from reserved constituencies contested this particular election.

Caste profile of the Candidates

Caste					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	General	222	29.8	36.6	36.6
	SC	130	17.4	21.4	58.0
	ST	16	2.1	2.6	60.6
	OBC	234	31.4	38.6	99.2
	NT	5	.7	.8	100.0
	Total	607	81.4	100.0	
Missing	System	139	18.6		
	Total	746	100.0		

The social composition of Kalyan-Dombivali was reflected in the ticket distribution during the 2015 KDMC elections.

If we exclude the missing data of caste identities from the analysis, the caste wise election statistical analysis shows that- 55.8 per cent (58) of the candidates belongs to the Other Backward Castes category (OBC), 26 per cent (27) from the General Category, 15.4 per cent (16) from SC and 2.9 percent (3) from ST category, with 16 candidates who won elections not having revealed their caste identity.

This caste factor was very well reflected in the ticket distribution from the political parties like Shiv Sena, BJP and MNS. However, political parties like Congress, and NCP were not successful in gauging the role of the Other Backward Castes category in the local elections. Candidates fighting independently (243) were distributed among the General

(75), SC (50) and OBC (59) categories. So a good number of independent candidates came from SC and OBC categories.

Most candidates contesting the 2015 KDMC elections were middle-aged i.e. 48 per cent (358) candidates were seen belonging to the 31 - 45 years of age group.

In terms of language, most of the candidates (almost 90 per cent) were Marathi speaking while only 10 per cent (72) candidates were Hindi or non-Marathi speaking.

In terms of educational background, 34.5 per cent (257) of the total candidates had barely completed their primary or higher primary education while 18.6 percent (139) candidates had just completed their SSC. In short, 53.1 per cent candidate were either SSC or below SSC. Education-wise election results show that of the 122 candidates 42.5 per cent (51) of the candidates who won the KDMC 2015 election have not completed their SSC.

The statistical analysis shows that around 35 per cent (260) of the candidates (199 male and 61 female) contesting the KDMC election 2015 were engaged in business like activities, with 30.4 per cent (227) candidates being housewives. Further, occupation-wise election results revealed that out of the 120 candidates, 49.2 per cent (59) of the candidates who won the KDMC 2015 election are engaged in the business like activities whereas 31.7 per cent (38) candidates were housewives. Most of the candidates who are engaged in business like activities are basically involved in occupations related to land dealing, building, construction, realty sector etc.

In terms of assets around 279 Candidates were having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore or above. Around 255 candidates were having the assets in the range of Rs. 5 lakh to Rs. 50 Lakh.

The statistical analysis shows that out of the 120 candidates who won the KDMC 2015 Election, almost 67 per cent (80) of the candidates are having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore or above.

The statistical analysis revealed that of the 110 candidates who had some criminal background, 84 candidates were male while only 26 candidates were female.

For a deeper understanding of the socio-political background of the candidates contesting the 2015 KDMC elections, the data was further analysed on the basis of General and Women constituencies.

Analysis of the General or Non-women Constituencies:

In the 2015 KDMC Elections 407 candidates contested from the General Constituencies for 61 seats. In terms of gender, 88.5 per cent (360) candidates were male whereas 11.5 per cent (47) were female.

The reservation pattern in the General constituencies was as follows:

General	SC	ST	OBC
38	6	1	16

The reserved constituency wise (ward-type) statistical data shows that 68.8 per cent (280) candidates out of total number of 407 candidates contested from the General category constituencies, 9.3 per cent (38) contested from SC category, 1.5 per cent (6) from ST and 20.4 per cent (83) from the constituencies reserved for the Other Backward Castes category.

The statistical analysis shows that 35.1 per cent (117) candidates were from the General caste category, 19.2 per cent (64) SCs, 1.8 per cent (6) STs, 42.3 per cent (141) OBC's and 1.5 per cent (5) were NT's. Thus, a significant number of candidates belonging to SC and OBC backgrounds contested from the non-reserved constituencies in the KDMC election.

The statistical analysis shows that for 38 seats in General Caste category of General Constituencies, 280 candidates from different caste groups were contesting the election. Out of 207 candidates (those who had revealed their caste identity) 56.5 per cent (117) were from the General Castes, 12.6 per cent (26) SCs, 29.5 per cent (61) OBC's and 1.1 per cent (3) were STs. In terms of the election result, 13 (out of 117) candidates from general or open caste category, 1 from SC (out of 26) and 14 from Other Backward castes category (out of 61) won the election from the General Caste category of General Constituencies.

Occupation wise data shows that 51.4 per cent (209) of the candidates were engaged in business like occupations. The data analysis reveals that 70.5 per cent (43) of the winning

candidates are engaged in business-like activities, 4 were housewives, 3 self-employed, 3 job holders, 2 retired, 1 student and 2 are farmers.

In terms of assets 164 candidates were having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore and above while 96 candidates were having assets worth less than Rs. 5 Lakh. Further analysis shows that out of the 59 winning candidates from the General constituencies of the 2015 KDMC Election, almost 83 per cent (45) of the candidates are having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore or above. Financial details of 2 winning candidates were not available for analysis.

The Other Backward Castes category found to be significant in numbers on the tally of winning candidates from the General constituencies. 58.8 per cent (30) of winning candidates belong to the Other Backward castes category, 25.5 per cent (13) candidates from General caste category, 13.7 per cent (7) by SCs and 1 seat by ST candidate.

The further statistical analysis shows that 63 per cent (89) candidates out of the total number of 141 OBC candidates from the General Constituencies were engaged in the business like occupations and 8 per cent (11) were housewives. In terms of economic resources, 51 per cent (71) OBC candidates had assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore and above.

Analysis of the Constituencies Reserved for Women:

In the Kalyan Dombivali Municipal Corporation 2015 Elections, 339 candidates contested from the constituencies reserved for women. The reservation pattern in the female constituencies was as follows:

General	SC	ST	OBC
36	6	2	17

The reserved constituency wise (ward-type) statistical data shows that 72 per cent (244) candidates out of the total number of 339 of the female constituencies contested from the General category, 10 per cent (34) from SC, 2.7 per cent (9) from ST and 15.3 per cent (52) from the constituencies reserved for the Other Backward Castes category.

Caste wise data analysis shows that 38.3 per cent (105) candidates were from the General caste category, 24.1 per cent (66) SCs, 3.6 per cent (10) STs, 33.9 per cent (93) OBCs. 65

candidates did not reveal their caste identity. Further data shows that a significant number of candidates belonging to SC and OBC category contested from the non-reserved constituencies (Women) in the KDMC election.

The data analysis shows that for 36 seats in General category of Women, 244 candidates from different caste groups were contesting the election. Though 65 candidates have not revealed their caste identity, the researcher could get caste details of the remaining 179 candidates. The further analysis reveals that 14 (out of 105) candidates from general or open caste category, 3 SCs (out of 32) and 13 from Backward castes (out of 41) won the election from the General category of Women Constituencies.

In terms of the educational background, 36.6 per cent (124) of the total number of 339 candidates were below SSC whereas 15.3 per cent (52) candidates had barely completed their SSC. Education-wise election result shows that 41.1 per cent (26) of the candidates out of 59 who won the 2015 KDMC election from this category (of women constituencies) have not completed their SSC.

The statistical analysis shows that 58.7 per cent (199) candidates from the constituencies reserved for women were housewives. The data analysis reveals that 57.6 per cent (34) of the winning candidates are housewives, 27.1 per cent (16) are engaged in the business like occupations, 5.1 per cent (3) are self-employed, 3.4 per cent (2) are retired persons, 1 is a farmer and 1 is a teacher.

The data reveals that 115 candidates were having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore and above whereas 70 candidates were having assets worth less than Rs. 5 Lakh. The statistical analysis shows that out of the 55 winning candidates from the Women's constituencies of the 2015 KDMC Election, almost 64 per cent (35) of the candidates are having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore or above. Financial details of 6 winning candidates were not available for analysis.

The Other Backward Castes category was found to be significant in numbers on the tally of winning candidates from the Female constituencies. 52.8 per cent (28) of winning candidates belong to the Other Backward castes category, 26.4 per cent (14) candidates from General caste category, 17 per cent (9) by SCs and 2 seats by ST candidate.

Thus, one can see the matrix of ‘OBC Caste, Business Class (construction, building, land dealing, etc), High Income and Low Education’ worked in a significant way.

How, Why and When: Understanding Motivations and Strategies of the Candidates Contesting Municipal Elections

After looking at the social, demographic and economic trends, the researcher systematically selected 30 samples and was successful in interviewing 26 of them through in-depth interviews. The main purpose of the interviews conducted was to understand candidates’ basic motivation or drive behind contesting an election, the strategies politicians use when building their political networks before and during electoral campaigning and difficulties faced by them while completing the formalities of the nomination forms. The researcher used semi-structured interviews to ensure that important questions were touched upon.

Socio-political background of the candidates and political orientations:

The first part of the interview questions focused on the socio-political background and political orientations of the candidates. The purpose behind such questions was to understand if the socio-political background of an individual has an impact on his political motivations. The researcher conducted interviews with 26 candidates of which 14 were female and 12 were male candidates. Out of 26 selected candidates, 19 had won the KDMC election 2015.

The researcher found that most candidates who contested the recent KDMC elections came from mixed family backgrounds (socio-political). A large number of candidates did not have a strong socio-political background but still chose to contest. But one has to note that having no political background did not become a barrier in shaping an individual's political motivations or strategies. Most candidates who were contesting the elections for the first, second or the third time were first generation politicians from their families.

In terms of social work or activities, their involvement was limited to organizing, coordinating and funding local level activities, helping people and engaging in community activities, membership of socio-cultural organisations, etc. It can also be established that a strong political background or economic prosperity helped facilitate a candidate’s entry into politics without much difficulty.

Most female candidates did not have any political background in their maternal families but slowly got accustomed to the same after they were married into a somewhat political household. These women, however, were convinced into contesting elections only on the 'behalf of their male counterparts' (mostly husbands) in order to fulfill their political ambitions.

Women belonging to the Other Backward Castes (OBC) category seemed to be like an additional backing for a family or candidate who wished to contest from a particular constituency. This is because of the woman's ability to contest from the General, Women and OBC category in all permutations and combinations.

Engagement in Socio-Political Activities:

It was revealed that most of the male candidates have been associated with one or more social organisations either directly (as a member or holding some position in the organisation) or indirectly (as a sponsor). The nature of the organisations varied from social service doing organisations, organisations centered around community activities, initiatives for women and senior citizens, social groups like *Ganesh-Navratri Mandals*, *Dahi handi mandals*, *Ambedkar Jayanti Utsav*, *Shiv Jayanti Mandals*, religious trusts, educational trusts, *Gayan and Bhajan Sansthas* etc. Few of them also seemed to have established their own organisations devoted to socio-cultural activities. Active participation in social activities later helped develop political aspirations among several candidates. It was also found that holding different party positions provided impetus to individuals in order to contest an election.

A candidate's social network, personal agenda/ vision (matching that of the party) and his ability to generate influence amongst voters were the key factors in political recruitment. Party organisation plays an important role at the local level, while ideology has no significant role to play. Its presence, however, cannot be completely ignored. All considerations in this regard are largely influenced by their quest for power. Aspirants try to maintain their good relations across social groups. However, data shows that party ticket is important in the elections apart from strong networking in order to win the elections. While the party plays an important role for a candidate in order to win elections, the same candidates do not hesitate to poach into other parties if the party aspirations do not match their own at any given point. It was observed that some of them hardly understand ideological factors, for them political opportunities or opportunism counts.

Female candidates have to face challenges at every stage of the electoral process. Along with the whole process of contesting an election, they also find several obstacles in holding various party positions. While urban women are considered to be more independent than their rural counterparts, the traditional hegemonic power structures in families and societies are still difficult to break through. Their position in a political party and the decision to contest an election was a result of multiple factors, of which ward reservations was the most prominent one. At the organizational level, these candidates have to win the confidence of all their male counterparts to move ahead on the party ladder. Family and societal trust, along with the lack of time and economic dependency hinders the growth of most female candidates in pursuing a career in politics independently.

The deciding moment to contest elections: Stages involved in the decision-making process:

Association with a political party, social or community organisation, involvement in the activities of public importance provides impetus towards developing political motivations in terms of contesting an election.

Factors like gender, caste, age, socio-political (family) background, political or personal ideology, political orientations economic security, personality traits were found playing an important role in shaping one's political motivations. It was found that the decision of an individual to contest an election was broadly based on 4 factors:

1. Self-motivation
2. Offer of a ticket from a political party
3. Insistence or recommendation by volunteers and friends
4. Popular demand

There were different categories of people (in terms of occupations) who contested the election like young men and women, experienced party workers or leaders, those engaged in social work and related activities, businessman (especially engaged in land related occupation- realty sector, construction and building, cable and internet etc.) social activists, teachers, community leaders, professionals, retired persons, housewives, members or presidents of self-help groups, politically active and existing corporators, economically affluent individuals etc.

After having detailed conversations with a variety of candidates, the researcher drew some inferences. Most candidates were motivated into contesting elections due to one of the following or the combination of many reasons like-

- Accelerating their business activities
- Earning prestige or social status
- Bringing about infrastructural and other changes in the ward or city to improve the quality of civic amenities
- Accelerating their social activities
- Engaging in policy making in a direct way

At the fundamental level, candidates were seen covering their naked ambition under the cloak of public service. Thus, access to power to fulfill ones political ambitions or aspirations (derive personal satisfaction from being in power), prestige, enjoying political perks and patronage, engaging in policy making in a direct way or to bring about a desired change, monetary rewards or economic considerations (formal and informal), accelerating social activities and public service (experience gave an intrinsic benefit based on a sense of civic duty) and ideology were seen as the most determining factors behind contesting the municipal elections.

However, in the case of female candidates, it was found that these factors hardly play a determining role in taking a decision about contesting the election. Except for 3-4 candidates self-political motivation was found to be absent in most others. It was the political aspiration and ambition of their male counterparts in the family and the efforts to keep the power centre within the family that they tried to retain as the ward became reserved for women. Getting a ticket from a particular party is a herculean task for a female candidate. Long association and involvement in the party programmes and activities are not enough. Like women, candidates belonging to lower caste groups have a more difficult ordeal to undergo. Such candidates cannot easily think about contesting an election from the general constituency.

During the interviews, it came to light that a candidate's occupation and economic status were very prominent factors in inducing his political aspirations. A candidate with a

political background and economic security can easily think about entering into electoral politics.

One can see factors like socio-political background, political orientation, wealth, gender, caste, religion, age, and occupation with personality traits (leadership qualities) play a very prominent role in shaping individual political motivations when it comes to contesting an election.

Survey of Public Support by the aspirants

The decision/ urge to pursue a career in politics through contesting an election which emerges from strong self-motivation or after one is offered a ticket is the first step in the complex decision-making process. This urge reaches the next stage when aspirants try to take stock of public support for their candidature in the constituency.

Tendency of the acceptance of the candidate by the people

Along with individual political motivations and aspirations, popular acceptance and realization of the same are essential in finally reaching the decision. After making his/her mind, the candidate either approaches a political party for a ticket or decides to contest independently.

Approaching a Political Party

Before the electioneering process starts, political parties generally undertake a survey in each ward to understand the names of the popular individuals in every ward. These surveys attempt to gauge possible candidates or public perception towards politically active names in the ward.

Long association with the party, involvement in the party work and programmes, good rapport in the organisation and constituency in general, social status, public network, leadership qualities, experience, capacity to spend money, positive survey report etc. helped the interested candidates in lobbying with the political party for the party nomination.

The party organisation at the block level plays an important role in the process of selection of candidates. Every political party invites applications from the interested candidates and conducts interviews. Winnability is the most important factor in the selection of

candidates. Apart from that, selectors are interested in knowing candidate's financial position.

Requirements to get a party ticket:

Political parties scrutinize candidates on various grounds. Generally, the following factors are considered by the parties while offering a party ticket to a particular aspirant:

1. High chances of winning
2. Money Power
3. Public support/rapport or public network
4. Local candidate or Constituency Links
5. Work in the party
6. Work in the ward
7. Character/ Image of the aspirant
8. Experience

Managing Election Funds

For a Municipal Election, a candidate is allowed to spend an amount of Rs. 4 lakh on campaigning and rallies. It is mandatory for every candidate to submit their electoral expenses every day to the concerned authorities. Before beginning with the interviews, the researcher had collected a summary of expenses submitted by all the candidates to the election department of KDMC. The Election expenses data with the election office show that the expenses of a candidate range from Rs. 60 thousand to 3 lakh only. However, it was seen that practically, election expenses range between Rs. 15 lakh to 2 Crores. On an average 30 lakhs to 50 lakhs are spent on election. Expenses are incurred on image building, maintenance of ward, donations to different kinds of organisations, actual election campaigning, expenses on volunteers etc.

The researcher found that a huge amount of money is distributed by the candidates to the voters during the elections to get their votes. Election becomes so prestigious that they don't hesitate to spend a great sum for winning it.

How are funds arranged?

Almost all the candidates bear a large amount of share of these expenses. Though they show party contribution on paper, only a few candidates get help from the party. Some candidates confirmed about the help they received from their close friends and people in the constituency.

Election strategy

Elections have become so competitive these days that candidates employ all sorts of techniques- from conventional means to higher managerial strategies of political communication and networking (based on their electoral experiences) and thus leave no stone unturned to get the best results in the elections.

Pre-election strategy by new candidates:

- Image building
- Donations to *Ganeshotsav*, *Navaratri Utsav*, *Dahi Handi* etc.
- Social Activities- organizing some programmes/activities for students, women and senior citizens
- Involvement in party activities

Campaigning Strategy:

The election strategy is decided by a close group of people considering the nature of the constituency and competition from the opposite side. In the case of most female candidates, the entire electoral strategy is handled by the male member of their family and these women have to merely go for the door to door campaigning or attend the rally or *chowk sabhas*.

The first and foremost part of the strategy is a detailed study of the voters list of the ward from which the team takes stock of the public support. During elections, apart from door to door campaign, public meetings, *chowk sabhas*, distribution of pamphlets, manifesto and work report aspirants meet community leaders, influential persons and presidents of various social/cultural groups (*Ganesh* and *Navaratri mandals*) are used for better networking. Migrated and shifted voters are contacted and requested by candidates for voting- even travelling expenses are paid to them. Candidates arrange vehicles for voters on the voting day- from their residence to the booth. Last two hours on the day of voting

are strategically important where voters and volunteers bargain for money against votes and candidates are also ready to pour in more money on voters in order to get their votes.

In the recent times, candidates often employ modern technology to strategically face the opposition and win the election by circulating WhatsApp messages, sharing pictures on Facebook, circulating digitized data etc.

Incumbency Advantage

Existing candidates work well in advance for the elections. Those who wish to contest the upcoming election start engaging themselves in the ward a year or two in advance.

Characteristics of those who contest an election:

The researcher found some key characteristics of candidates-

- **Candidates without a political lineage:**

Most candidates had no political legacy as far as elections were concerned. The most prominent reason for this is the fact that elections for the corporation started as late as 1995, almost 12 years after the corporation was formed in 1983. The 1990's saw rapid transitions in the city landscape moving from a semi-urban to an urban milieu. The new economy which was an underlying reason for this transition also saw the emergence of the 'new elite class' which had an aspirational value with its improved socio-economic mobility.

- **Socio-politically active:**

This class was found to be highly active in handling socio-political issues as a result of the existing challenges with respect civic amenities.

- **Association with some political party or the other:**

The new aspirant class was well-organised and highly ambitious, irrespective of whether it was working with a political party or on its own.

- **Economically well-off and strategic:**

Their cohesiveness and openness to new experiences and experiments made them confident in taking risks and challenges which however were strategically planned considering their economic and socio-political status.

- **Polished behavior and good oratory skills with great engaging capacity:**

Through their polished behaviour (emerging from socio-economic alleviation and not necessarily education) these people were successful in engaging a majority of the population with the help of their oratory skills.

- **Assertive yet assimilative:**

While they registered their opinions assertively the long-term impact that their opinion building had on people help them assimilate a lot of diverse interests for their own good.

Chapter One

Introduction and Research Methodology

An election is a formal mechanism through which public representatives are elected in a democracy. Institutions of local self-governance and democracy are indispensable pairs. Local Self-government is an inevitable part of the democratic administrative system. It is widely accepted that self-governing institutions at the local level are essential for the development and spread of democracy and for effective people's participation at the grass root level. They form an integral part of the entire democratic process. 'Grass-roots of Democracy' based on small units of government enables people to feel a sense of responsibility and to inculcate the values of democracy. At the same time, it also offers a unique opportunity to participate in public affairs, including development-oriented work.

According to Iqbal Narain (1960), "Democracy as a form of political organisation is an ordering of people's partnership not merely in the sovereign power of the State but also in the day to day conduct of government. The larger and more continuous, quantitatively speaking, and more active, constructive and closer, qualitatively speaking, is the people's participation in the operation of their own government in a country, the nearer it is to democracy as a political ideal."

The 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, perhaps the most substantive amendments since the adoption of the constitution, envisage Panchayats and Municipalities as institutions of local self-governance. The three-tier system of local governance also acts as a means to build synergies between a representative and direct democracy and participatory governance, resulting in the deepening of democracy at a grassroot level. They are neither agencies of the government nor any sort of departments in the conventional sense within the framework of the government. They are democratically elected bodies and the heart of these institutions is the participation of the citizens. Substantive democratization works when each individual is empowered to participate in governance, ask questions, take decisions, raise resources, and prioritise the social and economic agenda for local development in order to ensure social and political accountability. Such a vision of democracy requires democratization from below and true devolution of power to the people.¹

¹ <https://malayanatu.wordpress.com/2010/10/06/power-to-the-people-local-self-governance-and-democratization/> accessed on 26th June, 2016.

The 73rd Amendment is about Rural Local Governments (which are also known as Panchayati Raj Institutions or PRIs) and the 74th Amendment made the provisions related to Urban Local Governments (Nagarpalikas). The 73rd and 74th Amendments have created uniformity in the structures of Panchayati Raj and Nagarpalika institutions across the country. The 73rd and 74th Amendments came into force in 1993. These amendment acts provided constitutional recognition to the institutions of local self-governance.

The theoretical basis of local self-government is democratic decentralization. The idea of decentralization is in a way, inherent in the democratic ideal in its application to the political organisation. The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts (1992) of the Indian Constitution attempt to further the goal of democracy at the grass-root level through decentralization of power. “In many states, local bodies had become weak and ineffective on account of failure to hold regular elections, prolonged suppression and inadequate devolution of powers and functions and were criticized for not being able to perform effectively as vibrant democratic units of self- governance” (Bhardwaj, 2012). The 73rd and 74th amendments of the Constitution have not only made it mandatory to hold elections at the interval of five years on a regular basis but also devolved powers and functions on these institutions and thus created legal conditions for the effective functioning of local democracy.

The 74th amendment to the constitution (the Act) sought to decentralize decision-making in cities and towns through the creation of elected Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) thereby contributing to the democratization process. Although such ULBs already existed prior to the passing of the act, they not only had a very little role to play, but their performance also deteriorated over the years. Some of the key features of the act were: introduction of a list of functions for the ULBs, establishment of ward/s committees in areas having a population of over 0.3 million, periodic and timely elections of ULBs, devolution of finances to the ULBs as per suggestions of the State Finance Commissions (SFCs), and coordination of multiple agency functions through the Metropolitan Planning Committee (MPCs) and District Planning Committee (DPCs) (Batra quoted in Pancholi, 2014).

In the 1990’s along with the Mandal phenomena and creation of the three-tier structure (of Panchayati Raj) with the provisions of reservation of seats for women and backward sections, political offices hitherto reserved for the dominant sections of the society now opened up for the marginalized ones. While the structural aspect of elections was

envisioned to be an inclusive one, functionally, the very act of contesting elections in current times has become a big and costly affair where both money and muscle power is tested. The general impression is that with the increasing use of money and muscle power and with the advent of new technology coupled with huge electoral competition; it has become rather difficult for a common person to contest even local level elections (lest Vidhan Sabha or Lok Sabha). Despite this, one can see a huge number of people contesting elections to the Lok Sabha, Vidhan Sabha and local self-government institutions even as they fare very poorly, thus having to lose their deposit.

The current study focuses on the motivations and strategies of the candidates contesting Municipal elections with reference to the recent Kalyan Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC) Elections of 2015. The election happened in the backdrop of BJP's victory in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha elections in the state after a massive defeat of the ruling parties in the state and the centre. Shiv Sena emerged as the largest party (with 52 seats out of 122) while the BJP secured second place in the tally. Though both parties contested the Municipal elections separately, they joined hands to secure power in KDMC. In the previous elections, these parties had managed to secure 31 and 9 seats each. MNS which did considerably well in the last election getting 26 seats in the 107-member House, faced an unexpected debacle securing only 6 seats at the 2015 elections. In all, 750 candidates contested the elections for a 122 member-house.²

Urban Politics:

The 1990s era saw two major changes in the dynamics of politics- the advent of liberalisation which opened up global markets and carried an aspirational value for a local citizen and political decentralisation which gave prominence to local political actors. These two important developments acted like catalysts of change in the existing political scenario of the country especially in the urban milieu as it saw the entry of new actors into the mainstream political process.

This era saw a rapidly changing face of the country with the consumer being at the centre of all trade and exchange and the citizen getting access to almost every political and social development through television, advertisements and businesses which were flourishing in the era. This is the time when apart from politicians, real estate developers, landowners,

² Of the 122 wards under the KDMC, voting initially took place across 117 wards, as two villages had boycotted the election and three villages elected candidates without any opposition.

civil society groups and bureaucrats started reinventing themselves to adapt to and take advantage of a rapidly transforming urban environment.

The distribution of power as well as existing power structures in India are changing as a result of new opportunities made possible by the ongoing economic reforms that were introduced in the early 1990s as Indian urban regions and regional corridors emerged as engines of economic growth as well as centers of political decision-making (Brenner, 2004). This was the time when land started gaining more and more significance as a resource as it yielded capital. This resulted in the increase in demand for land in and around cities and areas connecting them along with increased prices for the land. The combination of the rising price and demand for urban land and the growing opportunities for a wider group of actors to participate in urban development encouraged several urban actors to capitalize on their assets.

Those in possession of land resources improved their political competitiveness in order to retain their influence on the migrant new middle class (employed in the service sector) population. The urban middle class, that was at the centre of all this emerged as the new aspirational elite section of the society that was seeing a market boom with swanky infrastructure and improved standard of living. The sudden boom in infrastructure not only caught up in the heart of the cities but also in several neighbourhoods that were until then not exposed to his model of transformation. In the case of Kalyan-Dombivali, this era saw a sudden boom in the land economy. Those owning even small pieces of land became economically well off as the newly emerging industries looked to establish their base there- as the location was both more spacious by city standards yet connected to the main city. The building of these industries and residential development projects was both in rhetoric and physical design by the aspiration of city residents (particularly from the upper classes), and business leaders to become a ‘global’ or ‘world-class’ city, echoing the sentiments of city and state government leaders.

According to Jha and Sinha (quoted in Sami, 2012), “The last two decades have seen the empowerment of several actors (such as real estate developers, local entrepreneurial politicians, farmers with medium to large landholdings, urban designers, planning consultants, and civil society organizations), and the appearance of others who were almost entirely absent before (like international architects, development firms and global financial companies)”. In the case of Kalyan and Dombivali, a large number of people

who owned huge tracts of prime land for generations, converting this land into a large integrated township profited after economic liberalization and created the demand for large-scale development in their city. Moreover, a changing economic climate also made it possible for this farmer community in the area to build on their assets (their land and their political networks) and undertake development projects themselves without losing their land. The 73rd and 74th amendment, along with this flourishing economic opportunity that brought in resources led to the generation of political consciousness amongst these people. The resultant aspirational class (new elite³) which was mainly into land dealings, construction and realty sector found a place in the new political structure.

With the surge in development and earnings, the new elite found it essential to wield power and influence both to secure its ends financially and to also alleviate its social position by influencing people. This need to establish themselves politically along with the growing economy of elections- where huge sums of money was required to woo voters, led this lobby to become directly active in politics and often get the legitimacy of the people who were wooed by promises of better infrastructure.

One can see that while rapid urbanisation and industrialisation took place in cities all over and in Kalyan Dombivali which shares its proximity to the state's financial capital- Mumbai , there emerged a new set of challenges- rising migration and growth in population, resulting issues of sanitation, water and hygiene etc. The urban poor and service going population aspired to alleviate its financial status but in reality was struggling with grassroot issues of food, clothing and shelter. The number of people struggling for these needs was considerably high- which challenged the one point agenda of development in elections. With these civic issues being at the top priority for people, a new class of social leaders was also establishing its political base. In this case, the promises were not of sky rocketing towers or malls, but of fixing local pipelines and

³ In the current context the term ‘new elite’ can be defined as a category of influential and resourceful people that formed the part of the local power structure at the municipal level whose socio-economic position was alleviated in late 1990’s due to transitions in the semi-urban and urban economy. It is a product of the political consciousness/opportunities generated by the 73rd and 74th Constitutional amendments that established local governments in the form of Panchayati Raj system and municipalities. Secondly, the new economy created a boom in the realty sector, thereby converting the land into a valuable commodity. Those who were owning even small chunks of land and those engaged in occupations related to land dealing, construction and infrastructural projects became economically well-off and resourceful enough to be attracted towards political power at the local level bodies. It was also essential for this class to get into the power structure to be able to influence policy decisions or get contracts with respect to infrastructural projects in their favour.

avoiding power cuts. In the years to come, the electoral scene in the KDMC was dominated by these two sections of the society- the development driven ‘new elite’ and the politically motivated ‘social actor’.

Background of the Study:

Elections in India are regarded as the biggest celebration of its democracy. Unlike many other nations with a colonial past, the citizens of the country did not have to fight for their voting rights. Right to free and fair elections is enshrined in Part XV of the Indian Constitution from its very inception. The Constitution of India has vested in the Election Commission of India the superintendence, direction and control of the entire process for conduct of elections to Parliament and Legislature of every State and to the offices of President and Vice-President of India. Elections are conducted as per the constitutional provisions and the laws made by the Parliament. The Representation of the People Act, 1950, mainly deals with the preparation and revision of electoral rolls with all aspects of conduct of elections and post-election disputes. The Election Commission strives hard to conduct elections in a free, fair and transparent environment at regular intervals as per the guidelines of the Constitution.

The 73rd and 74th Amendment to the Constitution of India have given constitutional sanctity to the Panchayat Raj System. This amendment provide for the establishment of the State Election Commission for the conduct of elections to the urban and rural local self-government. This consists of Municipal Corporations, Municipal Councils, Nagar Panchayats in urban areas and Zilla Parishads, Panchayat Samitis, Village Panchayats in rural areas. This amendment made provision of Article 243-K and 243-ZA wherein State Election Commissions were established. The main objective of 73rd and 74th amendment and making this provision was to create the independent status of State Election Commission so that elections are conducted in a free and fair manner, without other intervention.

More than six decades after its independence, the furor over elections still continues with more pomp and grandeur, especially with the advent of Liberalisation, Globalisation and the accompanying political decentralization as a result of which the nature of the electoral system, participation patterns and political mobilisation is experiencing drastic changes. With the burgeoning forms of communication, propaganda has become bigger than ever.

While we are justifiably proud of Indian democracy, there are a number of areas which need to be strengthened for us to realise the true potential of a well-functioning democracy. There persists a series of burning issues hampering the democratic piousness and productive representation in Indian society. The rampant issues bulging out as a handicap to election process are dominance of money power and muscle power, criminalisation of politics, financing of election exceeding the legal limit, booth capturing, intimidation of voters, buying voters, tampered electoral rolls, large-scale rigging of elections, abuse of religion and caste in the soliciting of voters, etc. Several attempts have been made on the part of the Election Commission to increase the voter turnout in the election so as to maintain the vibrancy of the Indian Democracy. Several electoral reforms were carried out in last 65 years after the amendment of the People's Representation Act in 1951 with the purpose of keeping the electoral system free and fair and increasing people's participation in the democratic systems of governance.

With increasing urbanization in India, citizens' expectations and demands regarding the quality of democratic institutions are likely to increase. Consequently, democratic institutions are under pressure to evaluate and improve the quality of services. One of the key institutions that determine the future of urban India is the electoral system and its processes.

Electoral Studies in India:

The development of election studies in India has been influenced by the evolution of the actual electoral politics, especially of Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assembly elections. Also, the theoretical development of election studies in developed countries, especially in the USA, has led to an increasing trend in election studies in India. Voting behaviour models mainly of Columbia and Michigan Studies have had an impact on election studies in India especially with respect to determining the important research questions. Party identification, issues, candidates, campaigns, socio-economic status of voters and other areas have been recognized as important realms for studies in voting behaviour.

The survey of the studies on elections reveals the role of diverse factors which influence voting behaviour during elections in India. Some of the studies highlight the role of caste, tribe and religion (Kothari 1962 and 1971; Sirsikar, 1967 and Yadav 1999), whereas others (Sirsikar 1967; Kothari, 1971) emphasize occupation, income, education and the

age of voters in influencing the voting behaviour. Yadav (1999) analyzed 4 M's as Mandal, Mandir/Masjid and Market in influencing political behaviour in India during 1990's. Suri (2004 and 2009) focuses on the impact of economic factors on the elections in India. Some other issues like Gender (Deshpande, 2004 and 2009), village and party factions (Weiner, 1962); urban exposure (Kothari, 1971), partisanship or party identification (Sheth, 1971); government's performance (Jones 1971), Dalit and Adivasi leadership (Sheth, 1971 and Shah, 1973), political participation (Palshikar and Kumar and Kumar, 2009), influence of Media (Varma and Sardesai, 2014), role of crime and money (Sastry, 2014), issues of development (Kadekodi and Hanagodimath, 2015) also appeared in the findings of few studies. In sum, partisanship, the political legacy of the candidate, leadership, caste, class, religion, economy, performance of the government, corruption, immediate issues before the election etc. are the significant factors which influence voters' behaviour in India.

Concerns of the State Election Commission of Maharashtra:

The State Election Commission of Maharashtra has taken up the initiative of collaborating with Universities and Civil Society organizations engaged in election-related studies and reforms to undertake research on local bodies of self-governance. The rationale behind the same was the lack of studies on local body elections.

The current study has its basis in the discussions and debates held by the State Election Commission of Maharashtra with the Universities and Civil Society organizations to overcome the problems of low voter turnout and malpractices during the elections. The main objective of the study was to understand the motivational factors of candidates contesting local elections. It also aimed to understand and analyse the strategies used by the candidates to influence voters during the elections. Further, it tried to identify the sources of election funds of the candidates. The study was undertaken with an intention to contribute to the process of policy formulation and election-related reforms by studying local bodies of self-governance in detail. The study of local body election (municipal elections) was conducted with reference to the Kalyan Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC) Election 2015.

Rationale:

Although a huge amount of literature is available on Lok Sabha and Assembly elections, there is the inadequacy of systematic studies on local body elections pertaining to the motivations and strategies used by candidates in India. Secondly, it was found essential to understand the political economy of local elections post-globalisation and its impact on elections. It was also interesting to understand the changing strategies and motivational factors in the local level elections considering the competitive nature of elections in local bodies. It was also an interesting thread of enquiry into looking at the similarity and differences in motivational patterns of the candidates contesting elections as opposed to the motivational factors laid down by analysts and experts especially in these times as elections have become costlier.

Research Questions and Objectives of the study:

The research has explored the following research questions:

1. What are the motivational factors for candidates while contesting local elections?
2. What difficulties do the candidates face while completing formalities for the nomination form?
3. What strategies do they employ for their election campaigning?
4. How do the candidates arrange for funding their election?

Objectives of the Present Study:

Specific objectives of the research were as follows:

1. To analyse the social, demographic and economic background of the candidates contesting the election
2. To suggest the reforms to simplify the process of filling the Nomination form
3. To analyse the means used by the candidates for influencing the voters
4. To understand the sources and influence of money used by the candidates in the elections

Scope of the research:

The research focused on KDMC Election 2015. Kalyan and Dombivali city is governed by the Kalyan-Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC). KDMC is divided into 122 electoral constituencies. In the recent 2015 KDMC Election, 750 candidates contested for 120 seats in the Corporation.

The rationale behind choosing the geographical universe (KDMC) for this research is its geographical proximity to Mumbai- a city where the researcher has stayed for over 20 years now. The most prominent reason behind studying KDMC in this research was the October 2015 elections whose outcomes provided an interesting ground to study grassroot factors influencing elections. Kalyan-Dombivali is the classic example of the growth of urbanisation in last two decades, where urban politics has been shaped by the dual forces of dynamics of new economy and social-demographic structure in the region. The researcher found the KDMC election of 2015 as the right case for the study considering the recent experiences of the candidates about means used and strategies deployed in the latest election.

Socio-Demographic profile of KDMC:

The Kalyan-Dombivali Municipal Corporation area has gone several changes since its formation and currently includes the cities of Kalyan, Dombivali, and 27 surrounding villages. Kalyan-Dombivali (KD) was put together to form the Kalyan-Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC) from the two towns of Kalyan and Dombivali in 1983. It is located approximately to 60 km north-east of Mumbai. Put together KD has a total population of 1,247,327 and comprises an area of 67.65 sq km. (Census, 2011). KD city is also considered to be the biggest middle-class township in the whole of the Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR) and is popularly described as the dormitory town of Mumbai. The City is an important hub of residential, educational and social activities in the region with a literacy rate of 93.73 percent for males and 88.81 percent for females (Census, 2011)

Both Kalyan and Dombivali have different historical backgrounds. Kalyan was an active port, with economic activities such as ship building, brick kilns, sand dredging, agriculture, smuggling and fish processing industries. Its population largely consists of Agris and Kolis and also includes a sizeable minority of Muslims. The Agris were primarily landowners and have benefited from the increased land value in the area. The Kolis never owned land and have therefore benefited much less. Kalyan has more recently attracted poorer migrants from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and entrepreneurs from Gujarat (van Dijk quoted in Baud et al., 2013). The demand for cheap labour has grown manifold especially in the backdrop of rising infrastructural development in the region as a large population of the island city is slowly moving to KD in search of affordable housing. This entry of migrants while essential for space has created much insecurity in the minds of the

locals- something that is strategically used as a mechanism to gain vote banks by political parties with a nativist agenda.

In contrast to Kalyan, Dombivali has a more recent origin. The Agris make up a minority of the population but are the original inhabitants of this place that owned land here. They have been able to benefit from land sales to developers and also dominate local politics in the area. The population consists of many middle-class Brahmins who sold their homes (in chawls) in Mumbai and shifted to Dombivali, giving the city its reputation as more Brahmin middle-class, modern, and cultured. Most residents in Dombivali commute to Mumbai for their work, whereas people in Kalyan work locally in non-formal employment (*ibid*). However, Kalyan is also developing rapidly in terms of middle-class residential areas and business with consumption locations, as a result of changes in the building codes. Both large and small-scale real estate developments are emerging rapidly. (Bon quoted in Baud et. al. 2013).

In Kalyan, the original population of Agris are no longer involved in agriculture but have diversified into real estate as landlords, developers, contractors, building suppliers, and real estate brokerage. This caste group holds extensive informal power and dominates the political wing of the KDMC because of their high level of mobilization. The Agri network seems to be stronger in Kalyan than in Dombivali, where middle-class households moving out from Mumbai normally want to elect ‘one of their own’ as the Municipal Councilor. While Agris dominate locally, this is often not the case at higher scale levels (Baud et. al. 2013).

Research Methodology:

The basic purpose of the study was to understand the motivational factors for candidates contesting municipal elections and the strategies used by them to influence voter’s behaviour during the elections. The study was conducted by using the quantitative as well as qualitative methods of data collection.

The study was undertaken in the two stages- In the first place, affidavits and nomination forms of all the candidates (746) who had contested the KDMC 2015 election were analyzed through quantitative techniques to understand their social, demographic, economic, political and criminal background. Based on the trends in the socio-economic data, 26 candidates from KDMC were systematically selected for in-depth interviews

(structured, open-ended questions) in order to understand their motivations and strategies for contesting elections.

Data Collection:

Quantitative Analysis of Affidavits and Nomination Forms of the Candidates:

On the basis of the affidavits and nomination forms filed by the candidates for the KDMC 2015 Election to the Election Commission; the researcher has analysed a candidate's socio-economic-political and criminal background. Around 20 variables were identified from the affidavits and nomination forms in order to understand their social status and demographic background. Each affidavit and nomination form consists of around 20 to 30 pages.

Considering that all this information is not available in one place, skimming through several pages of the data available on the internet with cross-referencing required from time to time; it was a challenging task to collate a huge volume of data. However, the Association for Democratic Rights (ADR) website was a good reference point in order to analyze the economic and criminal background of the candidates. After the identification of the variables pertaining to socio- political, economic and criminal background, a simple coding method was used to feed the data into SPSS- a statistical package/ software used to sort and analyse data. Out of 750 candidates, the researcher was successful in gathering the detailed information on 746 which was then fed into SPSS for the socio-demographic analysis of candidates.

The basic purpose of this analysis was to understand the patterns of the socio-economic and political status of the candidates who had contested the recent Municipal Elections. Along with this, it also aimed to identify representative samples/respondents for the in-depth interviews of the candidates in order to understand the motivational factors behind contesting the Municipal or local elections.

Qualitative Analysis: In-depth Interviews of Selected Candidates:

Sampling and Data Collection:

In the first place, there is an analysis of the socio-economic and criminal background of all the candidates who have contested the 2015 KDMC election. Nomination forms and affidavits of 750 candidates were scanned and the data was duly analysed for the research.

On the basis of socio-demographic trends (caste, gender, income, education, age) 26 candidates were systematically selected and interviewed through in-depth interviews in order to understand the primary research question of the study i.e. - ‘what are the motivational factors behind contesting a municipal election?’

Both categories of candidates- those who had won the election and those who had lost the election were considered for the interviews. Keeping a brief questionnaire as a reference point, these interviews were jotted down individually and then trends were analysed for the said research. Most questions that were asked to the candidates were open ended and had huge scope for detailed responses. While the researcher had initially planned to administer a questionnaire to around 50 candidates in the proposal stage, it was observed in the pilot that each respondent’s experiences was more subjective and diverse and hence required individual representation rather than being seen in one single pattern of trends. The number was then brought down to 25 considering that the sample size is not too small but at the same time demanded ample time and attention due to different geographical and spatial locations of the candidates.

The researcher interviewed 14 female and 12 male candidates from the 2015 KDMC Election. All the candidates were interviewed by the researcher himself either in their own spaces (homes, offices) or in the office of the municipal corporation. Each interview took three to four hours on an average for completion.

Difficulties in approaching the candidates:

Considering the confidential nature of most political activities, most candidates were initially apprehensive about meeting the researcher personally. It turned out that most female candidate whose contact details were mentioned in the affidavit forms had in fact given those of their male counterparts-husband, brother, father. In such cases directly communicating with the female candidate seemed like an impossible task due to constant intervention from their male counterparts. While it took close to ten days for the first candidate to agree to an interview, the process became lengthier as each candidate had to be called several times to fix an appointment. Most women also mentioned that only their counterparts would be able to give more information to the researcher as the women were ‘acting as per their guidance.’ On the other hand male counterparts often denied out rightly but were later convinced stating that they could be present with the female candidate. They still kept insisting on speaking to them alone without the female candidate.

Even in the case of male candidates, there was a fear of their responses being misused or circulated outside. However, after the researcher insured them of the secrecy and also gave a clear idea about the kind of questions that would be asked, this obstacle was somewhat overcome. Despite the initial apprehension few female candidates openly spoke on several aspects that are otherwise not revealed. For instance, two interviews, in particular, both of female candidates belonging to the Muslim community were striking as these women shared their experiences even as their male counterparts accompanied them for their interviews. It was also interesting to note that men from the community seldom spoke on behalf of the females, something more common in other communities. It took more than a month for the researcher to interview all the selected candidates.

Data Reporting:

The questions (Annexure attached) used for the reference of the interviews tried to enquire about the socio-political background of the candidate, his/her own set of political associations, electoral history, initial thoughts while contesting an election, political motivations leading to their decisions, challenges faced while arriving at a decision, stages involved in reaching towards the final decision of contesting the election, funds and election strategies, etc. Basically, the research focuses on political motivations and rational strategy of the candidate in contesting an election.

Chapter Two

Motivation, Political Recruitment and Urban Politics: A Theoretical Framework

In the last two and half decades, Indian cities have been experiencing social, economic, physical, and political change as a result of policies of economic liberalisation and decentralisation of power. A significant proportion of growth in the Indian economy has been concentrated in urban areas. Urbanisation is taking place at a faster rate in India. The change that is taking place in terms of urbanisation and development is unprecedented in its rate and scale. According to 1991 Census, population residing in urban areas in India was 11.4 per cent. According to 2001 census, it increased to 28.53 per cent, and crossed the mark of 30 per cent as per 2011 census, standing at 31.16 per cent. “New forms of urban development like large mixed-use townships with high-quality infrastructure are emerging on urban peripheries. Private sector involvement in infrastructure provision has also grown, and the national government has implemented urban policy reforms requiring greater decentralization” (Dupont, 2011). All of these factors have changed the dynamics of politics in Indian cities.

The researcher explored the idea of candidate's motivation (political motivation) especially the motivational factors behind contesting the elections in the larger theoretical context of political recruitment. Secondly, an attempt has been made to place the research problem in the framework of urban politics. Further, the power structure in India is rooted in culture, caste, class, religion, identity, gender, community etc. A deeper understanding of this socio-demographic base is essential to study the dynamics of local body elections.

Theorizing Urban Politics in India:

Cities in India are undergoing a rapid transformation at two broad levels: the first is at the level of the built environment: changing physical structure owing to transformation in the realty and infrastructure sector (from single-family homes to apartment buildings, from small buildings to large complexes and townships) as well as changes in real estate development processes (the manner in which developers are expanding, outsourcing their design and construction, etc).

The second change is taking place is at the level of urban policy and governance: many local and state governments are formulating development and governance policies

favourable for specific groups of people with a view to obtain and develop urban land suited to their requirements. One has to understand the larger political context in which the processes of coalitions between these groups operate in order to study urban politics in the country.

Questions about urban development and governance in contemporary Indian cities have been raised by regime theory and the growth machine thesis raise. The growth machine thesis as suggested by Logan and Molotch (quoted in Sami, 2012) focuses on urban land: its control, development and transfer, and on those actors concerned intimately with the land. Looking at urbanization in the context of US, it raises questions not only about ‘who governs’ but also ‘for what’. It works on a belief that local politics revolves around land and its development which is dominated by a pro-growth coalition of key urban actors, which ultimately shapes urban future through its transformation of local policy.

Urban regime theory, however, works with a broader approach while looking at issues of social power and the role those coalitions of interested parties play in the development and governing of cities, where control over land is a major issue (Stone; Fainstein; Lauria quoted in Sami, 2012). These theorists are interested in the question of who makes up the governing coalition, how they came together and with what consequences (Stone quoted in Sami, 2012) and tried to delve largely on the relationship between the economically powerful ones (large corporations) and those who govern. The theory also tries to locate cities within a larger global framework, acknowledging the impact that processes of globalization and worldwide economic restructuring have on the social order within cities

Motivation:

Motivation - political ambition, drive, determination - could be expected to play a critical role in recruitment. Motivational factors can be understood as psychological predispositions to run for office which become catalysts for action within a given opportunity structure. The reasons for running are complex and varied. Although motivation seems likely to prove an important factor in recruitment, there has been little work on the political ambition of candidates contesting elections, especially in India. One reason for the neglect is widespread skepticism about whether it is possible to understand ambition on a systematic basis, since motivations are hidden, complex, fluid, and open to the problems of rationalization.

Dahl (quoted in Paige, 1977) in his *Modern Political Analysis* in a chapter on ‘Political Man’, identifies four important groups: the powerful, the power seekers, the political strata and the apolitical strata. This classification implies that the political leaders are to be found among the powerful and power seekers. In a subsection on “power seekers and leaders”, Dahl asks why people seek power and critically evaluates three answers: “collective good”, “self-interest” and “unconscious motives”. In a subsection on “the powerful”, he asks why some people gain more power than others and gives us reasons “differences in the amount of resources are used” and “differences in the skill or efficacy with which resources are applied.” These differences, in turn, are found to be dependent upon situational and motivational factors such as objective availability, opportunities, genetic differences, value and incentives.

Ali and Sharma (1983) in their *Political Sociology: A New Grammar of Politics* attempted to analyse three distinct perspectives on the distribution of power in society. The first is the notion of classical democracy that postulates the rule of the majority. Freudian psychology and the exposure of human infirmities and irrationality in public as well as private affairs and the increasing complexity of the business of government have combined to destroy the myth that democracy is based on the will of the majority or on the will of the people. The second view is that even a democracy depends on leadership and the conception of democracy, therefore, must come to terms with the realities of unequal distribution of resources and skills of leadership and power in society. Among those who have attempted to reconcile the value of democracy with the fact of power, Schumpeter stands out as a prominent thinker who holds that it is not the people but the few who rule with the consent of the majority. The third view is elitist and proclaims that it is not only a fact but also a desirable phenomenon that a dominant minority rules regardless of the forms of government. This is the view of Wilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels- the Italian neo-Machiavellians who were opposed to both democracy and socialism. They were skeptical about democracy because it is the few who possesses the necessary power and skills to rule and as they are specially endowed to rule, it is as well that they should rule.

It means skills of leadership and resources are significant when one wants to be politically active or wants to contest for power. Thus, ideally very few who have the interest in politics and possess necessary skills and required resources are actively involved in political activities. Through this research an attempt has been made to explore the

candidates' motivational factors behind contesting an election and their characteristics. The basic purpose of the study is to explore- 'how and why people become politicians or contest and election.'

Understanding Political Recruitment:

Work on political recruitment explores how and why people become politicians, studying the critical stages through which individuals move into political careers. Candidate selection is the main activity of any political party, where political access is traditionally controlled by 'a series of "gatekeepers" and the narrowest gate of all is that guarded by the candidate selectors' (Gallagher and Marsh, 1988).

Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski in their groundbreaking (1995) study *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race and Class in the British Parliament* constructed the 'supply and demand model' which provides a dominant framework for understanding the dynamics of the recruitment process. This model looks at the outcomes of the particular party's selection process with the help of interaction between the supply of candidates who wish to contest and the demands of party gatekeepers who select these people. While looking at the whole process of political recruitment, the duo looks at how political parties, not operating within a vacuum are influenced by the demand and supply and the recruitment process is thus shaped and structured by the broader political system.

Meryl Kenny's (2013) innovative work *Gender and Political Recruitment: Theorizing Institutional Change* tries to examine the gendered dynamics of institutional innovation, continuity and change in candidate selection and recruitment. It rests on the insights of feminist institutionalism and looks at the candidate selection process in post-devolution Scotland through a micro level study of the demand and supply model. The work helps to enhance analyses some pertinent questions in gender and politics scholarship – as well as political science more broadly – including how institutions produce and reproduce unequal power distributions and how and why institutional change occurs, as well as understanding the relationship between different actors and their institutional context. The evidence from the Scottish case demonstrates that the dynamics of institutional power relations, continuity and change need to be filtered through a gendered lens. It also suggests that accounts that ignore or underplay these gendered dynamics are not only incomplete but also 'accredit and perpetuate distorted accounts of the political world'.

Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski (1995) drew a distinction between three levels of analysis in order to understand political recruitment. First, there are systematic factors which set the broad context for recruitment within any country - the legal system, electoral system, and party system. Second, there are factors which set the context within any particular political party - notably the party organisation, rules and ideology. Lastly, there are factors which most directly influence the recruitment of individual candidates within the selection process – notably the resources and motivation of aspirants and the attitudes of gatekeepers.

Joseph Schlesinger's (1996) influential work *Ambition and Politics: Political Careers in the United States* which emphasized on rational choice theories of office-seeking suggests potential ambition only becomes manifest within a particular opportunity structure. That is, candidates choose to run for office in response to the possibilities which are available. Opportunities are determined by the institutional and political environment, notably the structure of elected offices and the rules which define the way to achieve these offices.

As per the rational choice models which look at the decision to contest in terms of the costs and benefits of pursuing the office, it is assumed that all politicians are rational goal seekers desiring higher office.

Simple utility model in a way assumed individuals to contest only due to their belief in the probability of high success. As per the model, candidates run if they believe the probability of success is high, when the perceived benefits of office are great, and/or when the cost of losing is low. The rational actor model, in contrast, does not seek to explain *why* some people are ambitious for office. It simply takes this as a given, and tests certain deductive predictions about how politicians will react to the structure of opportunities (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995). Indeed, for this reason, Hibbing (quoted in Norris and Lovenduski, 1995) has correctly suggested that the so-called theory of ambition is, in fact, a theory of office-seeking.

Conn, Meltz and Press (1973) in their article *The concept of Political Rationality* presents a great analysis of the concept of rationality that applies to elections. According to this, there are two types of rationality Individual rationality and rational strategy. While the former refers to action and behaviour that is taken for individual gains or benefits, the latter points out the behaviour and actions taken for collective benefit expecting a larger

pay-off. “An individual acts rationally when he prefers what he chooses, that is, if he chooses that alternative from a given set which provides him with the highest expected utility”... “When used in this sense, rationality still includes purposive behavior, but the referent of appraising rationality shifts from the individual's preference orderings to the strategic environment when it comes to rational strategy”.

Why would an individual think of contesting an election, when there is a huge risk of losing?

Elections these days have become very competitive and require a huge amount of funds for political campaigning and propaganda. Further, contesting election means aiming to secure a political or public office thus losing privacy to a large extent and becoming open to public scrutiny for both- public and political actions. Even after winning elections candidates have to face continuous pressure from people and the opposition parties to perform well. It thus becomes imperative to see why candidates still risk all their resources in order to contest elections.

The ‘Why and How’ of contesting elections may involve a complex process of decision making for individuals those who are interested in it. Arriving at the decision of contesting an election may comprise multiple stages in terms of discussion with the ‘Self’ and ‘Others’ before reaching the final decision of contesting election. ‘Others’ includes family, friends, community members, support networks, party etc. Opportunity structure, personal ambition, leadership skills, time and resources are essential aspects which shape the candidate’s decision about contesting an election.

Decision Making:

Decision and behavior may be regarded as the core characteristics of the decision-making phenomena. They involve a process of human thought and reaction about the external world, which includes the past and possible future events and the psychological consequences, to the decision maker, of those events. The essence of decision making seems to integrate both beliefs about specific events and people’s subjective reactions to those events. For instance, decisions are responses to situations and may include three aspects. First, there may be more than one possible course of action under consideration. Second, decision makers can form expectations concerning future events that are often described in terms of probabilities or degrees of confidence. Finally, consequences

associated with possible outcomes can be assessed in terms of reflecting personal values and current goals (Oliveira 2007).

Risk factor:

Every individual is a political being. His actions, thoughts and orientations are a product of several complex decision-making processes. The process of arriving at a decision to contest elections is a tough one. The most important factor that can take people away from this step is the risk involved in the whole process- from deciding to the final stage of election results, there is risk involved at every stage.

The Wikipedia encyclopedia defines ‘risk’ as the potential of gaining or losing something of value. Values (such as physical health, social status, emotional well-being or financial wealth) can be gained or lost when taking risk resulting from a given action or inaction, foreseen or unforeseen. With such a definition, one wonders why people choose to ‘risk’ a lot of factors including their tangibles like wealth, income etc. and their intangibles like prestige, social status etc. for an act like contesting elections which does not promise any fixed outcome.

In the case of elections, risks are of two kinds- those of abstract nature and those who have a more concrete end. The abstract risk factors put an individual’s prestige, influence and social position at stake. Concrete factors include risking one’s money, agenda, perks and prestige if the candidate does not successful in the elections.

The most important factor that is at stake for any candidate is his personal and political prestige. A candidate holds a position of respect amongst his community, caste group and class. This is either on an individual level (fear of being isolated from one’s own community with failure) or community level (fear of losing the prestige of one’s own family/ social group within the community and amongst other communities). Along with prestige is one’s influence which is at stake. Political power gives an individual enormous capacity to wield influence on the decision making process. This power also alleviates one’s social position that one acquires through the exercise of influence in public matters. Winning an election alleviates this influential capacity while losing one often makes it redundant.

The most important concrete factor that a candidate has to risk while contesting an election is the money invested in the whole electioneering process. Elections have become a costly affair in today's time. With the campaigning and image building processes requiring huge sums of money, a candidate's decision to contest in itself means that a huge amount of money is at stake. This money, often spent on social causes- like repairing local roads, painting buildings to woo voters etc., gives no guarantee of the voter giving a positive ballot in his favor. In several cases, people's loyalty shifts very easily from time to time. The risk of losing money is often accompanied by the resulting hurdles in getting one's work done- as there is also a loss of social influence. The candidate often chooses to put his existing perks and prestige at stake.

Keeping all these factors in mind, it is very interesting to see and understand why, despite all these risk factors does an individual choose to contest an election- the motivations both immediate and long term behind his decision.

In this theoretical context, the researcher has studied the motivational factors of candidates contesting the local election, problems faced by them during the nomination process, their sources of funding for the election and strategies used by them while campaigning for the election.

Review of Literature:

From traditional approaches to those from social psychology and behavioral ones, scholars, over the years have tried studying the issue of political drive amongst aspirants for the last several years. The traditional approach describes 'how early political ambitions crystallize, develop and evolve during a politician's lifetime, drawing on historical sources such as personal diaries, memoirs, letters, official government papers, and interviews with contemporaries' (Norris and Lovendusky, 1995). This is useful in recording the careers of MPs, leading cabinet members and prime ministers as they move from party activists and junior backbenchers to become leading members of the government and elder statesmen.

Harold Lasswell's *Psychopathology and Politics* published in 1960 provided an alternative to this traditional approach to understand political ambition. The study was derived from social psychological theories which assumed that politicians have certain needs or drives developed through socialisation during their early childhood, which they seek to fulfill

through their political activism. For Lasswell, “politicians have a distinctive kind of personality which causes them to seek office”. In a series of studies during the 1930s, Lasswell argued that politicians are characterised by intense cravings for deference, which are rationalised in terms of the public interest.

James David Barber divided politicians into four types on the basis of their activity and willingness to continue to serve. 'Spectators' were defined as those who enjoy the conviviality and excitement of the legislature, but take little part in its substantive work. 'Advertisers' were the upwardly mobile younger careerists who found that the work provided beneficial business contacts. 'Reluctants' were the more passive elderly members motivated primarily by a sense of duty. Lastly, 'lawmakers' were the active members who made government work (Norris and Lovendusky, 1995).

Individuals often adapt to being politicians in various ways which meet their personal needs. Their early childhood personality developed has a major impact on their latter political behaviour. “Given the inherent problems of understanding such a complex phenomenon as 'personality' for a wide range of politicians, subsequent work in this field has looked more narrowly at 'incentives', defined as needs such as status or sociability which politicians seek to meet through political work” (Barber quoted in Woshinsky, 1973 quoted in Norris and Lovendusky, 1995).

Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski (1995) in their pioneering study, *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race and Class in the British Parliament* look at a broadly institutionalist approach which is a combination of the broader institutional and political context of recruitment and a micro analysis of the candidate and selector attitudes. Its framework systematically integrates the insights of the existing literature on political recruitment, ultimately seeking to understand not only ‘*who* the members of the legislative elite are, but, more importantly, *why* and *how* they got there’.

In doing so, they identify three broad levels of the political recruitment process. The political system – incorporating the legal system, electoral system and party system – sets the general ‘rules of the game’. Within this context, parties are the central gatekeepers and their decisions are shaped by factors such as party organization, ideology, formal party rules and informal norms and practices. Operating within these broader political and party

contextual settings are the factors that most directly influence the recruitment of individuals – the resources and motivations of prospective candidates as well as the attitudes of gatekeepers (quoted in Kenny, 2013).

The issue of candidate motivations has been prominent in the study of elections. Previous studies have identified different motivations. While some argue that candidates are office motivated (Hotelling, 1929) others assume that candidates are policy motivated (Wittman, 1977, 1983 and Calvert, 1985). Both streams, however, assume that candidates are homogeneous in their motivations.

According to the traditional hypotheses of candidates' motivations, candidates care in the same way and only about either winning power or policy (Drouvelis, Saporiti and Vriend, 2012). The traditional multidimensional, or spatial, model of candidate competition (Downs, Davis, Hinich, and Ordeshook quoted in Calvert, 1985) represents the candidate as being concerned solely with winning the election, or, in the same spirit, with maximizing his plurality or a total number of votes. In addition, it endows each candidate with complete knowledge about what the election results will be, given any particular choice of platforms by the candidates.

However, according to the mixed motivations hypothesis, candidates are concerned not only about winning the election and being in power, but also about the ideological position of the policy implemented afterwards (Calvert, 1985; Ball, 1999; Aragones and Palfrey, 2005; Callander, 2008; Bernhardt et al., 2009).

Steven Callander (2008) in his *Political Motivations* developed a simple model of two-candidate electoral competitions in which candidates may be either office or policy motivated. The objective of this paper has been to address a basic question previously overlooked by the political economy literature: What are the motivations of those elected to public office? The main finding of the paper is that office-motivated candidates do not dominate elections despite their greater willingness to trade off policy for the perks of office.

A possible classification of candidates' motivations is suggested by the Clark and Wilson incentive typology. According to Clark and Wilson (quoted in Parker, 1972), activity in all organizations may result from three types of incentives: (1) material incentives-based on

monetary rewards; (2) solidary incentives-based on rewards derived from organizational participation itself, such as prestige and identification; and (3) purposive incentives-based on the achievement of organizational goals. This classification of incentives has been applied in studies of political party activists and appears potentially useful in the study of political candidates. The validity of the Clark and Wilson typology, however, had never been empirically tested.

Parker (1972) in his *Classification of Candidates' Motivations for First Seeking Office* tested the above theoretical assumptions. He conducted interviews in 1970 with 157 elected and defeated candidates in 12 Georgia counties. Offices sought consisted of state senator, state representative, county commissioner, and sheriff. Respondents were shown a list of reasons that candidates in other studies have given for seeking office. The candidates were asked to indicate how important each of these reasons was as a motivation for first seeking political office. Prior to data collection, it was anticipated that the motivations would be analyzed in terms of the three Clark and Wilson incentive categories. In addition, the fourth category of "asked-to-run" reasons was created to classify the candidates who said that they ran for office because they were asked to do so. Although this fourth category may beg the question as to why the person was willing to accept a request to seek office, the "asked-to-run" motivations often appear to constitute a separate category. After the data was collected, factor analysis was used to identify motivations that tend to cluster, reflecting a common underlying dimension or factor. "Bored with the occupation" had originally been classified as a solidary motivation, on the assumption that this motivation reflected a desire for social contact. In the factor analysis, however, this motivation loaded heaviest on the material factor. The occupational boredom motivation, therefore, was reclassified in the material category.

Bhambhani and Verma (1971) in *Candidate's Perception of The Voting Behaviour* studied candidate's perceptions about the factors responsible for determining voters' choices in an election at the local level. For this purpose candidate seeking elections for the municipal office in five different municipal areas, Jaipur, Ajmer, Kota, Bikaner and Alwar, were interviewed in October 1970 for the election held on October 25, 1970. In each town, five wards at random' were selected with a view to contacting each contesting candidate. A small questionnaire was administered for eliciting information regarding the socio-economic background of the contesting candidates, and two (open ended opinion) questions were asked to the respondents. The opinion questions were :(1) Which is the

most important factor which, by and large, influences the choice of the voters? (2) On what considerations the party ticket is allotted to the candidates for contesting elections?

It was assumed that a candidate involved in electoral battles understands the real World of election and voting behaviour. Further, to win the elections and to defeat the opponent needs an electoral strategy which the candidate evolves by perceiving the thought processes of the voter. According to them, “why, how, and whom a voter votes are serious questions for investigation for an empirical theory of participatory democracy.”

The study reveals that personal qualities and caste play an important role in elections in India. The party factor ranks after personal qualities and caste considerations. Since local elections are conducted on ward basis, which is a small unit in community life, the candidates build their own support base on the basis of their services to the ward or community life and caste affiliation. The image of the candidate looms large over voter's choice.

Thus, the theoretical models developed to study the political motivations and electoral competition (Wittman, 1983; Calvert, 1985, Callander, 2008; Drouvelis et al., 2012; Parker, 2012) especially in the Western countries highlight-seeking power and implementing policies as the key motivations behind contesting elections.

Chapter Three

Candidates and their Contexts: Looking at their Socio-Economic and Political Background

Analysis of Socio-Economic and Political Background of Candidates: Kalyan-Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC) Elections 2015

Elections for the Kalyan-Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC) were held in November 2015. Of the 122 wards under the KDMC, voting initially took place across 117 wards, as two villages had boycotted the election and three villages elected candidates without any opposition. 750 candidates were contesting for this particular Municipal Election in 2015. About 47 per cent of the total voters cast their votes for 117 seats in the 122-member house. In 2010 elections, the total voter turnout was 43.49 per cent. The research includes a detailed analysis of 120 candidates who contested the elections in October 2015.

It was interesting to see the relationship between the Sena and the BJP through the dynamics played out during the KDMC elections. The two parties that are an alliance at the state government contested the KDMC elections as fierce opponents. Shiv-Sena, which ruled the Kalyan-Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC) with the BJP's clout for the last five years, contested across 115 wards, while the BJP fought across 109. The Congress and the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) contested the Kalyan-Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC) 2015 elections together. While the Congress contested across 56 wards, the NCP fielded its candidates in 46. Raj Thackeray's Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS) contested in 85 seats. Apart from smaller parties like the Republican Party of India (RPI), Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), Bahujan Vikas Aghadi, All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (AIMIM) and the Left parties; about 252 independent candidates also tried their fortune in these elections, a few playing the game for the first time.

On the basis of the affidavits and nomination forms filed by the candidates for the KDMC 2015 Election to the Election Commission; the researcher has analysed a candidate's socio-economic-political and criminal background. Around 20 variables were identified from the affidavits and nomination forms in order to understand their social status and demographic background.

Reservation pattern:

The Kalyan-Dombivali Municipal Corporation, a governing body of the city of Kalyan-Dombivali consists of 122 municipal wards in all. For the 2015 Municipal Election, as per the provision of 50 per cent reservation to women in Local body elections, 61 of the 122 seats in its constituencies were reserved for female candidates. The internal reservation pattern for General as well as Female constituencies was as follows:

Table no. 1: KDMC Election 2015- Reservation Pattern

	General	SC	ST	OBC
General Constituencies	38	6	1	16
Women Constituencies	36	6	2	17

In the General Constituencies, 6 seats were reserved for the SCs, 1 seat was reserved for the STs, 16 seats were reserved for the OBC's and 38 seats were in the General category. From the Women Constituencies, 6 seats were reserved for the SCs, 2 seats were reserved for the STs, 17 seats were reserved for the OBC's and 36 seats were in the General category.

For the 120 seats, 750 candidates contested the 2015 KDMC elections, either from different political parties or independently. As per the data analysis, 48.3 per cent (360) candidates were male whereas 51.7 per cent (386) candidates were female. In terms of the election result, 46.7 per cent (56) male candidates and 53.3 per cent (64) female candidates won the elections.

Table No. 2: Nature/Type of the Constituencies (KDMC)

Ward Type					
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid					
General	280	37.5	37.5	37.5	
SC	38	5.1	5.1	42.6	
ST	6	.8	.8	43.4	
OBC	83	11.1	11.1	54.6	
Women-General	244	32.7	32.7	87.3	
Women-SC	34	4.6	4.6	91.8	
Women-ST	9	1.2	1.2	93.0	
Women-OBC	52	7.0	7.0	100.0	
Total	746	100.0	100.0		

The analysis of data (Table 2) shows that around 37.5 per cent (280) candidates contested the municipal elections from the General Constituencies (non-women) whereas around 32.7 per cent (244) candidates contested from General Constituencies that are reserved for

women; the number being higher than that of reserved constituencies i.e. - SC (5.1 per cent), ST (0.8 per cent), OBC (11.1 per cent), SC-Women (4.6 per cent), ST-Women (1.2 per cent), OBC-women (7 per cent). The researcher has tried to understand the caste composition of the candidates who contested from the General Constituencies in detail in the latter part of this data reporting.

The data also shows that 45.4 per cent (339) candidates contested from the constituencies reserved for Women while 54.6 per cent (407) contested the elections from the General Constituencies. Further analysis reveals that out of 407 candidates who had contested from the General Constituencies only 11.5 per cent (47) of the candidates were women and 88.5 per cent (360) were men.

Out of the total 746 candidates who had contested the KDMC elections, 29.8 per cent (222) candidates contested from reserved constituencies while 70.2 per cent (524) candidates contested from non-reserved constituencies. 65 independent candidates contested from reserved constituencies with Shiv Sena (45) being the largest party followed by BJP -39, MNS-22, NCP-15, Congress-13 and the others.

On an average 7 candidates per constituency- from Non-reserved constituencies average 5 candidates per constituency- from reserved constituencies contested this particular election.

Religion:

Religion-wise, a huge 77.5 per cent (578) candidates belong to Hindu religion, with a minuscule 4 per cent (30) Muslims, 5.5 per cent (41) Buddhists and 0.3 per cent Jains. 12.7 percent (95) candidates did not reveal their religious identity in their affidavits or nomination forms.

Caste:

Caste-wise data (Table 3) shows that of the 746 candidates, 139 candidates did not reveal their caste identity in their affidavits and nomination forms. The data also revealed that for the KDMC elections, 36.6 per cent (222) candidates came from the General caste category, 17.4 per cent (130) from SC category, 2.1 percent (16) from ST category, 31.4 per cent (234) from the Other Backward Castes Category and 0.7 percent (5) from NT

category (out of the total 607 candidates who revealed their caste identity). The social composition of Kalyan-Dombivali was reflected in the ticket distribution during the 2015 KDMC elections.

Table No. 3: Caste profile of the Candidates

		Caste			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	General	222	29.8	36.6	36.6
	SC	130	17.4	21.4	58.0
	ST	16	2.1	2.6	60.6
	OBC	234	31.4	38.6	99.2
	NT	5	.7	.8	
	Total	607	81.4	100.0	
Missing	System	139	18.6		
	Total	746	100.0		

Table 4 shows that considering the social composition of the Kalyan-Dombivali, the OBC factor turned out to be very crucial factor for most political parties. This caste factor was very well reflected in the ticket distribution from the political parties like Shiv Sena, BJP and MNS. However, political parties like Congress, and NCP were not successful in gauging the role of the Other Backward Castes (OBC) Category in the local elections. Candidates fighting independently (243) were distributed among the General (75), SC (50) and OBC (59) categories. So a good number of independent candidates came from SC and OBC categories.

The caste-wise analysis of the election results revealed that- 48.3 per cent (58) of the candidates were belonging to the Other Backward Castes Category, 22.5 per cent (27) to that of General Category, 13.3 per cent (16) from SC and 2.5 percent (3) from ST category, whereas 16 candidates who won election had not revealed their caste identity. Thus, almost half of the seats have been won by the Other Backward Castes Category candidates.

For the said analysis, the researcher was able to find out details of 746 candidates of the total 750 candidates who contested the KDMC election, 607 candidates having revealed their caste identities⁴. It includes details of 120 winning candidates of the total 122 member house of which caste details of only 104 candidates were available. If we exclude

⁴ It is not mandatory for the candidates contesting elections from the Non- reserved constituencies to reveal their caste details.

the missing data of caste identities from the analysis, the caste wise election statistical analysis shows that- 55.8 per cent (58) of the candidates belongs to the Other Backward Castes Category, 26 per cent (27) from the General Category, 15.4 per cent (16) from SC and 2.9 percent (3) from ST category, with 16 candidates who won elections not having revealed their caste identity.

Table No. 4: Political Party and Caste

		Crosstab						Total
		Info. not available	General	SC	ST	OBC	NT	
Political Congress Party	Count	7	26	6	1	16	1	57
	% within Political Pa	12.3%	45.6%	10.5%	1.8%	28.1%	1.8%	100.0%
	% within Caste	5.0%	11.7%	4.6%	6.3%	6.8%	20.0%	7.6%
	% of Total	.9%	3.5%	.8%	.1%	2.1%	.1%	7.6%
NCP	Count	10	13	7	1	15	0	46
	% within Political Pa	21.7%	28.3%	15.2%	2.2%	32.6%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Caste	7.2%	5.9%	5.4%	6.3%	6.4%	.0%	6.2%
	% of Total	1.3%	1.7%	.9%	.1%	2.0%	.0%	6.2%
BJP	Count	14	36	11	4	48	0	113
	% within Political Pa	12.4%	31.9%	9.7%	3.5%	42.5%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Caste	10.1%	16.2%	8.5%	25.0%	20.5%	.0%	15.1%
	% of Total	1.9%	4.8%	1.5%	.5%	6.4%	.0%	15.1%
Shiv Sena	Count	17	28	15	3	51	1	115
	% within Political Pa	14.8%	24.3%	13.0%	2.6%	44.3%	.9%	100.0%
	% within Caste	12.2%	12.6%	11.5%	18.8%	21.8%	20.0%	15.4%
	% of Total	2.3%	3.8%	2.0%	.4%	6.8%	.1%	15.4%
MNS	Count	18	24	10	2	28	0	82
	% within Political Pa	22.0%	29.3%	12.2%	2.4%	34.1%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Caste	12.9%	10.8%	7.7%	12.5%	12.0%	.0%	11.0%
	% of Total	2.4%	3.2%	1.3%	.3%	3.8%	.0%	11.0%
BSP	Count	4	4	14	0	3	1	26
	% within Political Pa	15.4%	15.4%	53.8%	.0%	11.5%	3.8%	100.0%
	% within Caste	2.9%	1.8%	10.8%	.0%	1.3%	20.0%	3.5%
	% of Total	.5%	.5%	1.9%	.0%	.4%	.1%	3.5%
SP	Count	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
	% within Political Pa	.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Caste	.0%	.0%	.8%	.0%	.4%	.0%	.3%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.3%
RPI (A)	Count	2	0	5	0	1	0	8
	% within Political Pa	25.0%	.0%	62.5%	.0%	12.5%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Caste	1.4%	.0%	3.8%	.0%	.4%	.0%	1.1%
	% of Total	.3%	.0%	.7%	.0%	.1%	.0%	1.1%
Independent	Count	53	75	50	5	59	1	243
	% within Political Pa	21.8%	30.9%	20.6%	2.1%	24.3%	.4%	100.0%
	% within Caste	38.1%	33.8%	38.5%	31.3%	25.2%	20.0%	32.6%
	% of Total	7.1%	10.1%	6.7%	.7%	7.9%	.1%	32.6%
Bahujan Vikas Aaghya	Count	6	4	4	0	7	1	22
	% within Political Pa	27.3%	18.2%	18.2%	.0%	31.8%	4.5%	100.0%
	% within Caste	4.3%	1.8%	3.1%	.0%	3.0%	20.0%	2.9%
	% of Total	.8%	.5%	.5%	.0%	.9%	.1%	2.9%
Other	Count	8	12	7	0	5	0	32
	% within Political Pa	25.0%	37.5%	21.9%	.0%	15.6%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Caste	5.8%	5.4%	5.4%	.0%	2.1%	.0%	4.3%
	% of Total	1.1%	1.6%	.9%	.0%	.7%	.0%	4.3%
Total	Count	139	222	130	16	234	5	746
	% within Political Pa	18.6%	29.8%	17.4%	2.1%	31.4%	.7%	100.0%
	% within Caste	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	18.6%	29.8%	17.4%	2.1%	31.4%	.7%	100.0%

Age:

Most candidates contesting the 2015 KDMC elections were middle-aged. 21.2 per cent (158) candidates were belonging to the 18 - 30 year age group, 48 per cent (358)

candidates belong to the 31 -45 years group, 26.3 per cent (196) candidates from the age group of 46-60 years and 3.6 per cent (27) candidates being above 60 years.

Among the winning members of the KDMC, 20 per cent (24) of the members are in the 18-30 year age group, 46.7 per cent (56) members between 31- 45 years 30 per cent (36) between 46 - 60 years and 2.5 per cent candidates (3) having crossed 60 years of their age.

Language:

In terms of language, almost 90 per cent (671) candidates were Marathi speaking while 10 per cent (72) candidates were Hindi or non-Marathi speaking. Considering the demographic structure of the Kalyan- Dombivali region, language did not play a major role during the elections although the non-Marathi population has increased in the region over the years.

Educational background:

On one side, political distrust and dissatisfaction with the political system is on a rise in the society is reflected in the voter turnout during the elections; while on the other, the level of education of the candidates contesting the elections does not seem to show any signs of improvement. 34.5 percent (257) of the total candidates had barely completed their primary or higher primary education while 18.6 percent (139) candidates had just completed their SSC. 13.8 per cent (103) candidates were HSC, 5.4 per cent (40) were under graduates and 16.5 per cent (123) candidates had completed their graduation. In terms of Higher Education, only 3.4 per cent (25) candidates were post-graduates and 4.3 per cent (32) candidates were having the Professional Degrees. Only 1.2 per cent (9) candidates were illiterate. In short, 53.1 per cent candidate were either SSC or below SSC.

Education-wise election results show that of the 122 candidates 42.5 per cent (51) of the candidates who won the KDMC 2015 election have not completed their SSC. While 15.8 per cent (19) candidates are SSC, 14.2 per cent (17) are HSC, 5.8 per cent (7) are under graduates and 15.8 per cent candidates (19) are Graduates. Only 1 candidate is a post graduate and 2 candidates are having some professional degrees.

Occupation:

Table 5: ‘Occupation of the candidates’ shows that around 35 per cent (260) of the candidates (199 male and 61 female) contesting the KDMC election 2015 were engaged in business-like activities, with 30.4 per cent (227) candidates being housewives. 9.7 per cent (72) candidates (40 male and 32 female) self-employed, 9 per cent (67) candidates (47 male and 20 female) doing service or job, and 2.1 per cent (16) were retired whereas 1.7 per cent (13) were students. 2.8 per cent (21) candidates (11 male and 10 female) being engaged in professional occupations, 1.3 per cent (10) candidates were doing some social work, 0.5 (4) were teachers whereas around 1 percent (8) candidates were unemployed.

Table no. 5: Occupation of the Candidates

Occupation				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Info. not available	10	1.3	1.3	1.3
Self-Employed	72	9.7	9.7	11.0
Business	260	34.9	34.9	45.8
Service	67	9.0	9.0	54.8
House Wife	227	30.4	30.4	85.3
Retired	16	2.1	2.1	87.4
Student	13	1.7	1.7	89.1
Un-employed	2	.3	.3	89.4
Farmer	9	1.2	1.2	90.6
Other	19	2.5	2.5	93.2
Professional	21	2.8	2.8	96.0
Daily Wage Earner	12	1.6	1.6	97.6
None	3	.4	.4	98.0
Social Servent	10	1.3	1.3	99.3
Teacher	4	.5	.5	99.9
Journalist	1	.1	.1	100.0
Total	746	100.0	100.0	

The occupation-wise election results reveal that out of the 120 candidates, 49.2 per cent (59) of the candidates who won the KDMC 2015 election are engaged in business like activities whereas 31.7 per cent (38) candidates were housewives. Among the others 5 per cent (6) are self-employed, 2.5 per cent (3) are doing job or service, 3.3 per cent (4) are retired, 1 student, 2.5 per cent (3) farmers, 2 Professionals, 2 Social Workers and 1 is a teacher. Occupation details of 10 winning candidates were not available.

From the affidavits and nomination forms, the researcher observed that most of the candidates who are engaged in the business-like activities are basically involved in occupations related to land dealing, building, construction, realty sector etc.

Assets of the Candidates:

Elections need resources and the same was reflected in the distribution of tickets during the 2015 KDMC elections. Around 279 Candidates were having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore or above. 18.8 per cent (140) candidates are having assets in the range of 1 Crore to 5 Crore whereas 170 candidates were having assets less than of Rs. 5 lakh. Around 255 candidates were having the assets in the range of Rs. 5 lakh to Rs. 50 Lakh. Only 3.2 per cent (24) candidates had shown zero assets in the affidavits

Table no. 6: Assets

Assets					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nil	24	3.2	3.3	3.3
	Less than 50,000	53	7.1	7.3	10.6
	Less than 1 Lakh	26	3.5	3.6	14.2
	Less than 2.5 Lakh	54	7.2	7.5	21.7
	Less than 5 lakh	33	4.4	4.6	26.2
	Less than 10 lakh	55	7.4	7.6	33.8
	Less than 20 Lakh	77	10.3	10.6	44.5
	Less than 30 Lakh	53	7.1	7.3	51.8
	Less than 50 Lakh	70	9.4	9.7	61.5
	50 lakh to 1 Crore	93	12.5	12.8	74.3
	1 Crore- 5 Crore	140	18.8	19.3	93.6
	5 Crore- 25 Crore	43	5.8	5.9	99.6
	25 Crore- 50 Crore	1	.1	.1	99.7
	Above 50 Crore	2	.3	.3	100.0
	Total	724	97.1	100.0	
Missing	System	22	2.9		
	Total	746	100.0		

The statistical analysis (Table 7) shows that out of the 120 candidates who won the KDMC 2015 Election, almost 67 per cent (80) of the candidates are having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore or above. The second part of the Table no. 6, Pearson Chi-Square statistic, $\chi^2 = 100.285^a$ and $p < 0.05$ (in fact $p < 0.001$); i.e. a probability of a significant relationship between assets and result of the election.

A detailed analysis of the data revealed that 140 of the 279 candidates who were having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore or above are basically engaged in the business like activities. 66 candidates who were housewives also fell in the same income group.

Further analysis shows that around 50 per cent (116) of the total 234 OBC candidates were engaged in the business like activities and 25 per cent (57) candidates were housewives. In terms of education, 40 per cent (94) of the OBC candidates out of 234 were having their

educational level below SSC, while 15.4 per cent (36) of the candidates had completed their SSC. When the researcher tried to probe further it was found that 50 per cent (115) of the candidates belonging to the OBC category had assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore or above and almost 56 per cent (58) candidates who have won the KDMC 2015 election belong to the OBC category.

As noted above, occupation-wise election result shows that out of 120 candidates 49.2 per cent (59) of the candidates who won the election are engaged in the business like occupation whereas 31.7 per cent (38) candidates are housewives.

Thus, there is a strong probability of effective role of the Other Backward castes phenomenon during the KDMC election where factors like caste, business and assets contributed significantly towards winning seats for the parties like Shiv Sena and BJP who understood this equation.

Table No. 7: Assets * Election Result

Cross tab

		Election Result		Total
		Won	Lost	
Assets Nil	Count	2	22	24
	% within Assets	8.3%	91.7%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	1.8%	3.6%	3.3%
	% of Total	.3%	3.0%	3.3%
Less than 50,000	Count	1	52	53
	% within Assets	1.9%	98.1%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	.9%	8.5%	7.3%
	% of Total	.1%	7.2%	7.3%
Less than 1 Lakh	Count	1	25	26
	% within Assets	3.8%	96.2%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	.9%	4.1%	3.6%
	% of Total	.1%	3.5%	3.6%
Less than 2.5 Lakh	Count	1	53	54
	% within Assets	1.9%	98.1%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	.9%	8.7%	7.5%
	% of Total	.1%	7.3%	7.5%
Less than 5 lakh	Count	2	31	33
	% within Assets	6.1%	93.9%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	1.8%	5.1%	4.6%
	% of Total	.3%	4.3%	4.6%
Less than 10 lakh	Count	5	50	55
	% within Assets	9.1%	90.9%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	4.4%	8.2%	7.6%
	% of Total	.7%	6.9%	7.6%
Less than 20 Lakh	Count	6	71	77
	% within Assets	7.8%	92.2%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	5.3%	11.6%	10.6%
	% of Total	.8%	9.8%	10.6%
Less than 30 Lakh	Count	5	48	53
	% within Assets	9.4%	90.6%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	4.4%	7.9%	7.3%
	% of Total	.7%	6.6%	7.3%
Less than 50 Lakh	Count	11	59	70
	% within Assets	15.7%	84.3%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	9.6%	9.7%	9.7%
	% of Total	1.5%	8.1%	9.7%
50 lakh to 1 Crore	Count	12	81	93
	% within Assets	12.9%	87.1%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	10.5%	13.3%	12.8%
	% of Total	1.7%	11.2%	12.8%
1 Crore- 5 Crore	Count	45	95	140
	% within Assets	32.1%	67.9%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	39.5%	15.6%	19.3%
	% of Total	6.2%	13.1%	19.3%
5 Crore- 25 Crore	Count	21	22	43
	% within Assets	48.8%	51.2%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	18.4%	3.6%	5.9%
	% of Total	2.9%	3.0%	5.9%
25 Crore- 50 Crore	Count	1	0	1
	% within Assets	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	.9%	.0%	.1%
	% of Total	.1%	.0%	.1%
Above 50 Crore	Count	1	1	2
	% within Assets	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	.9%	.2%	.3%
	% of Total	.1%	.1%	.3%
Total	Count	114	610	724
	% within Assets	15.7%	84.3%	100.0%
	% within Election Result	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	15.7%	84.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	100.285 ^a	13	.000
Likelihood Ratio	93.918	13	.000
Linear-by -Linear Association	63.896	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	724		

a. 6 cells (21.4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .16.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.372	.000
	Cramer's V	.372	.000
N of Valid Cases		724	

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Criminal Background:

It was really difficult to assess and define the criminal background of the candidates from the details provided in the nomination forms and affidavits considering that the declaration is voluntary and not necessarily exhaustive in nature.

Table no. 8: Criminal background of the Candidates

Criminal cases

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Info. not available		13	1.7	1.7	1.7
Yes		110	14.7	14.7	16.5
No		623	83.5	83.5	100.0
Total		746	100.0	100.0	

Table number 8 shows that around 15 per cent (110) of candidates in the KDMC 2015 Election had some sort of a criminal background while 83.5 per cent (623) candidates had no criminal background.

Criminal Background and Gender:

Table No. 9: Criminal cases * Gender

Crosstab

	Info. not available	Count	Gender		Total	
			Male	Female		
Criminal cases	% within Criminal cases		8	5	13	
	% within Gender		61.5%	38.5%	100.0%	
	% of Total		2.2%	1.3%	1.7%	
	Yes		1.1%	.7%	1.7%	
Yes	Count		84	26	110	
	% within Criminal cases		76.4%	23.6%	100.0%	
	% within Gender		23.3%	6.7%	14.7%	
	% of Total		11.3%	3.5%	14.7%	
No	Count		268	355	623	
	% within Criminal cases		43.0%	57.0%	100.0%	
	% within Gender		74.4%	92.0%	83.5%	
	% of Total		35.9%	47.6%	83.5%	
Total	Count		360	386	746	
	% within Criminal cases		48.3%	51.7%	100.0%	
	% within Gender		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total		48.3%	51.7%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	42.569 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	44.166	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	34.434	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	746		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.27.

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	.239	.000
Phi	.239	.000
Cramer's V	.239	.000
N of Valid Cases	746	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

The statistical analysis revealed that of the 110 candidates who had some criminal background, 84 candidates were male while only 26 candidates were female. The second part of the Table no. 9, Pearson Chi-Square statistic, $\chi^2 = 42.259^a$ and $p < 0.05$ (in fact $p < 0.001$); i.e. a strong probability of a significant relationship between criminal background of candidates and gender. It means female candidates contesting the election were less in

numbers with the criminal background than that of male candidates. This hints towards a possibility of improvement in the quality of representation with more and more female candidates coming forward to contest elections. Secondly, most of the times cases against the candidates are political in nature i.e. for political agitations or conducting *morchas* etc. and leaders many of the occasions happened to be males who are booked on some charges of breaking law and order etc.

Criminal Cases and Election Result:

Further analysis of data on the criminal background (Table 10) with the election result provides that 23.3 per cent (28) of the candidates of the 120 elected members of KDMC have been registered for some criminal offences.

Table no. 10: Criminal cases * Election Result

Crosstab

			Election Result		Total	
			Won	Lost		
Criminal cases	Info. not available	Count	4	9	13	
		% within Criminal cases	30.8%	69.2%	100.0%	
		% within Election Result	3.3%	1.4%	1.7%	
		% of Total	.5%	1.2%	1.7%	
	Yes	Count	28	82	110	
		% within Criminal cases	25.5%	74.5%	100.0%	
		% within Election Result	23.3%	13.1%	14.7%	
		% of Total	3.8%	11.0%	14.7%	
	No	Count	88	535	623	
		% within Criminal cases	14.1%	85.9%	100.0%	
		% within Election Result	73.3%	85.5%	83.5%	
		% of Total	11.8%	71.7%	83.5%	
Total		Count	120	626	746	
		% within Criminal cases	16.1%	83.9%	100.0%	
		% within Election Result	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
		% of Total	16.1%	83.9%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asy mp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.003 ^a	2	.004
Likelihood Ratio	9.849	2	.007
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.756	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	746		

a. 1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.09.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.121	.004
	Cramer's V	.121	.004
N of Valid Cases		746	

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Analysis of the General or Non-women Constituencies:

In the Kalyan Dombivali Municipal Corporation 2015 Elections, 407 candidates contested from the General Constituencies for 61 seats (for easy understanding, the term ‘**Non-women Constituencies**’ is used to refer to the General Constituencies in this analysis). In terms of gender, 88.5 per cent (360) candidates were male whereas 11.5 per cent (47) were female.

Table no. 11: Political Party*Gender

Crosstab

Political Party			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Congress	Count	29	3	32	
	% within Political Party	90.6%	9.4%	100.0%	
	% within Gender	8.1%	6.4%	7.9%	
	% of Total	7.1%	.7%	7.9%	
NCP	Count	20	2	22	
	% within Political Party	90.9%	9.1%	100.0%	
	% within Gender	5.6%	4.3%	5.4%	
	% of Total	4.9%	.5%	5.4%	
BJP	Count	55	5	60	
	% within Political Party	91.7%	8.3%	100.0%	
	% within Gender	15.3%	10.6%	14.7%	
	% of Total	13.5%	1.2%	14.7%	
Shiv Sena	Count	52	6	58	
	% within Political Party	89.7%	10.3%	100.0%	
	% within Gender	14.4%	12.8%	14.3%	
	% of Total	12.8%	1.5%	14.3%	
MNS	Count	37	8	45	
	% within Political Party	82.2%	17.8%	100.0%	
	% within Gender	10.3%	17.0%	11.1%	
	% of Total	9.1%	2.0%	11.1%	
BSP	Count	12	3	15	
	% within Political Party	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%	
	% within Gender	3.3%	6.4%	3.7%	
	% of Total	2.9%	.7%	3.7%	
SP	Count	1	0	1	
	% within Political Party	100.0%	.0%	100.0%	
	% within Gender	.3%	.0%	.2%	
	% of Total	.2%	.0%	.2%	
RPI (A)	Count	3	0	3	
	% within Political Party	100.0%	.0%	100.0%	
	% within Gender	.8%	.0%	.7%	
	% of Total	.7%	.0%	.7%	
Independent	Count	126	13	139	
	% within Political Party	90.6%	9.4%	100.0%	
	% within Gender	35.0%	27.7%	34.2%	
	% of Total	31.0%	3.2%	34.2%	
Bahujan Vikas Aaghadi	Count	10	2	12	
	% within Political Party	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%	
	% within Gender	2.8%	4.3%	2.9%	
	% of Total	2.5%	.5%	2.9%	
Other	Count	15	5	20	
	% within Political Party	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%	
	% within Gender	4.2%	10.6%	4.9%	
	% of Total	3.7%	1.2%	4.9%	
Total	Count	360	47	407	
	% within Political Party	88.5%	11.5%	100.0%	
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	88.5%	11.5%	100.0%	

Table 11 clearly shows the attitude of political parties towards female candidates as very few tickets were offered to female candidates in the General constituencies by the political parties.

The reservation pattern in the General constituencies was as follows:

General	SC	ST	OBC
38	6	1	16

Table No. 12: Ward Type

Ward Type

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	General	280	68.8	68.8	68.8
	SC	38	9.3	9.3	78.1
	ST	6	1.5	1.5	79.6
	OBC	83	20.4	20.4	100.0
	Total	407	100.0	100.0	

The reserved constituency wise (ward-type) statistical data (Table 12) shows that 68.8 per cent (280) candidates out of total number of 407 candidates contested from the General category constituencies, 9.3 per cent (38) contested from SC category, 1.5 per cent (6) from ST and 20.4 per cent (83) from the constituencies reserved for the Other Backward Castes Category.

In all, 31.2 per cent (127) candidates contested from reserved constituencies (110 male and 17 female) while 68.8 per cent (280) from non-reserved constituencies (250 male and 30 female).

Table no. 13: Caste

Caste

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	General	117	28.7	35.1	35.1
	SC	64	15.7	19.2	54.4
	ST	6	1.5	1.8	56.2
	OBC	141	34.6	42.3	98.5
	NT	5	1.2	1.5	
	Total	333	81.8	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	74	18.2		
	Total	407	100.0		

Caste wise data analysis (Table 13) shows that 35.1 per cent (117) candidates were from the General caste category, 19.2 per cent (64) SCs , 1.8 per cent (6) STs, 42.3 per cent (141) OBC's and 1.5 per cent (5) were NT's. 74 candidates did not reveal their caste

identity. Candidates belonging to the Backward Castes thus found to be significant in numbers.

Table 14 shows that a significant number of candidates belonging to SC and Backward Caste backgrounds contested from the non-reserved constituencies in the KDMC election. 41 per cent (26) of the total number of 64 SC candidates contested from the non-reserved constituencies while 59 per cent (38) contested from the reserved constituencies. 43.3 per cent (61) Other Backward Castes Category candidates out of total number of 141 candidates were contesting from the non-reserved constituencies and 56.7 per cent (80) from the reserved constituencies.

Table no. 14: Caste*Ward Reserved/Non- Reserved

			Crosstab		Total
Caste	General	Count	Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved	Non-Reserved	
			Reserved	Non-Reserved	
SC	General	Count	0	117	117
		% within Caste	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved	.0%	56.5%	35.1%
		% of Total	.0%	35.1%	35.1%
		Count	38	26	64
ST	General	% within Caste	59.4%	40.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved	30.2%	12.6%	19.2%
		% of Total	11.4%	7.8%	19.2%
		Count	6	0	6
		% within Caste	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
OBC	General	% within Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved	4.8%	.0%	1.8%
		% of Total	1.8%	.0%	1.8%
		Count	80	61	141
		% within Caste	56.7%	43.3%	100.0%
		% within Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved	63.5%	29.5%	42.3%
NT	General	% of Total	24.0%	18.3%	42.3%
		Count	2	3	5
		% within Caste	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved	1.6%	1.4%	1.5%
		% of Total	.6%	.9%	1.5%
Total	General	Count	126	207	333
		% within Caste	37.8%	62.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	37.8%	62.2%	100.0%

Table No. 15: Caste * General constituency

Caste * Ward Type Crosstabulation

Caste	General		Ward Type			Total
			General	SC	ST	
Caste General	Count	117	0	0	0	117
	% within Caste	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Ward Type	56.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	35.1%
	% of Total	35.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	35.1%
SC	Count	26	38	0	0	64
	% within Caste	40.6%	59.4%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Ward Type	12.6%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	19.2%
	% of Total	7.8%	11.4%	.0%	.0%	19.2%
ST	Count	0	0	6	0	6
	% within Caste	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Ward Type	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	1.8%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	1.8%	.0%	1.8%
OBC	Count	61	0	0	80	141
	% within Caste	43.3%	.0%	.0%	56.7%	100.0%
	% within Ward Type	29.5%	.0%	.0%	97.6%	42.3%
	% of Total	18.3%	.0%	.0%	24.0%	42.3%
NT	Count	3	0	0	2	5
	% within Caste	60.0%	.0%	.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	% within Ward Type	1.4%	.0%	.0%	2.4%	1.5%
	% of Total	.9%	.0%	.0%	.6%	1.5%
Total	Count	207	38	6	82	333
	% within Caste	62.2%	11.4%	1.8%	24.6%	100.0%
	% within Ward Type	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	62.2%	11.4%	1.8%	24.6%	100.0%

Caste picture in General- Caste Category Constituencies (of General Constituencies)

Caste

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	General	117	41.8	56.5	56.5
	SC	26	9.3	12.6	69.1
	OBC	61	21.8	29.5	98.6
	NT	3	1.1	1.4	100.0
	Total	207	73.9	100.0	
Missing	System	73	26.1		
	Total	280	100.0		

In the 2015 KDMC elections, 61 seats of the General Constituency (50% of total 122 seats) were further distributed amongst different categories as per the principle of internal reservation. 38 seats were allotted to the General category, 6 to SCs , 1 to STs and 16 to Other Backward Castes category.

Table 15 (second part) shows that for 38 seats in General Caste category of General Constituencies, 280 candidates from different caste groups were contesting the election. Though 73 candidates have not revealed their caste identity, the researcher could get caste

details of the remaining 207 candidates. The statistical analysis shows that out of 207 candidates (those who had revealed their caste identity) 56.5 per cent (117) were from the General Castes, 12.6 per cent (26) SCs, 29.5 per cent (61) OBC's and 1.1 per cent (3) were STs. When these 207 candidates of different caste groups contesting from the General Caste category of General Constituencies were analysed with the 'Election Result' through cross tabulation on SPSS, we got the following result which is essential for the micro understanding of role of caste at the local body elections:

Table No. 16: Caste * Election Result

Crosstab

Caste	General		Election Result		Total
			Won	Lost	
General		Count	13	104	117
		% within Caste	11.1%	88.9%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	46.4%	58.1%	56.5%
		% of Total	6.3%	50.2%	56.5%
SC		Count	1	25	26
		% within Caste	3.8%	96.2%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	3.6%	14.0%	12.6%
		% of Total	.5%	12.1%	12.6%
OBC		Count	14	47	61
		% within Caste	23.0%	77.0%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	50.0%	26.3%	29.5%
		% of Total	6.8%	22.7%	29.5%
NT		Count	0	3	3
		% within Caste	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	.0%	1.7%	1.4%
		% of Total	.0%	1.4%	1.4%
Total		Count	28	179	207
		% within Caste	13.5%	86.5%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	13.5%	86.5%	100.0%

Thus, the above analysis reveals that 13 (out of 117) candidates from general or open caste category, 1 from SC (out of 26) and 14 from Other Backward Castes category (out of 61) won the election from the General Caste category of General Constituencies. Due to the non-availability of caste details of 73 candidates researcher could not find caste details of the remaining 10 candidates.

Age:

Statistical Data shows that 20.1 per cent (82) of the candidates were from the age group of 18-30 years, 46.2 per cent (188) candidates from 31-45 years, 27.5 per cent (112) candidates from 46 -60 years and 4.9 per cent (20) candidates are above 60 years of age.

Education:

Table no. 17: Educational Background of the Candidates

Education					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Info. not available	7	1.7	1.7	1.7
	Below SSC	133	32.7	32.7	34.4
	SSC	87	21.4	21.4	55.8
	HSC	54	13.3	13.3	69.0
	Under Graduation	23	5.7	5.7	74.7
	Graduate	71	17.4	17.4	92.1
	P.G.	14	3.4	3.4	95.6
	Professional Degree	15	3.7	3.7	99.3
	Illiterate	2	.5	.5	99.8
	Doctoral Degree	1	.2	.2	100.0
	Total	407	100.0	100.0	

In terms of their educational background, 32.7 per cent (133) of the total 407 candidates were below SSC while 21.4 per cent (87) candidates had barely completed their SSC. Further 13.3 per cent (54) candidates were HSC, 5.7 per cent (23) under graduates and 17.4 per cent (71) graduates. Only 3.4 per cent (14) of candidates out of total number of 407 candidates were Post Graduates and almost the same numbers of candidates (3.7 per cent) were having some Professional Degrees.

Occupation:

Statistical analysis (Table 18) shows that 51.4 per cent (209) of the candidates were engaged in business like occupations, 10.6 per cent (43) candidates were self-employed, and 11.8 per cent (48) were job holders, 6.9 per cent (28) housewives, 2 per cent (8) students and 3.2 per cent (13) of the candidates were retired persons.

Table no. 18: Occupation of the Candidates

Ocupation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Info. not available	6	1.5	1.5	1.5
	Self-Employed	43	10.6	10.6	12.0
	Business	209	51.4	51.4	63.4
	Service	48	11.8	11.8	75.2
	House Wife	28	6.9	6.9	82.1
	Retired	13	3.2	3.2	85.3
	Student	8	2.0	2.0	87.2
	Un-employed	2	.5	.5	87.7
	Farmer	7	1.7	1.7	89.4
	Other	7	1.7	1.7	91.2
	Professional	13	3.2	3.2	94.3
	Daily Wage Earner	9	2.2	2.2	96.6
	None	2	.5	.5	97.1
	Social Serv ent	9	2.2	2.2	99.3
	Teacher	2	.5	.5	99.8
	Journalist	1	.2	.2	
	Total	407	100.0	100.0	100.0

Assets:

The data analysis reveals that 164 candidates were having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore and above while 96 candidates were having assets worth less than Rs. 5 Lakh. 127 candidates out of the total number of 407 were having the assets in the range of Rs. 5 Lakh to Rs. 50 Lakh. 11 candidates have shown ownership of no assets at all.

Criminal background:

In terms of Criminal cases, 23.3 per cent (96) of candidates were having criminal cases in their names. Overall, BJP leads the tally with 23 candidates followed by Shiv Sena- 19, MNS- 16, Congress- 8 NCP-3, BSp-2 and the independents-21.

Caste-wise Criminal background of the candidates provides that 53.4 per cent (39) candidates from the Backward Caste Category had some criminal cases against them.

Election Result:

Shiva Sena and BJP were leading the tally of General constituencies by winning 26 seats each whereas Congress, NCP and BSP got one seat each, MNS got 2 seats and the independents won in 4 places.

Gender-wise election result shows that 91.8 per cent (56) winning candidates are male and only 8.2 per cent (5) candidates are female.

In terms of the age of the winning candidates, 18 per cent (11) candidates are from the age group of 18-30 years, 37.7 per cent (23) candidates from 31-45 years, 39.3 per cent (24) candidates from 46- 60 years and 3.3 per cent (2) candidates are above 60 years of age.

Education-wise election result shows that 41 per cent (25) of the candidates out of 61 who won the 2015 KDMC election from this category (of General constituencies) have not completed their SSC. Whereas 18 per cent candidates (11) are SSC, 14.8 per cent (9) are HSC, 9.8 per cent (6) are under graduates and 11.5 per cent (7) candidates are Graduates. Only 1 candidate is a post graduate and 1 is having some professional degree. 1 Candidate found illiterate in this tally.

The Other Backward Castes category found to be significant in numbers on the tally of winning candidates from the General constituencies. 58.8 per cent (30) of winning candidates belong to the Other Backward castes, 25.5 per cent (13) candidates from General caste category, 13.7 per cent (7) by SCs and 1 seat by ST candidate. Caste identity details of 10 winning candidates from the General Constituency were not available for analysis. (see Table 19)

Table no. 19: Caste * Election Result

			Crosstab		Total	
Caste	General		Election Result			
			Won	Lost		
Caste	General	Count	13	104	117	
		% within Caste	11.1%	88.9%	100.0%	
		% within Election Result	25.5%	36.9%	35.1%	
		% of Total	3.9%	31.2%	35.1%	
SC		Count	7	57	64	
		% within Caste	10.9%	89.1%	100.0%	
		% within Election Result	13.7%	20.2%	19.2%	
		% of Total	2.1%	17.1%	19.2%	
ST		Count	1	5	6	
		% within Caste	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%	
		% within Election Result	2.0%	1.8%	1.8%	
		% of Total	.3%	1.5%	1.8%	
OBC		Count	30	111	141	
		% within Caste	21.3%	78.7%	100.0%	
		% within Election Result	58.8%	39.4%	42.3%	
		% of Total	9.0%	33.3%	42.3%	
NT		Count	0	5	5	
		% within Caste	.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
		% within Election Result	.0%	1.8%	1.5%	
		% of Total	.0%	1.5%	1.5%	
Total		Count	51	282	333	
		% within Caste	15.3%	84.7%	100.0%	
		% within Election Result	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
		% of Total	15.3%	84.7%	100.0%	

The data analysis reveals that 70.5 per cent (43) of the winning candidates are engaged in the business-like activities, 4 were housewives, 3 self-employed, 3 job holders, 2 retired, 1 student and 2 are farmers.

The statistical analysis of Table number 20 shows that out of the 59 winning candidates from the General constituencies of the 2015 KDMC Election, almost 83 per cent (45) of the candidates are having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore or above. Financial details of 2 winning candidates were not available for analysis.

Table no. 20: Assets and Election Result

		Crosstab			
		Election Result		Total	
Assets	Nil	Won	Lost		
		Count	1	11	
	Less than 50,000	% within Assets	9.1%	90.9%	
		% within Election Result	1.7%	2.9%	
		% of Total	.3%	2.8%	
		Count	0	36	
	Less than 1 Lakh	% within Assets	.0%	100.0%	
		% within Election Result	.0%	9.0%	
		% of Total	.0%	9.0%	
		Count	1	17	
	Less than 2.5 Lakh	% within Assets	5.9%	94.1%	
		% within Election Result	1.7%	4.3%	
		% of Total	.3%	4.3%	
		Count	1	31	
	Less than 5 lakh	% within Assets	3.2%	96.8%	
		% within Election Result	1.7%	7.8%	
		% of Total	.3%	7.8%	
		Count	1	12	
	Less than 10 lakh	% within Assets	8.3%	91.7%	
		% within Election Result	1.7%	3.0%	
		% of Total	.3%	3.0%	
		Count	3	27	
	Less than 20 Lakh	% within Assets	11.1%	88.9%	
		% within Election Result	5.1%	6.8%	
		% of Total	.8%	6.8%	
		Count	2	35	
	Less than 30 Lakh	% within Assets	5.7%	94.3%	
		% within Election Result	3.4%	8.8%	
		% of Total	.5%	8.8%	
		Count	0	25	
	Less than 50 Lakh	% within Assets	.0%	100.0%	
		% within Election Result	.0%	6.3%	
		% of Total	.0%	6.3%	
		Count	5	40	
	50 lakh to 1 Crore	% within Assets	12.5%	87.5%	
		% within Election Result	8.5%	10.1%	
		% of Total	1.3%	10.1%	
		Count	8	49	
	1 Crore- 5 Crore	% within Assets	16.3%	83.7%	
		% within Election Result	13.6%	12.3%	
		% of Total	2.0%	12.3%	
		Count	24	89	
	5 Crore- 25 Crore	% within Assets	27.0%	73.0%	
		% within Election Result	40.7%	22.4%	
		% of Total	6.0%	22.4%	
		Count	11	23	
	25 Crore- 50 Crore	% within Assets	47.8%	52.2%	
		% within Election Result	18.6%	5.8%	
		% of Total	2.8%	5.8%	
		Count	1	1	
	Above 50 Crore	% within Assets	100.0%	100.0%	
		% within Election Result	1.7%	.3%	
		% of Total	.3%	.3%	
		Count	1	2	
	Total	% within Assets	50.0%	50.0%	
		% within Election Result	1.7%	.5%	
		% of Total	.3%	.5%	
		Count	59	398	
		% within Assets	14.8%	85.2%	
		% within Election Result	100.0%	100.0%	
		% of Total	14.8%	85.2%	

The further statistical analysis shows that 63 per cent (89) candidates out of the total number of 141 OBC candidates from the General Constituencies were engaged in the business like occupations and 8 per cent (11) were housewives. In terms of economic resources, 51 per cent (71) Other Backward castes candidates had assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore and above.

Thus, one can see a combination of factors like Caste (OBC), (Business) Class and high assets dominating the 2015 KDMC elections. In fact, the OBC phenomenon could be the major factor in 2015 KDMC Election.

Criminal Background:

Table no. 21: Criminal cases * Election Result

Crosstab

Criminal cases	Inf o. not available		Election Result		Total
			Won	Lost	
Yes		Count	3	5	8
		% within Criminal cases	37.5%	62.5%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	4.9%	1.4%	2.0%
		% of Total	.7%	1.2%	2.0%
No		Count	26	70	96
		% within Criminal cases	27.1%	72.9%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	42.6%	20.2%	23.6%
		% of Total	6.4%	17.2%	23.6%
Total		Count	32	271	303
		% within Criminal cases	10.6%	89.4%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	52.5%	78.3%	74.4%
		% of Total	7.9%	66.6%	74.4%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asy mp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18.865 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	16.816	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	18.647	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	407		

a. 1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.20.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.215	.000
	Cramer's V	.215	.000
N of Valid Cases		407	

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 21 shows that 42.6 per cent (26) of the winning candidates from the General Constituencies were having some criminal cases registered against them.

Analysis of the Constituencies Reserved for Women:

Equal representation of women in the local body politics has been effective in terms of the restructuring of local self-governance. Maharashtra provides fifty percent reservation to women candidates in local bodies- gram panchayat (GP), Panchayat Samiti (PS) and Zilla Parishad (ZP), municipal corporations and municipal councils.

In the Kalyan Dombivali Municipal Corporation 2015 Elections, 339 candidates contested from the constituencies reserved for women. The reservation pattern in the female constituencies was as follows:

General	SC	ST	OBC
36	6	2	17

The reserved constituency wise (ward-type) statistical data (Table 22) shows that 72 per cent (244) candidates out of the total number of 339 of the female constituencies contested from the General category, 10 per cent (34) from SC, 2.7 per cent (9) from ST and 15.3 per cent (52) from the constituencies reserved for the Backward Castes.

Table no. 22: Ward Type

Ward Type

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Women-General	244	72.0	72.0	72.0
Women-SC	34	10.0	10.0	82.0
Women-ST	9	2.7	2.7	84.7
Women-OBC	52	15.3	15.3	100.0
Total	339	100.0	100.0	

In total, 28 per cent (95) candidates contested from reserved constituencies whereas 72 per cent (244) from non-reserved constituencies.

Caste wise data analysis (Table 23) provides that 38.3 per cent (105) candidates were from the General caste category, 24.1 per cent (66) SCs, 3.6 per cent (10) STs, 33.9 per cent (93) Other Backward Castes category. 65 candidates did not reveal their caste identity. Candidates belonging to the Backward Castes and SCs thus were found to be significant in numbers.

Table no. 23: Caste Profile of the Candidates

Caste					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	General	105	31.0	38.3	38.3
	SC	66	19.5	24.1	62.4
	ST	10	2.9	3.6	66.1
	OBC	93	27.4	33.9	100.0
	Total	274	80.8	100.0	
Missing	System	65	19.2		
	Total	339	100.0		

Table 24 shows that a significant number of candidates belonging to SC and Backward Castes contested from the non-reserved constituencies (Women) in the KDMC election. 48.5 per cent (32) out of a total number of 66 of the SC candidates contested from the non-reserved constituencies whereas 51.5 per cent (34) contested from the reserved constituencies. 44.1 per cent (41) out of a total number of 93 of the Other Backward Castes category candidates were contesting from the non-reserved constituencies (Women) with 55.9 per cent (52) from the reserved constituencies (Women).

Table no. 24: Caste * Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved

			Crosstab		
Caste	General	Count	Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved		Total
			Reserved	Non-Reserved	
Caste	General	Count	0	105	105
		% within Caste	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within			
		Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved	.0%	58.7%	38.3%
		% of Total	.0%	38.3%	38.3%
SC	SC	Count	34	32	66
		% within Caste	51.5%	48.5%	100.0%
		% within			
		Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved	35.8%	17.9%	24.1%
		% of Total	12.4%	11.7%	24.1%
ST	ST	Count	9	1	10
		% within Caste	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
		% within			
		Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved	9.5%	.6%	3.6%
		% of Total	3.3%	.4%	3.6%
OBC	OBC	Count	52	41	93
		% within Caste	55.9%	44.1%	100.0%
		% within			
		Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved	54.7%	22.9%	33.9%
		% of Total	19.0%	15.0%	33.9%
Total	Total	Count	95	179	274
		% within Caste	34.7%	65.3%	100.0%
		% within			
		Ward-Reserved/Non-Reserved	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	34.7%	65.3%	100.0%

s

Table no. 25: Caste * Ward Types- Women Constituency

			Crosstab					
Caste	General	Count	Ward Type					
			Women-General	Women-SC	Women-ST	Women-OBC		
Caste General	General	Count	105	0	0	0	105	
		% within Caste	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	
		% within Ward Type	58.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	38.3%	
		% of Total	38.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	38.3%	
Caste SC	SC	Count	32	34	0	0	66	
		% within Caste	48.5%	51.5%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	
		% within Ward Type	17.9%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	24.1%	
		% of Total	11.7%	12.4%	.0%	.0%	24.1%	
Caste ST	ST	Count	1	0	9	0	10	
		% within Caste	10.0%	.0%	90.0%	.0%	100.0%	
		% within Ward Type	.6%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	3.6%	
		% of Total	.4%	.0%	3.3%	.0%	3.6%	
Caste OBC	OBC	Count	41	0	0	52	93	
		% within Caste	44.1%	.0%	.0%	55.9%	100.0%	
		% within Ward Type	22.9%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	33.9%	
		% of Total	15.0%	.0%	.0%	19.0%	33.9%	
Total		Count	179	34	9	52	274	
		% within Caste	65.3%	12.4%	3.3%	19.0%	100.0%	
		% within Ward Type	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
		% of Total	65.3%	12.4%	3.3%	19.0%	100.0%	

Caste picture in General- Caste Category Constituencies (of Women Constituencies)

Caste					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	General	105	43.0	58.7	58.7
	SC	32	13.1	17.9	76.5
	ST	1	.4	.6	77.1
	OBC	41	16.8	22.9	100.0
	Total	179	73.4	100.0	
Missing	System	65	26.6		
	Total	244	100.0		

In the 2015 KDMC elections, 61 seats reserved for the Women (50% of total 122 seats) were further distributed amongst different categories as per the principle of internal reservation. 36 seats were allotted to the General category, 6 to SCs, 2 to STs and 17 to OBCs.

Table 25 (second part) shows that for 36 seats in General category of Women, 244 candidates from different caste groups were contesting the election. Though 65 candidates have not revealed their caste identity, the researcher could get caste details of the remaining 179 candidates. When these 179 candidates of different caste groups contesting

from the General Category were analysed with the ‘Election Result’ through cross tabulation on SPSS, we got the following result which is essential for the micro understanding of role of caste at the local body elections:

Table no. 26: Caste * Election Result

Crosstab

Caste	General		Election Result		Total
			Won	Lost	
Caste	General	Count	14	91	105
		% within Caste	13.3%	86.7%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	46.7%	61.1%	58.7%
		% of Total	7.8%	50.8%	58.7%
SC	SC	Count	3	29	32
		% within Caste	9.4%	90.6%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	10.0%	19.5%	17.9%
		% of Total	1.7%	16.2%	17.9%
ST	ST	Count	0	1	1
		% within Caste	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	.0%	.7%	.6%
		% of Total	.0%	.6%	.6%
OBC	OBC	Count	13	28	41
		% within Caste	31.7%	68.3%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	43.3%	18.8%	22.9%
		% of Total	7.3%	15.6%	22.9%
Total	Total	Count	30	149	179
		% within Caste	16.8%	83.2%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	16.8%	83.2%	100.0%

Thus, the above analysis (Table 26) reveals that 14 (out of 105) candidates from general or open caste category, 3 SCs (out of 32) and 13 from OBCs (out of 41) won the election from the General category of Women Constituencies. Due to the non-availability of caste details of 65 candidates researcher could not find caste details of the remaining 6 candidates.

Age:

Statistical Data shows that 22.4 (76) per cent of the candidates were from the age group of 18-30 years, 50.1 per cent (170) candidates from 31-45 years, 24.8 per cent (84) candidates from 46 -60 years and 2.1 per cent (7) candidates are above 60 years of age.

Education:

In terms of the educational background, 36.6 per cent (124) of the total number of 339 candidates were below SSC whereas 15.3 per cent (52) candidates had barely completed

their SSC. Further, 14.5 per cent (49) candidates were HSC, 5 per cent (17) under graduates and 15.3 per cent (52) graduates. Only 3.2 per cent (11) of candidates out of a total number of 339 candidates were Post Graduates whereas 5 per cent (17) of the candidates were having some Professional Degrees. 2.1 per cent (7) candidates were found to be illiterate.

Occupation:

The statistical analysis (Table 27) shows that 58.7 per cent (199) candidates from the constituencies reserved for women were housewives, 15 per cent (51) of candidates were into business like activities, 8.6 per cent (29) candidates were self-employed, 5.6 per cent (19) candidates were job holders whereas 2.4 per cent (8) candidates were from some professional occupations.

Table no. 27: Occupation of the Candidates

		Occupation			
Valid	Info. not available	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Info. not available	4	1.2	1.2	1.2
	Self-Employed	29	8.6	8.6	9.7
	Business	51	15.0	15.0	24.8
	Service	19	5.6	5.6	30.4
	House Wife	199	58.7	58.7	89.1
	Retired	3	.9	.9	90.0
	Student	5	1.5	1.5	91.4
	Farmer	2	.6	.6	92.0
	Other	12	3.5	3.5	95.6
	Professional	8	2.4	2.4	97.9
	Daily Wage Earner	3	.9	.9	98.8
	None	1	.3	.3	99.1
	Social Serv ent	1	.3	.3	99.4
	Teacher	2	.6	.6	100.0
	Total	339	100.0	100.0	

Assets:

The data reveals that 115 candidates were having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore and above whereas 70 candidates were having assets worth less than Rs. 5 Lakh. 100 candidates out of the total number of 339 were having the assets in the range of Rs. 5 lakh to Rs. 50 Lakh. 13 candidates had shown ownership of no assets in their affidavits.

In terms of Criminal cases, 4.1 per cent (14) of candidates were having criminal cases registered against their names.

Election Result:

Shiv Sena was leading tally of the Female constituencies by winning 26 seats followed by BJP-16, MNS- 7, Congress-3, NCP-1, Independents-4 and others-2. Details of 2 candidates are not available.

In terms of the age of the winning candidates, 20 per cent (13) candidates are from the age group of 18-30 years, 55.9 per cent (33) candidates from 31-45 years, 20.3 per cent (12) candidates from 46- 60 years and 1 candidate from above 60 years of age.

Education-wise election result shows that 41.1 per cent (26) of the candidates out of 59 who won the 2015 KDMC election from this category (of women constituencies) have not completed their SSC. Whereas 13.6 per cent (8) of candidates are SSC, 13.6 per cent (8) are HSC, 1 candidate is under graduate and 20.3 per cent (12) candidates are Graduates. Only 1 candidate is having some professional degree. 1 Candidate was found to be illiterate in this tally.

The Backward Castes were found to be significant in numbers on the tally of winning candidates from the Female constituencies (see table 28). 52.8 per cent (28) of winning candidates belong to the Other Backward Castes category, 26.4 per cent (14) candidates from General caste category, 17 per cent (9) by SCs and 2 seats by ST candidate. Caste identity details of 8 winning candidates from the Women Constituency were not available for analysis.

Table no. 28: Caste * Election Result

Crosstab

Caste	General		Election Result		Total
			Won	Lost	
Caste	General	Count	14	91	105
		% within Caste	13.3%	86.7%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	26.4%	41.2%	38.3%
		% of Total	5.1%	33.2%	38.3%
SC	SC	Count	9	57	66
		% within Caste	13.6%	86.4%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	17.0%	25.8%	24.1%
		% of Total	3.3%	20.8%	24.1%
ST	ST	Count	2	8	10
		% within Caste	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	3.8%	3.6%	3.6%
		% of Total	.7%	2.9%	3.6%
OBC	OBC	Count	28	65	93
		% within Caste	30.1%	69.9%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	52.8%	29.4%	33.9%
		% of Total	10.2%	23.7%	33.9%
Total	Total	Count	53	221	274
		% within Caste	19.3%	80.7%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	19.3%	80.7%	100.0%

The data analysis reveals that 57.6 per cent (34) of the winning candidates are housewives, 27.1 per cent (16) are engaged in the business-like occupations, 5.1 per cent (3) are self-employed, 3.4 per cent (2) are retired persons, 1 is a farmer and 1 is a teacher.

The statistical analysis (Table 29) shows that out of the 55 winning candidates from the Women's constituencies of the 2015 KDMC Election, almost 64 per cent (35) of the candidates are having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore or above. Financial details of 6 winning candidates were not available for analysis.

The further statistical analysis shows that 49.5 per cent (46) candidates out of the total number of 93 backward caste candidates from the General Constituencies were housewives and 29 per cent (27) were engaged in some or other kind of business activities. In terms of financial resources, 50 per cent Backward castes candidates are having assets in the range of Rs. 50 Lakh to 50 Crore and above.

Thus, inferences can be drawn that even in the case of Female constituencies the financially strong backward castes dominated the municipal elections of Kalyan-Dombivali held in 2015.

Table no. 29: Assets * Election Result

			Crosstab		Total
			Won	Lost	
Assets Nil	Count	1	12	13	
	% within Assets	7.7%	92.3%	100.0%	
	% within Election Result	1.8%	4.4%	4.0%	
	% of Total	.3%	3.7%	4.0%	
Less than 50,000	Count	1	16	17	
	% within Assets	5.9%	94.1%	100.0%	
	% within Election Result	1.8%	5.9%	5.2%	
	% of Total	.3%	4.9%	5.2%	
Less than 1 Lakh	Count	0	9	9	
	% within Assets	.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% within Election Result	.0%	3.3%	2.8%	
	% of Total	.0%	2.8%	2.8%	
Less than 2.5 Lakh	Count	0	23	23	
	% within Assets	.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% within Election Result	.0%	8.5%	7.1%	
	% of Total	.0%	7.1%	7.1%	
Less than 5 lakh	Count	1	20	21	
	% within Assets	4.8%	95.2%	100.0%	
	% within Election Result	1.8%	7.4%	6.4%	
	% of Total	.3%	6.1%	6.4%	
Less than 10 lakh	Count	2	26	28	
	% within Assets	7.1%	92.9%	100.0%	
	% within Election Result	3.6%	9.6%	8.6%	
	% of Total	.6%	8.0%	8.6%	
Less than 20 Lakh	Count	4	38	42	
	% within Assets	9.5%	90.5%	100.0%	
	% within Election Result	7.3%	14.0%	12.9%	
	% of Total	1.2%	11.7%	12.9%	
Less than 30 Lakh	Count	5	23	28	
	% within Assets	17.9%	82.1%	100.0%	
	% within Election Result	9.1%	8.5%	8.6%	
	% of Total	1.5%	7.1%	8.6%	
Less than 50 Lakh	Count	6	24	30	
	% within Assets	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%	
	% within Election Result	10.9%	8.9%	9.2%	
	% of Total	1.8%	7.4%	9.2%	
50 lakh to 1 Crore	Count	4	40	44	
	% within Assets	9.1%	90.9%	100.0%	
	% within Election Result	7.3%	14.8%	13.5%	
	% of Total	1.2%	12.3%	13.5%	
1 Crore- 5 Crore	Count	21	30	51	
	% within Assets	41.2%	58.8%	100.0%	
	% within Election Result	38.2%	11.1%	15.6%	
	% of Total	6.4%	9.2%	15.6%	
5 Crore- 25 Crore	Count	10	10	20	
	% within Assets	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%	
	% within Election Result	18.2%	3.7%	6.1%	
	% of Total	3.1%	3.1%	6.1%	
Total	Count	55	271	326	
	% within Assets	16.9%	83.1%	100.0%	
	% within Election Result	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	16.9%	83.1%	100.0%	

Table No. 30: Criminal cases * Election Result

Crosstab

			Election Result		Total
			Won	Lost	
Criminal cases	Info. not available	Count	1	4	5
		% within Criminal cases	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	1.7%	1.4%	1.5%
		% of Total	.3%	1.2%	1.5%
Yes		Count	2	12	14
		% within Criminal cases	14.3%	85.7%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	3.4%	4.3%	4.1%
		% of Total	.6%	3.5%	4.1%
No		Count	56	264	320
		% within Criminal cases	17.5%	82.5%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	94.9%	94.3%	94.4%
		% of Total	16.5%	77.9%	94.4%
Total		Count	59	280	339
		% within Criminal cases	17.4%	82.6%	100.0%
		% within Election Result	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	17.4%	82.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.120 ^a	2	.942
Likelihood Ratio	.124	2	.940
Linear-by-Linear Association	.007	1	.935
N of Valid Cases	339		

a. 3 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .87.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.019	.942
	Cramer's V	.019	.942
N of Valid Cases		339	

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 30 shows that only 3.2 per cent (2) of the winning candidates from the female constituencies were having some criminal cases registered against them. Thus, no significant relationships exist between the elected female members and the criminal background.

Thus, one can see the matrix of “Other Backward Castes category, Business Class (construction, building, land dealing, etc), High Income and Low Education” worked in a significant way.

Chapter Four

How, Why and When: Understanding Motivations and Strategies of the Candidates Contesting Municipal Elections

After looking at the social, demographic and economic trends, the researcher systematically selected 30 samples and was successful in interviewing 26 of them through in-depth interviews. The main purpose of the interviews conducted was to understand candidates' basic motivation or drive behind contesting an election, the strategies politicians use when building their political networks before and during electoral campaigning and difficulties faced by them while completing the formalities of the nomination forms.

The researcher has used semi-structured interviews to ensure that important questions were touched upon, but at the same time, there was a need felt to open a discussion on the ideas and issues highlighted by the respondents, especially while interviewing the young (first-time candidates) and female candidates. Initial questions focussed on the socio-political background of the candidates in order to explore the relationship between their family background (social-political and economic) and their political orientations; ideological standing and political recruitment; involvement in socio-political activities and their entry into electoral politics. The in-depth interviews focused on questions like - why the respondent had decided to become politically active, what were the stimulating factors towards the decision of contesting an election, what are the qualities/ factors considered by party selectors while offering party tickets, what are the tactics employed in order to maintain a strong network of volunteers throughout the election process and what are the specific campaign strategies employed to woo the voters. The researcher was also interested in understanding more about the generation of electoral funds and their sources to explore the discrepancies that might occur in law and practice.

As a researcher one has to be aware of asking people to openly discuss 'political practices that some people would prefer remain undocumented' (Arghiros, 2001). During the interviews, a lot of questions posed were in many ways sensitive and often probed into activities like the distribution of gifts/items or money to voters or electoral expenses, etc that are considered prohibited by the law of the country. While doing so, the respondents' anonymity has been maintained in almost all the cases.

Considering the uniqueness of every respondent interviewed and the diversity in their style of functioning, the researcher realized that all interviews cannot be assessed in the same manner. The quality of the interviews improved significantly as researcher's understanding of the conditions improved after the initial few interviews. Formal-informal discussions with candidates and officers in charge of recent elections also helped one delve into their issues in a better way to form suitable questions.

Understanding a candidate's background and political orientations:

There are thousands of people pursuing different occupations with sufficient career flexibility, financial security, management skills and leisure time to run for elected office. Many have experience on the first level of the political ladder, from within party offices, voluntary groups, and public bodies. Many have good local networks among community groups, business associations and trade unions. Yet few seriously consider a legislative or governmental or political career, while even fewer run for elections. Why is it so? The supply-side model emphasizes that a combination of motivation plus resources produces the necessary and sufficient conditions for pursuing a political career. The reasons for contesting an election are varied and complex. In order to understand the decision to contest, one has to look at a more converse question- why most party members choose *not* to pursue a political career (Norris and Lovendusky 1995).

In order to understand the underlying factors behind contesting an election, we have to study the established models of political participation in detail. According to Mair and van Biezen (quoted in Hague and Harrop, 2004), "the most striking fact about political participation in established democracies is how far it falls short of a participatory ideal. Voting in a national election is normally the only activity in which a majority of citizens engage. However, throughout the democratic world, anything beyond voting is the preserve of a minority of activists. Indeed the activists are outnumbered by the apathetic. Further, even the activists seem to be reducing their involvement in formal politics, with party membership and turnout in decline in many democracies."

In a renowned analysis, Milbrath and Goel (1977) divided the American population into three groups, a classification which has since been applied to participation in other democracies. These categories were: a few *gladiators* (around 5-7 per cent of the population) who fight the political battle, a large group of *spectators* (about 60 percent)

who watch the contest but rarely participate beyond voting and a substantial number of *apathetic* individuals (about one-third) who are withdrawn from politics.

The nature and behaviour of an individual ultimately define his/her political participation. Thus the real questions then become - What type of candidates enter and win elections? and What are their real political motivations? The existing literature is not well suited to provide an answer to this question with reference to local governments in India. The present study thus attempts to explore this issue of candidates' motivations with reference to the local body elections.

Socio-political background of the candidates and political orientations:

The first part of the interview questions focused on the socio-political background and political orientations of the candidates. The purpose behind such questions was to understand if the socio-political background of an individual has an impact on his political motivations. The basic assumption here is that political behaviour or political motivations are shaped by socio-political background (political culture and socialization), personal-political ideology, individual liking and interests, inspiration from charismatic leaders etc. Today, one can see new entrants with a good family background (political legacy or economic wealth) getting easy entry or access into mainstream electoral politics. Such leaders always get mass support. Political leaders (ministers, party leaders etc.) assert for tickets at the party level for their son/daughter or other family members during the elections and usually become successful in winning a ticket. As a result, these new comers get into politics because of their family background. These individuals do not have to prove themselves at every level of party organisation for getting a party nomination; which otherwise is a tough task for the interested ones- to persuade the party gate keepers to get the party nomination. It is much more difficult for women to get into electoral politics; with the kind of patriarchy that prevails in party organisations which hinder the entry of women party workers into electoral politics.

One can thus see economically powerful people easily getting entry into electoral politics with the help of the resources at their disposal by sidelining the party workers who deserve to get the nomination. These new entrants (with a political background) get a readymade socio-political network established by their families which make their contest comparatively easy. Further, due to the cultural capital inherited by them, they are

comparatively in a better position to prove themselves with the help of their personality and resources available which can be used to easily influence the electorates.

Generally, at the local level, those who are active at political or party level possesses some qualities like polished behaviour, good oratory skills, capacity to engage with people, good interpersonal communication skills, a potential to solve people's personal and civic problems, affluent economic status etc. With such qualities, they are successful in developing their influential image amongst the people. Generally what people aspire for is easy access to the leader and his/her potential to get their work done- either personal or civic without taking much time. Thus, the characteristics of constituency leaders are determined by cultural capital, social power and economic wealth/resources.

The existing literature on 'human society' provides that each person is born into a social and cultural setting—family, community, caste, social class, language, religion—and eventually develops many social connections. The characteristics of a child's social setting often affect how he or she learns to think and behave, by means of instruction, rewards and punishment, and example. This setting includes home, school, neighborhood, community or cultural organisations, local religious and law enforcement agencies. Then, there are also the child's mostly informal interactions with friends, other peers, relatives, and the entertainment and news media. How individuals will respond to all these influences, or even which influence will be the most potent, cannot be predicted. There is, however, some substantial similarity in how individuals respond to the same pattern of influences—that is, to being raised in the same culture. Furthermore, culturally induced behavior patterns, such as speech patterns, body language, and forms of humor, become so deeply embedded in the human mind that they often operate without the individuals themselves being fully aware of it.

Long-term influences on political orientation:

There are three main sources of influence that shape an individual's political orientation which creates long-term effects. Generally, the primary influence originates from family. As stated previously, children often adopt their parents' ideological values. Some theorists have argued that family tends to be the strongest, most influential force which exists over the lifetime. Secondly, teachers and other educational authority figures have a significant impact on political orientation. Thirdly, peer group and friend circle also determine one's

political orientation. Friends often, but not necessarily, have the advantage of being part of the same generation, which collectively develops a unique set of societal issues.⁵

Eric L. Dey (1997) has argued that "socialization is the process through which individuals acquire knowledge, habits, and value orientations that will be useful in the future." Political Socialization plays an important role in the institutionalization and development of attitudes to, and beliefs about, the political system among citizens. It is particularly important in influencing the degree of participation in political life that is expected of groups and individuals.

Thus, social, demographic and political background of the candidate, personal and political ideology, and personality traits were seen to have a great influence in shaping individual political orientations. Though human beings are considered as political animals, each and every individual may not be politically interested and active. Political interests and choices are shaped by many factors including something as simple as earning two square meals for the family, regressive political environment around him/her, economic well-being, etc. to more complex ones like self-actualization. Lastly, most of those who are political leaders are much above average in terms of their income and social integration: for them, the needs for physical security and a sense of social belonging are quite well satisfied. Despite this, they choose to contest elections time and again due to various other factors like social prestige and power.

The researcher conducted interviews with 26 candidates of which 14 were female and 12 were male candidates. Out of 26 selected candidates, 19 had won the KDMC election 2015. The initial formal-informal discussion with each and every respondent focussed on understanding his/her family background with respect to their socio-political work and associated activities related to issues of public significance.

The researcher found that most candidates who contested the recent KDMC elections came from mixed family backgrounds (socio-political). A large number of candidates did not have a strong socio-political background but still chose to contest. Those who were with some family background of political activities; were involved in routine activities like party work, involvement in panchayat/s or any other local body elections or having good

⁵ <http://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Theories%20of%20political%20behavior> accessed on 10th July, 2016

contacts with politicians across political parties due to the social status or economic affluence. But one has to note that having no political background did not become a barrier in shaping an individual's political motivations or strategies. Most candidates who were contesting the elections for the first, second or the third time were first generation politicians from their families.

In terms of social work or activities, their involvement was limited to organizing, coordinating and funding local level activities, helping people and engaging in community activities, membership of socio-cultural organisations, etc. However, social position of the family, economic affluence, good family relations with politicians, college level activities, family background of social movements/ activism, speeches of leaders like Shri. Balasaheb Thakare, articles in newspapers like *Saamana* and *Navakaal* etc. were found to have a significant impact on them in terms of shaping individual political behaviour and/or orientations. It can also be established that a strong political background or economic prosperity helped facilitate a candidate's entry into politics without much difficulty.

Most female candidates did not have any political background in their maternal families but slowly got accustomed to the same after they were married into a somewhat political household. These women however were convinced into contesting elections only on the 'behalf of their male counterparts' (mostly husbands) in order to fulfill their political ambitions. Women belonging to the Other Backward Castes (OBC) category seemed to be like an additional backing for a family or candidate who wished to contest from a particular constituency. This is because of the woman's ability to contest from the general, women and OBC category in all permutations and combinations. In contrast, the male candidates from the OBC category often have to give up on the reservations in the absence of a valid caste certificate to prove so.

Engagement in Socio-Political Activities:

While asked about their socio-political activism and engagement with organised political activities, it was revealed that most of the male candidates have been associated with one or more social organisations either directly (as a member or holding some position in the organisation) or indirectly (as a sponsor). The nature of the organisations varied from social service doing organisations, organisations centered around community activities, initiatives for women and senior citizens, social groups like *Ganesh-Navratri Mandals*,

Dahi handi mandals, Ambedkar Jayanti Utsav, Shiv Jayanti Mandals, religious trusts, educational trusts, *Gayan and Bhajan Sansthas* etc. Few of them also seemed to have established their own organisations devoted to socio-cultural activities. It was also found that there are few out of those who are second or third times in power often provided emergency services like ambulance service to their constituencies free of cost or at a bare minimum rate. There were few senior candidates who have been serving different organisations (social or political) in the district since last 25 to 40 years. In the case of female candidates, this pattern was not very common and was hardly seen in 4-5 candidates who were running self-help groups for women in the constituency. Most women showed their lack of interest in any such social activities before they got married as they never imagined landing into political positions. Active participation in social activities later helped develop political aspirations among several candidates. The reason for the same is the realization on the part of the individuals that without power they may not be able to further their social activities in an effective and far-reaching manner. Very few entered into active/electoral politics from their social activities on popular demand.

It was found that holding different party positions provided impetus to individuals in order to contest an election. Most candidates (75 per cent) were members of either a political party or small organisations at the local level through which they developed their public contacts and established their social networks. A large number of candidates have been serving their parties either as an ordinary member or holding different positions at the party for the last several years.

A candidate's social network, personal agenda/ vision (matching that of the party) and his ability to generate influence amongst voters were the key factors in political recruitment. Coupled with this is one's personality which helps the candidate wield power through his rallies/ programs/ political speeches etc. that often make people like the 'candidate' for the 'party' and thus becomes successful in wooing voters. Often leaders (like late Balasaheb Thackeray) generate popularity amongst masses by asserting a particular ideology/agenda (*Marathi manoos* in his case) which often binds a homogenous group together and makes them loyal supporters of the leaders. The influence of Thackeray and Sena's ideology can be clearly seen amongst several candidates interviewed as they took inspiration from Thackeray's ideological position and his fierce way of addressing people.

Party organisation plays an important role at the local level, while ideology has no significant role to play. Its presence, however, cannot be completely ignored. The reason behind this is the smaller size of municipal constituencies which hardly provides any opportunity for candidates to play their ideological cards. All considerations in this regard are largely influenced by their quest for power. Aspirants try to maintain their good relations across social groups. However, data shows that party ticket is important in the elections apart from strong networking in order to win the elections. Parties like Shiv Sena that have a proper organizational structure at the local level (*Shakhas*) provides opportunities for the candidates to grow as political individuals thus contributing to the political recruitment in the longer run. While the party plays an important role for a candidate in order to win elections, the same candidates do not hesitate to poach into other parties if the party aspirations do not match their own at any given point. It was observed that some of them hardly understand ideological factors, for them political opportunities or opportunism counts.

Female candidates have to face challenges at every stage of the electoral process. Along with the whole process of contesting an election, they also find several obstacles in holding various party positions. While urban women are considered to be more independent than their rural counterparts, the traditional hegemonic power structures in families and societies are still difficult to break through. Most female contestants interviewed by the researcher had no political backgrounds in their maternal families. Their position in a political party and the decision to contest an election was a result of multiple factors, of which ward reservations was the most prominent one. Women expressed that while their male counterparts were keen on supporting their candidature owing to the ward reservations, the support also implicitly indicated their dominance over decisions taken by the women. They were expected to be the shadows of these men acting on their behalf owing to ‘the seniority’ and ‘image’ of these men in the larger political spectrum. “Though a large number of women are participating at the local level elections as a result of 50 percent reservations, they are mere puppets in the hands of their husbands or male counterparts in their families. There are very few- 4 to 5 in the current corporation who can speak independently on different issues or can write to administration independently,” said the same women candidate.

Contesting elections also meant juggling between multiple sets of responsibilities from household chores to taking care of the family and then managing the huge amount of party

work. Those women who decided to contest on their own (without any family backing) had to struggle even more to get the support of their respective families. “If the husband is not supportive then it’s really difficult for the woman to consider politics as a career or they have to sacrifice their family to pursue their political ambitions.”

At the organizational level, these candidates have to win the confidence of all their male counterparts to move ahead on the party ladder. Family and societal trust, along with the lack of time and economic dependency hinders the growth of most female candidates in pursuing a career in politics independently. Despite all these obstacles, however, women often emerge successful in the elections as their strategizing and campaigning forms are often applauded by the voters irrespective of the political backing that they may or might not have.

The deciding moment to contest elections: Stages involved in the decision-making process

The number of contestants for nomination and election may be affected by different costs and benefits: the status, power and rewards of legislative office compared with other positions; the number of elected offices available within the system; the career structure in government; powers and functions of the legislature; full- or part-time demands of the legislature; ability to combine a legislative career with outside occupations; salary, fringe benefits, and powers of patronage associated with the post; and lastly, the risks and costs of contesting.

Candidates were asked about their initial aspirations while contesting elections for the first time in order to understand the stages involved in arriving at the final decision. Most candidates (especially male), who were contesting elections for the first, second or the third time, were found to be associated with a social organisation or a political party in the past. An association with the social or political work motivated them to contest elections in order to further his/her body of work through political power. Such candidates were generally found to be engaged in the political campaigning of their friends or acquaintances during the earlier elections. They were found working towards the elections and building their image in the ward one or two years in advance. While this work laid ground for their political aspirations, ward reservations and alliances with political parties were the triggering factors to arrive at a final decision while contesting on a party ticket. In

the wards that were reserved, candidates often tried fielding women from their families to retain their power and political influence in the ward.

Association with a political party, social or community organisation, involvement in the activities of public importance provides impetus towards developing political motivations in terms of contesting an election. Despite this relationship, everyone who is associated with a political party or is engaged in social activities is not necessarily interested in contesting an election. A sizeable number of them, in fact, take the final decision. After delving deeper to find why this is so, one sees that strategic rationality is at the centre of all the political decisions taken by the candidate. Further, the researcher has tried to probe into the political psychology of candidates in order to understand their psychological mechanism leading to the decision about contesting an election. Factors like gender, caste, age, socio-political (family) background, political or personal ideology, political orientations economic security, personality traits were found playing an important role in shaping one's political motivations. It was found that the decision of an individual to contest an election was broadly based on 4 factors:

- 1. Self-motivation**
- 2. Offer of a ticket from a political party**
- 3. Insistence or recommendation by volunteers and friends**
- 4. Popular demand**

Before elections, political parties organised political groups and interested individuals engage in socio-political networking and strategies for the upcoming elections. Political parties engage in evaluating the performance of their existing members and conducts surveys in all the constituencies to find out the best possible candidates to accelerate the process of nomination. Discussions are held at the block level or ward level organisations to find out interested candidates. Individuals interested in contesting elections thereafter start lobbying for the ticket at the party level, engage in image building at the constituency by roughly considering the ward formations and reservation patterns. These involve party leaders at the local level along with party workers with the strong public support and work in the constituency, active and influential citizens, economically affluent individuals etc. Political parties also try to woo disappointed aspirants from other political parties or strong independent local candidates whose chances of winning are high into their party with the assurance of a ticket in the upcoming elections. They also reorganize their different wings like the social or cultural wing, *mahila aaghadi*, and different kinds of unions with party

affiliations etc. from the point of view of upcoming elections. Incumbents use officeholders' benefits to build up their image in order to retain their ticket from their ward or in case of getting ward reserved for women they try to secure the ticket from the party for the family member itself. In the case of the ward reservation turning to other caste groups, they leave no stone unturned to secure a ticket from other wards to remain in power. Based on electoral prospects and the candidate's capacity to spend money in the elections, party selectors engage in strategies for the selection of candidates.

Thus, individuals with political ambitions and aspirations (self-motivation) across political parties or those contesting independently present themselves as the best-suited bet to contest elections. In search of strong candidates, political parties often, on their own offer tickets to influential personalities or community leaders who they think have some electoral prospects. On some occasions, based on the leadership qualities and work in the party organisation; party workers, volunteers and friends often recommend names of their leaders to the party or insist on a particular name for the candidature from a particular ward. In some places, people also rally behind their leaders for taking up the candidature. In any case, individual interests in contesting an election, organizational and leadership qualities, public support, availability of time and economic resources ultimately determine the final decision of contesting an election. According to Norris and Lovendusky (1995), "constraints on resources (such as time, money and experience) and motivational factors (such as drive, ambition and interest) determine who aspires to the legislature."

In the case of female candidates, they are often pushed by their male counterparts (most of whom are already established names in the ward) to take up the candidature in their names. All the planning and strategizing are done by the male members while the women are informed about their roles and duties only a few days before elections. Their suggestions hardly matter as the election agenda is already set by the male members.

Determining factors leading to the decision:

The researcher tried to understand the dynamics and undercurrents of responses of the candidates on the most determining factors leading to the decision of contesting an election. Responses were highly varied. Some of the prominent reasons for contesting elections as cited by the respondents were as follows- in order to do social work in a more significant way, in the service of society and community, to bring about a (desired) change in the society, to develop civic amenities and infrastructure etc.

Leaving aside some broad generalizations, the researcher found it important to note some of the responses of the candidates on the question of basic motivations leading to the decision of contesting the election. There were different categories of people (in terms of occupations) who contested the election like young men and women, experienced party workers or leaders, those engaged in social work and related activities, businessman (especially engaged in land related occupation- realty sector, construction and building, cable and internet etc.) social activists, teachers, community leaders, professionals, retired persons, housewives, members or presidents of self-help groups, politically active and existing corporators, economically affluent individuals etc.

A senior candidate engaged in some business activities whose family has originally been from Kalyan was politically motivated and confident enough to win the election. He had an agenda of making the city well equipped with modern infrastructure and amenities, with cleanliness and hygiene being top priorities. He also mentioned the wish to develop and renovate the places of historical significance in the locality and often expressed his anger and frustration over the existing pattern of development, which he said was largely unplanned.

Another senior candidate who has already crossed 67 years of his age was waiting for an opportunity to bring about a change for the last 20 years. He was annoyed by the corrupt nexus between the administration and local politicians and was hoping to develop a transparent system for his ward, to begin with.

Yet another senior candidate, who has been largely active in social and political organisations in the city, contested the election to challenge the domination of the existing candidate (who has been in power for the last 15 years)

There were some who wanted to further their agenda of social work effectively with power in hand. There were some who said- “Power is everything. Without power, one cannot bring about any change. Power comes through winning elections and then gives us the scope to work for the people more efficiently. Power also gives rise to influence which can trigger a lot of change from getting someone’s work done to improving the infrastructure of the ward” he added.

A female aspirant from one of the 27 odd villages which were recently incorporated in KDMC expressed that while she was initially negative about politics, she gradually decided to contest the election on public demand from my village. She said, “I was initially very cynical about entering into politics. But when I saw several people pinning their hopes on me, I decided to contest to become their voice in order to solve their issues” she added.

Another female candidate who got into active politics along with her husband due to the frustration with the existing state of civic amenities in the ward, later decided to contest the election. “We were running a social organisation through which we tried to raise several issues. But we realized that political apathy is one of the major reasons for most civic problems and thus decided to contest to change the system” she expressed.

Strong political aspirations could be seen while speaking to two female candidates from minority backgrounds. The female candidates, both Muslims said that ignorance towards the issues of their community by mainstream political parties motivated them to contest elections themselves. They showed dissatisfaction at the way in which Congress has used the Muslims as their vote banks in the past without even caring to solve their day to day civic problems. This thus became their most prominent agenda. “They have not given us any social or economic security in return of having voted for them on several occasions. Now we feel that instead of making elections centered around parties and religious agendas people need leaders to solve their everyday civic issues” said the young lady. “I want to do something that would benefit the common people,” the second candidate expressed while registering her dissatisfaction with the work of the earlier candidate (who was in power for 3 terms) at the constituency.

There were some from economically affluent families engaged in business activities who contested the election as a status symbol. For them winning the election was seen as a symbol of prestige and social status. There was also a feeling of satisfaction that they got by being able to help people. Access to power was seen as a way to further their business interest in the garb of helping people.

In order to understand the relationship between political recruitment and ideology, the researcher tried to study two cases of Dalit candidates who were contesting on party tickets with a purely rightist ideological position. The first case study was that of a female

Dalit candidate who had joined the party purely based on its approach towards solving civic problems. The party also gave her the opportunity and space along with the support of the party leadership. The candidate also got an opportunity to contest the election immediately. In this case, it was seen that her decision to contest for that party was a very easy decision for her despite the stark differences in ideology of the community that she belongs to and the party that she represents. Factors like political backing, infrastructure, resources and support erased the prominence of ideology in her case.

While observing closely, it came to light that the candidate was given an opportunity as the seat for the mayor was reserved for a scheduled caste woman and the party did not have any other strong candidate in that position. Giving the candidate was a win-win situation for the party- on one hand, it guaranteed them the community votes while on the other, those from outside the community favoured the candidate for her social work and activism.

In the second case, the (male) candidate came from the Dalit movement background. He was into building construction related activities and was associated with the Republican party of India for a long time. However, after he failed to win the elections from the party he decided to contest from Shiv Sena as he calculated the popular choice for the party in the region. The ward, which was strategically chosen for having a low number of Dalit voters, was according to him an asset. According to him, “if the ward is reserved for SC’s and the Dalit population is large in number in that ward; a large number of dalits tries their electoral prospects there. In such cases, Dalit votes get divided.” He added that while he is still part of the Dalit movement, it has nothing to do with his electoral choices and decisions. Through these two cases, one can see as to how political considerations are more important than ideological orientations. Candidates are often ready to forego their ideological leanings if the party gives them good winning prospects. In several cases, candidates do not even have a clear stand about their ideological position, which often makes the journey smooth.

There were some candidates who were however not just dependent on the party for their winning prospects but also impressed voters with their work in the ward. Mostly young, these individuals wanted to improve the service delivery of civic amenities by employing modern techniques of corporate governance in the Municipal Corporation. They were self-

motivated, politically ambitious and had a vision for development. Their unhappiness over the existing lethargic system worked as their main motivation behind contesting elections.

A 22-year old woman was interviewed in order to understand the motivational factors behind her decision to contest the election. While asked for an interview she said that she would ask her father about the same and could only decide to speak if he allowed her to do so. While she later agreed, she met only in the presence of her father and was extremely shy while responding to questions. She could not respond to questions on ward reservations in her constituency and often relied on her father for the answers. It was later revealed that she was asked to contest the elections just a few days before the process of nomination started as she had to represent her father in the backdrop of the ward becoming reserved for female candidates. She said that while her father supported her at each point, there were moments of immense stress when she was expected to talk in the middle of huge crowds on her own and solve people's issues. She was just used as a puppet by her family at large to further their electoral interests.

After having detailed conversations with a variety of candidates, the researcher drew some inferences. Most candidates were motivated into contesting elections due to one of the following or the combination of many reasons like-

- Accelerating their business activities
- Earning prestige or social status
- Bringing about infrastructural and other changes in the ward or city to improve the quality of civic amenities
- Accelerating their social activities
- Engaging in policy making in a direct way

At the fundamental level, candidates were seen covering their naked ambition under the cloak of public service. Thus, access to power to fulfill ones political ambitions or aspirations (derive personal satisfaction from being in power), prestige, enjoying political perks and patronage, engaging in policy making in a direct way or to bring about a desired change, monetary rewards or economic considerations (formal and informal), accelerating social activities and public service (experience gave an intrinsic benefit based on a sense of civic duty) and ideology were seen as the most determining factors behind contesting the municipal elections.

However, in the case of female candidates, it was found that these factors hardly play a determining role in taking a decision about contesting the election. Except for 2-3 candidates self-political motivation was found to be absent in most others. It was the political aspiration and ambition of their male counterparts in the family and the efforts to keep the power centre within the family that they tried to retain as the ward became reserved for women. Their male counterparts only convey their decisions to the women whose political ambitions did not seem to be as significant as that of men. There were very few (4-5) candidates whose decision to contest election was a result of self-motivation and independent of the choices made by their family members.

Through in-depth interviews and discussions, it came to light that despite the alleviation in socio-political and economic status of women, their status in the political scene still continues to be symbolic even at the local level elections. Women often remain mere puppets in the hands of their male counterparts and are often compelled to contest by the male members for their own benefits even when they are not ready for the same.

Even in terms of electoral numbers, women are always seen as the last resort- who are given tickets only when the ward is reserved or when there is no other alternative. In the Kalyan-Dombivali Municipal Corporation 2015 Elections, 407 candidates contested from the General Constituencies for 61 seats. In terms of gender, 88.5 per cent (360) candidates were male whereas 11.5 per cent (47) were female. It clearly shows the attitude of political parties towards female candidates as very few tickets were offered to female candidates in the General constituencies by the political parties.

Getting a ticket from a particular party is a herculean task for a female candidate. Long association and involvement in the party programmes and activities are not enough. For a woman with high political motivations and independent thinking securing a ticket and later going on to win the elections takes much more. She has to get acceptance of all the counterparts in the organisation, and especially those who are at decision-making levels. As a result of this, several female candidates with no political family background were often denied tickets even in the reserved wards. Male leaders or existing corporators usually try to keep the constituency in their own hands by using their political and economic influence to get a ticket for their wife, daughter or sister when the ward is reserved for women.

Like women, candidates belonging to lower caste groups have a more difficult ordeal to undergo. Such candidates cannot easily think about contesting an election from the general constituency. According to a candidate who had contested from the reserved constituency, “In General Constituencies’ tough competition is observed, as more and more powerful candidates contest the election. They are ready to spend huge sums of money to get elected. Thus, interested aspirants with fewer resources and mainly from scheduled caste backgrounds do not risk contesting from such wards unless there is a big party offering a ticket. Secondly, voters from upper castes also think twice about voting for scheduled caste candidates in the General constituency.” While these obstacles exist, the very fact that there are caste reservations in electorates is of utmost significance as it provides access to men and women from these castes to participate in mainstream politics-something that otherwise seems a distant task for them.

The statistical analysis provides that for 38 seats in General Caste category of General Constituencies, 280 candidates from different caste groups were contesting the election. Though 73 candidates have not revealed their caste identity, the researcher could get caste details of the remaining 207 candidates. The statistical analysis shows that out of 207 candidates (those who had revealed their caste identity) 56.5 per cent (117) were from the General Castes, 12.6 percent (26) SC’s, 29.5 per cent (61) OBC’s and 1.1 per cent (3) were STs.

When these 207 candidates of different caste groups contesting from the General Caste category of General Constituencies were examined along with their ‘Election Result’ through cross tabulation on SPSS, the researcher found that 13 (out of 117) candidates from general or open caste category, 1 from SC (out of 26) and 14 from Backward castes (out of 61) won the election from the General Caste category of General Constituencies. Due to the non-availability of caste details of 73 candidates, it was not possible to find caste details of the remaining 10 candidates. This data supports the narrative provided by scheduled caste candidate during the interview and reveals the role of caste in shaping electoral decisions or choices at local body elections.

After analysis, one could see that a large number of candidates between 18 to 30 years of age were found to be contesting the election. Some of the prominent reasons for a large number of youngsters deciding to contest elections with a winning aspiration include- their polished behaviour, economic resources, and capacity to garner youth support along with

reservations in certain wards. However, a majority of the candidates examined were in their adulthood (belonged to 31 to 50 years age group). This is the age group where individuals usually work towards the development of their self-actualization needs. Several candidates from this group said that they were contesting elections to use their expertise and experience for the betterment of the society.

A fairly good number of candidates interviewed had crossed 60 years of age and mentioned that they had to wait for long due to reservation and alliances to finally secure a ticket after trying a lot.

During the interviews, it came to light that a candidate's occupation and economic status were very prominent factors in inducing his political aspirations. A candidate with a political background and economic security can easily think about entering into electoral politics. In the case of KDMC, candidates who were involved in occupational activities like- land dealing, realty sector, construction and building or infrastructure development etc. were found to be more interested in getting access to power to secure economic benefits in the long run and earn prestige by winning political power. Although in public life they seemed to show active participation in solving civic issues or improving the standard of civic services, in reality, they left no stone unturned to use their charisma for their political opportunism. They earn wider influence with the social and economic power at their helm for maintaining their hold on the constituency and around. For them, political power was not seen as an end but a means to secure business interest and economic benefits. A close nexus can be observed between the occupational activities like- land dealing, realty sector, construction and building and those who are interested in contesting and winning an election. Most of these candidates belong to Other Backward Castes category especially the Agri community exhibiting the factor of nativism inducing political aspirations among them.

Thus, one can see factors like socio-political background, political orientation, wealth, gender, caste, religion, age, and occupation with personality traits (leadership qualities) play a very prominent role in shaping individual political motivations when it comes to contesting an election.

Survey of Public Support by the aspirants:

The urge to pursue a career in politics through contesting an election which emerges from strong self-motivation or after one is offered a ticket is the first step in the complex decision-making process.

This urge reaches the next stage when aspirants try to take stock of public support for their candidature in the constituency. Usually, before they make a final decision on contesting, aspirants make it a point to meet various leaders of different communities, social organisations and famous personalities in order to get legitimacy to their decision. This socialization also helps them in lobbying towards a particular political party for a ticket. They also meet political leaders in order to lobby for an electoral seat.

The lobbying happens mainly with new candidates. Those who are contesting the election for the second or the third time usually make all the efforts in building their constituency for the upcoming one or two years in advance. Generally, public acceptance and acknowledgement are considered to be the most important factor in the decision to contest an election.

Tendency of the acceptance of the candidate by the people:

In our society, factors like gender, caste and religion play an important role in determining the tendency of acceptance of the candidate by the people. Popularity or acceptance of a leader in the community or constituency depends on personal qualities of the candidate, his/her oratory skills, polished behaviour- cultural capital, economic wealth, potential to solve local or personal problems of the people, social power (caste)-leadership of a social class, religion, and gender.

However, demographic factors or caste equations alone may not motivate a candidate to contest an election (while one knows that these factors may contribute to winning the election). These factors may help a candidate in gaining public acceptance in the constituency which is essential in reaching out to the decision of contesting an election. Popular acceptance of the candidate and realization of that acceptance on the part of a candidate finally leads to the decision of contesting an election. Thus, along with individual political motivations and aspirations, popular acceptance and realization of the

same is essential in finally reaching the decision. After making his/her mind, the candidate either approaches a political party for a ticket or decides to contest independently.

As mentioned earlier, female candidates are hardly allowed to take the decision of contesting an election independent of the decisions of their male counterparts in the family. In most cases, female candidates are considered as an alternative in case of ward reservation turning for women from General. The researcher found that most of the women candidates are just informed about the decision of contesting election few days before the election or filling the nomination form. Most of them were not interested in contesting elections, they were happy with what they were doing like taking care of family, teaching, running beauty parlour or doing job etc.

Approaching a Political Party:

Before the electioneering process starts, political parties generally undertake a survey in each ward to understand the names of the popular individuals in every ward. These surveys attempt to gauge possible candidates or public perception towards politically active names in the ward.

Long association with the party, involvement in the party work and programmes, good rapport in the organisation and constituency in general, social status, public network, leadership qualities, experience, capacity to spend money, positive survey report etc. helped the interested candidates in lobbying with the political party for the party nomination.

The party organisation at the block level plays an important role in the process of selection of candidates. Interested candidates have to win the confidence of party office bearers at the block level in order to make their claim stronger in the party from a particular ward. Factors like caste, gender, religion, language and money influence choices at the block level. For the existing candidates, based on their performance, it becomes easy to retain their ticket either with them or within their family. But the new candidates have to face competition within the party for getting a ticket. Every interested candidate tries to build his/her lobby through contacts either in the party or through middlemen.

Every political party invites applications from the interested candidates and conducts interviews. The selection committee is a secret box. Interested candidates have to convince

the gatekeepers for considering their claim on the nomination during the interviews. Winnability is the most important factor in the selection of candidates. Apart from that, selectors are interested in knowing candidate's financial position. The entire process goes on until the last day. Interested candidates cannot rely on the promises made to them by the senior leaders for the party ticket. They have to rally behind the strongmen in the party to get the party nomination till the very last minute. Anything can happen even till the last hour. In the competitive scenario, financial transactions are very common for lobbying in favour of the name with party leadership through middlemen.

Sometimes political parties on their own offer tickets to deserving party workers or any other influential persons based on their electoral prospects. Instances of leaving the party by those who are disappointed by the rejection of their nomination claims have become a regular practice for political parties. Such candidates often challenge their previous party by either joining another party or by contesting the election independently.

In order to understand the conditions in which candidates take such a step, the researcher tried speaking to candidates who had left the party in protest of rejecting their valid claims on the party ticket. One was the influential corporator whose claim on party ticket was rejected when he wanted to keep the ward with him for the third consecutive term, said, "at one point of time, the party had offered me a ticket on its own to fill up the leadership vacuum in the ward and to control the damage done by the earlier leader. But even after I retained the ward for two consecutive terms; some leaders became apprehensive of my increasing influence. When the party denied me a ticket without conveying any reason I decided to contest independently."

A young, enthusiastic and passionate candidate was stressing on how he was betrayed by his party after serving it for around 15 years. He was holding a deputy level position at the block level in the party. He said, "I had appeared for the interview with the complete roadmap for the development of the ward. I was having a full support of my ward level organisation. My name was there in the final list of candidates, but was still taken out at the very last minute in order to make space for a more economically well-off candidate from another ward." When he decided to contest the election independently in protest against the party, he said that he got threat calls from the previous party.

In order to get a party ticket, a woman candidate, with no political background has to get acceptance from all the male members of the ward organisation. Without the acceptance of majority male members in the organisation, it is not possible for the party leader to give a candidacieship to a woman. Thus, a clear manifestation of patriarchy is seen at party level in giving tickets to female candidates.

In seeking to explain the social bias evident in most legislatures, Norris and Lovenduski (quoted in Kenny, 2013) explicitly integrate gender into the dynamics of supply and demand. “The effect of gender on political recruitment can be seen as both a supply-side and demand-side effect. On the supply side, due to wider systemic factors such as the public–private divide, the sexual segregation of the work force and patterns of gender socialization, we might expect women to have less time, money, ambition and confidence than their male counterparts. Meanwhile, demand-side explanations suggest that the social bias in the legislature reflects the direct or imputed prejudices of party selectors. Party gatekeepers evaluate applicants in accordance with a wide range of factors, including both formal and informal selection criteria, and choose candidates depending upon judgments about these applicants. In cases of direct discrimination, party selectors make positive or negative judgments of potential candidates on the basis of characteristics seen as common to their social group, rather than as individuals – for example, asking gender discriminatory questions in the selection process. In cases of imputed discrimination, party selectors make positive or negative judgments of potential candidates on the basis of the anticipated reaction of the electorate to a particular social group. As such, parties may be reluctant to select women either because ‘selectors are directly prejudiced against women candidates’ or because ‘imputedly, they fear women may lose votes’. Supply-side and demand-side factors interact at each stage of the political recruitment process; for example, potential applicants may decide not to come forward because of anticipated failure or perceived discrimination in the selection process”.

Requirements to get a party ticket:

Political parties scrutinize candidates on various grounds. Generally, the following factors are considered by the parties while offering a party ticket to a particular aspirant:

1. High chances of winning
2. Money Power
3. Public support/rapport or public network
4. Local candidate or Constituency Links

5. Work in the party
6. Work in the ward
7. Character/ Image of the aspirant
8. Experience

Existing candidates leave no stone unturned in retaining their wards. In the case of the ward turning into a women's constituency in the process of ward formation before the elections, the candidate tries to secure a ticket for a female member of his family. If the ward turns into a reserved one for caste groups, the candidate usually tries to get another favourable candidate to contest on his behalf. Economic considerations play a very important role in all these actions and manipulations. However, it was also found that after a couple of years, candidates who are made to contest by some existing one often gain political consciousness and a positive self-image thus increasing their motivations to leave their mark in the constituency.

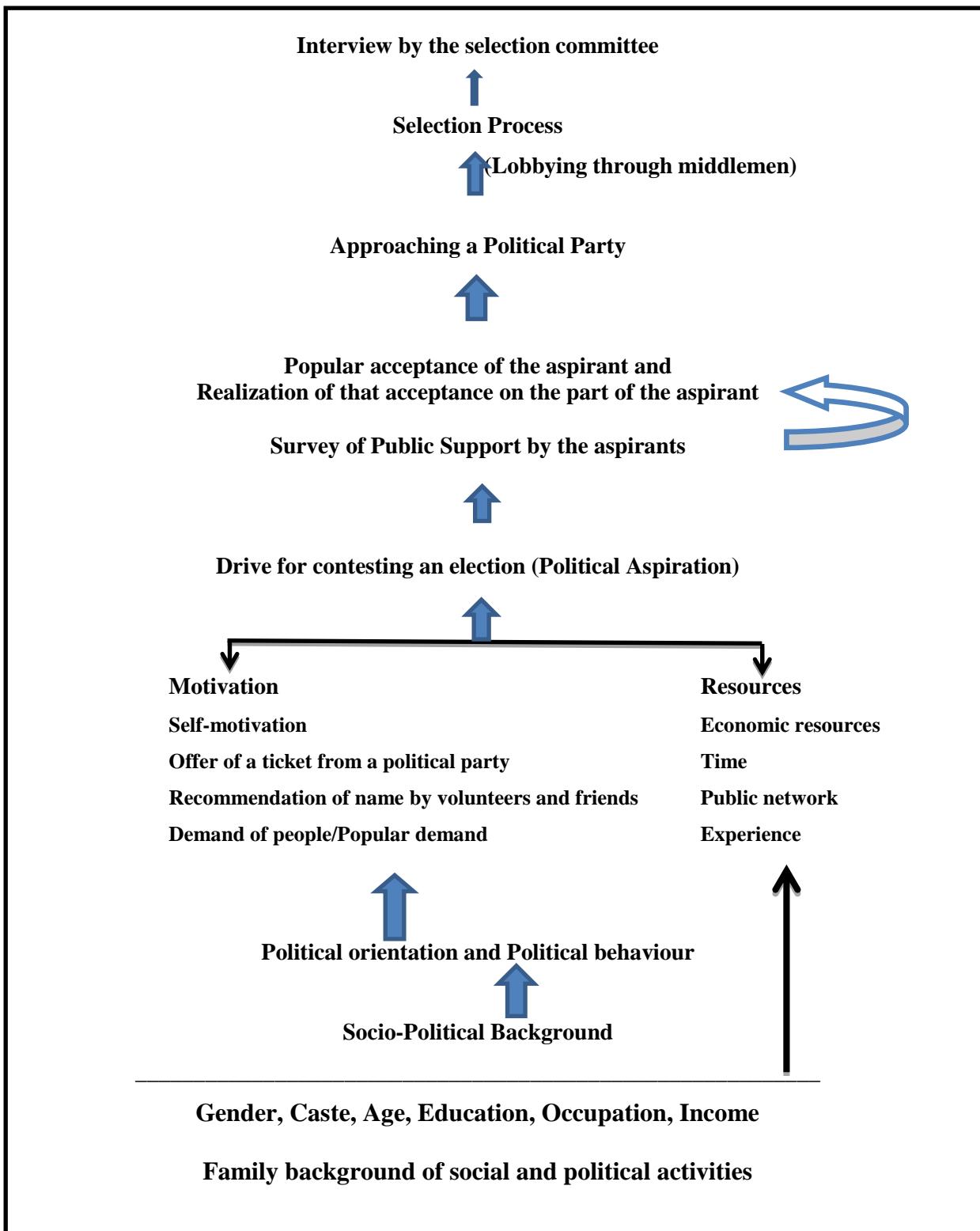
After analysing the data, one can infer that the capacity to win along with political influence and economic strength is the major factors that play a very significant role in the distribution of tickets at party levels. Political parties declare the candidate list on the basis of all these factors while taking into consideration their party interests.

Nomination Process:

Affidavits and Nomination forms are mandatory formalities for candidates who wish to contest an election. They cover personal information (gender, age, occupation, caste details in case of candidates contesting from reserved constituencies), educational qualification, political party details, financial status and information about a candidate's criminal background. Though the formalities of filling the nomination form are complex in nature, no candidate seems to have complained about it. According to them, steps taken by the Election Commission to ensure transparency and accountability are essential to improve the overall electioneering process.

It was found that candidates generally preferred to hire legal and financial advisors to complete the nomination formalities. Though candidates didn't complain about the complex nature of the form, they expressed that nominations should not be rejected merely due to minor mistakes, like - not crossing off the empty boxes in the form. Some also complained about the difficulties in getting NOCs from the police station and other bodies.

Stages involved in the decision making of the contesting an election



(Note: The idea behind the above figure is taken from Norris and Lovenduski's 'The supply and demand model of recruitment' presented in *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race and Class in the British Parliament*, 1995)

Managing Election Funds:

As mentioned earlier, a candidate with a political background and security of resources can easily think about entering into electoral politics. Here, resources are taken as a range of assets which can be employed as an advantage while pursuing a political career. This includes personal and family income, self or organizational financial contributions, time, political experience, social power, and support networks (social and political). According to Norris and Lovenduski (1993), “it is a combination of resources plus motivation which form the necessary and sufficient conditions for seeking a legislative seat. Many people have the time and money to run for office, but without commitment and ambitions/aspirations they cannot use these resources for political objectives. Others may have nursed a long-standing ambition to be in the legislature, but without the experience or contacts, they may never succeed. Resources could be expected to influence either the supply or demand-side of the candidate selection process or both.”

The general impression is that the elections are becoming expensive day by day and a common man cannot think of contesting an election considering its costly nature. The researcher has tried to understand as to how the candidates manage their electoral funds and other resources required for election purpose. It was really difficult to get the information about electoral expenses and sources of funds from the candidates. But respondents later revealed the details of their spending on the condition of anonymity. For a Municipal Election, a candidate is allowed to spend an amount of Rs. 4 lakh on campaigning and rallies. It is mandatory for every candidate to submit their electoral expenses every day to the concerned authorities. Before beginning with the interviews, the researcher had collected a summary of expenses submitted by all the candidates to the election department of KDMC. The Election expenses data with the election office show that the expenses of a candidate range from Rs. 60 thousand to 3 lakh only. However, it was seen that practically, election expenses range between Rs. 15 lakh to 2 Crores. On an average 30 lakhs to 50 lakhs are spent on an election. Expenses are incurred on image building, maintenance of ward, donations to different kinds of organisations, actual election campaigning, expenses on volunteers etc.

A huge amount of money is spent by candidates on image building, maintenance of the ward, organizing socio-cultural activities, donations to *Ganeshotsav, Navratrotsav and Dahi Handi mandals* etc.

Existing candidates have to give donations during these festivals to maintain their ‘good image’ in the constituency. They organise programmes like *Haldi kunku* on Makar Sankranti for women where female counterparts from their family actively participate and are able to project themselves as potential leaders. They also attend each and every function in the ward including marriages, engagements, *Satyanarayan Pooja* and often give handsome gifts in kind or cash in these ceremonies. They also help people for securing school/college admissions, facilitate admissions to hospitals and have to also incur medical expenditure at critical times. Notwithstanding this, few candidates were found to be running their own social organisations for the youth, women or senior citizens in their wards in order to build up a good network of people. They also provided services like an ambulance in the wards to help people at the time of emergencies. According to candidates, these activities require a huge amount of resources. On the condition of anonymity, a candidate revealed that the cost of image building for 5 years is around 4 to 5 Crores rupees for a candidate. However, all these activities organised or undertaken in order to contribute to their image building and ‘routinisation of charisma’ in their constituencies often operate without any paper work.

Apart from this, the researcher found that a huge amount of money is distributed by the candidates to the voters during the elections to get their votes. Election becomes so prestigious that they don’t hesitate to spend a great sum for winning it. Money is not only distributed in slums but also in plush housing societies. Even educated families don’t hesitate to take money from the candidates. People take money from all but vote as per their own wishes. Some candidates also offer gifts in kinds like sarees to voters. They also distribute gift items during *Ganeshotsav* or *Navratri* like *Samai*, goddess's saree etc. to woo the voters. Some take voters to picnic spots and resorts or religious places to win their votes. Even in high-class societies, people ask candidates for payment of maintenance bills, infrastructure development etc. It was found that almost all the candidates were complaining about this issue of bribe for votes. According to a few of them, even the self-help groups don’t hesitate to ask for money against the number of votes they have. In fact, they bargain with candidates against the number of votes they have. Even those who said that they don't bribe voters confirmed that they have to engage in "*tod-phodiche raajkaran*" for which they require money. They cannot ignore such vote brokers at any cost.

Candidates also have to spend a huge amount of money in maintaining a team of *karyakartas* (volunteers) which includes expenses for their tea, snacks and food. In many cases, people are hired (at Rs. 300 to 500 per day) as *karyakartas* during the election by the candidates.

Apart from this, huge sums of money and resources are also required for the office and its staff, travelling, conducting public meetings, rallies, hoardings, posters and other publications for distribution purpose.

How are funds arranged?

Almost all the candidates bear a large amount of share of these expenses. Though they show party contribution on paper, only a few candidates get help from the party. In rare instances, the party bears the electoral expenses of the candidate in the absence of which they have to arrange for funds on their own either from their own savings, or loans/donations from people from the wards. Some candidates confirmed about the help they received from their close friends and people in the constituency. Some existing candidates also informed that they had contested their first election entirely on people's donations or support.

Election strategy:

Elections have become so competitive these days that candidates employ all sorts of techniques- from conventional means to higher managerial strategies of political communication and networking (based on their electoral experiences) and thus leave no stone unturned to get the best results in the elections.

Pre-election strategy by new candidates:

- **Image building**
- **Donations to *Ganeshotsav*, *Navaratri Utsav*, *Dahi Handi* etc.**
- **Social Activities- organizing some programmes/activities for students, women and senior citizens**
- **Involvement in party activities**

As mentioned in the earlier section, aspirants and incumbents often engage in image building activities in the prospective wards for the upcoming election. They maintain a

good rapport with different kinds of socio-cultural organisations and *Ganeshotsav*, *Navaratri Utsav* and *Dahi Handi mandals* by offering them decent donations. During summer, they arrange for water tankers free of cost to the people in order to meet their water woes.

They actively engage in party activities at the local level in order to familiarize their image among the volunteers and people in the ward. They attend all the activities and programmes organised by the party to get in touch with the influential leaders of the party. During the party membership drive, assembly and Lok Sabha election they try to project their leadership through mobilisation of their supporters and volunteers. Before elections, they undertake initiatives like voter registration drive, pan card and *aadhar* card registration etc. to develop their public contacts. Such kinds of activities help aspirants or incumbents in developing their acceptance among the masses at a local level which as per them, often bear fruits during the election.

Those who are not associated with any party either get closer to a party of their choice or engage in activities or movements to raise the issues of civic importance with the administration. They don't leave an opportunity to project themselves as a prospective candidate for the upcoming elections.

Campaigning Strategy:

The election strategy is decided by a close group of people considering the nature of the constituency and competition from the opposite side. In the case of most female candidates, the entire electoral strategy is handled by the male member of their family and these women have to merely go for door to door campaigning or attend the rally or *chowk sabhas*.

The first and foremost part of the strategy is a detailed study of the voters list of the ward from which the team takes stock of the public support. From the voters list, they decide their campaigning strategy and target their respective vote bank. In some cases, they are also seen planning bogus voting by finding the names of migrated voters in the list.

During elections, apart from door to door campaign, public meetings, *chowk sabhas*, distribution of pamphlets, manifesto and work report aspirants meet community leaders, influential persons and presidents of various social/cultural groups (*Ganesh* and *Navaratri*

mandals) are used for better networking. Migrated and shifted voters are contacted and requested by candidates for voting- even travelling expenses are paid to them. Candidates arrange vehicles for voters on the election day- from their residence to the booth. Last two hours on the day of voting are strategically important where voters and volunteers bargain for money against votes and candidates are also ready to pour in more money on voters in order to get their votes.

In the recent times, candidates often employ modern technology to strategically face the opposition and win the election by circulating WhatsApp messages, sharing pictures on Facebook, circulating digitized data etc. It was also found that some candidates take guidance of superstitious elements like *babas*, healers, fortune-predictors etc. to increase their electoral prospect and often perform rituals to pray for the defeat of their opponent. In a couple of cases, candidates often said that the opposition used these superstitions to wear away the evil of their party by performing some rituals in front of their offices. Aspirants also conduct meetings with community leaders, heads of different social organisations and societies to get their support in terms of voting during the election.

Incumbency Advantage:

Existing candidates work well in advance for the elections. Those who wish to contest the upcoming election start engaging themselves in the ward a year or two in advance. Every attempt is made by the incumbent (male) to keep the ward in his hand even if the ward gets reserved for women. In such cases candidate tries to get party nomination to the female counterpart in his family. Incumbent candidates use office-holders benefits to improve their electoral prospects. Parties also look at the winnability of the candidate at this point.

Chapter Five

Discussion

The 1990s era witnessed two major changes in the dynamics of politics- the advent of liberalisation which opened up global markets and carried an aspirational value for a local citizen and political decentralisation which gave prominence to local political actors. These two important developments acted like catalysts of change in the existing political scenario of the country especially in the urban milieu as it marked the entry of new actors into the mainstream political process.

The era also witnessed a rapid transformation in the country with the consumer being at the centre of all trade and exchange (as citizens got access to almost every political and social developments through television, advertisements and business activities flourishing during the time). At this point, along with politicians, real estate developers, landowners, civil society groups and bureaucrats started reinventing themselves to adapt to and take advantage of the rapidly transforming urban environment.

Land started becoming more significant as a resource since it yielded capital which led to its increasing demand in and around the cities and areas connecting them as it got good returns. The combination of the rising price of land and its demand in urban areas along with the growing opportunities for a wider group of actors to participate in various forms of development encouraged several actors to capitalize their assets at this point.

Those in possession of land resources improved their socio-economic mobility and political competitiveness, which was used in order to retain their influence on the new migrant middle class (employed in the service sector). The urban middle class that was at the centre of all these activities boosted itself both socially and economically with the market boom, swanky infrastructure and improved standard of living. The sudden boom in infrastructure not only caught up in the heart of the cities but also in several neighboring towns. As in the case of Kalyan-Dombivali, the era saw a drastic development in the land economy due to the newly emerging industries and realty sector that looked to establish their base there- as the location was both- more spacious by city standards yet connected to the main city. Those who possessed even small pieces of land became rich overnight by selling/ developing them either for residential or commercial purposes. Those who owned

huge tracts of prime land for generations converted this land into large integrated townships and earned enormous profits.

The building of these industries and residential development projects was, in a sense, rhetoric/physical symbolic of the aspiration of the new city residents and business leaders. A rapidly changing economic climate also made it possible for the farmer community in the locality to grow their assets (land and political networks) by undertaking development projects themselves without losing their land which could no longer be used for agricultural purpose.

The 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, along with this flourishing economic opportunity that brought in resources led to the generation of political consciousness amongst people. The resultant aspirational class, (which can be regarded as the new elite) that was mainly involved in land dealings, construction and realty sector found a place in the new political structure.

Along with the surge in development and earnings, the new elite also found it necessary to wield its power and influence both to secure its ends financially and to also alleviate its social position by influencing people. This need to establish itself politically along with the growing economy of elections- where huge sums of money were required to woo voters, led the lobby to become directly active in politics over the years and often got the legitimacy of the people by wooing them with the promises of better infrastructure.

In this context, the term ‘new elite’ can be defined as a category of influential and resourceful people that formed the part of the local power structure at the municipal level whose socio-economic position was alleviated in late 1990’s due to transitions in the semi-urban and urban economy. It is a product of the political consciousness/opportunities generated by the 73rd and 74th Constitutional amendments that established local governments in the form of Panchayati Raj system and municipalities. Secondly, the new economy created a boom in the realty sector, thereby converting the land into a valuable commodity. Those who were owning even small chunks of land and those engaged in occupations related to land dealing, construction and infrastructural projects became economically well-off and resourceful enough to be attracted towards political power at the local level bodies. It was also essential for this class to get into the power structure to

be able to influence policy decisions or get contracts with respect to infrastructural projects in their favour.

Along with these developments, came challenges in the form of increasing population, shortage of basic amenities like food, clothing and shelter along with the poorly planned lifestyle. People needed leaders who could provide them basic amenities and not mere promises of world-class infrastructure. As these civic issues became the top priority for people, a new class of social leaders tried to establish its political base. Now, the promises were not of sky rocketing towers or malls, but of fixing local pipelines and avoiding power cuts. In the years to come, the electoral scene in the KDMC was dominated by these two sections of the society- the development driven ‘new elite’ and the politically motivated ‘social actor’.

The current study focuses on the motivations and strategies of the candidates contesting Municipal elections with reference to the recent Kalyan Dombivali Municipal Corporation (KDMC) Elections of 2015. In order to understand the social, economic and political trend in the region, a detailed analysis of all the nomination forms and affidavits was conducted with the help of statistical tools like SPSS. On the basis of trends observed in the analysis of nomination forms and affidavits, selected candidates were interviewed in detail to understand their political motivations and strategies deployed in the 2015 KDMC elections. After the analysis of nomination forms and affidavits of all the 746 candidates who had contested for the 2015 KDMC elections, one could clearly see a matrix of ‘OBC Caste- Business Class (Construction, Building, land dealing) - High Income and low education’.

The social composition of Kalyan-Dombivali was reflected in the ticket distribution during the 2015 KDMC elections. Candidates belonging to the OBC caste group won more than 50 per cent of the seats thus showing the dominance of OBC caste groups in Kalyan-Dombivali. This caste factor was very well reflected in the ticket distribution from the political parties like Shiv Sena, BJP and MNS. Amongst the OBC candidates, a large number of aspirants belonged to the Agri community- which is in majority in Kalyan and Dombivali. The original inhabitants of the place, the community could further their political interests due to huge economic benefits from land holdings and social influence. In terms of their occupation, most Agris are involved in land-related activities like construction, building, infrastructural projects, realty sector, etc. With their social standing

and economic well-being, the community was successful in asserting its power at the local body elections –either on its own or with the help of their female counterparts, mainly housewives contested on their behalf due to the compulsions of reservations.

The OBC women acted as assets for their families as they could contest from general constituencies, OBC constituencies, constituencies reserved for women and those reserved for OBC women. A very low number of female candidates were seen contesting from General Constituencies. This reflects the attitude of political parties towards these candidates who only gave tickets to them (in case of electoral compulsions) and did not see them as strong competitors to field them into general constituencies against other men.

A good number of schedule caste candidates were contesting elections showing their increasing political consciousness and readiness to politically assert themselves. The elections also saw a large number of candidates (243) contesting independently.

A large number of middle-aged individuals were seen contesting the elections. However, a fairly good number of candidates in the age group of 18-30 years were also seen contesting these elections.

In terms of educational qualifications of the candidates, the data showed a very dismal picture. Most candidates who contested the elections had barely passed class X. Barring one or two candidates, no one had an exposure to higher education in any way. Majority candidates who even won the elections did not have any education to their credit thus proving the old notion of education not being an important influence on electoral choices of voters.

The data analysis shows that language did not play a major role during the elections although the non-Marathi population has increased in the region over the years.

From the affidavits and nomination forms, it was observed that most candidates who were engaged in the business like activities were mainly involved in building, construction and the realty sector and often had huge assets in their possession were seen contesting elections. Majority candidates who won the KDMC 2015 Election possessed assets in the range of rupees 50 Lakh to 50 Crore or above and were basically engaged in the business like activities (construction, building, land dealing, etc.). It was also found that they

basically belonged to OBC caste groups. Thus, a clear equation of ‘OBC Caste- Business Class (Construction, Building, Land dealing) - High Income and low education’ in the political economy of KDMC could be perceived through this data analysis.

It was found that having no political background did not come as a barrier in shaping individual political motivations or strategies as most candidates interviewed turned out to be first generation politicians from their families. Most female candidates also did not have a political background at their maternal families but slowly got accustomed to the same after they were married into a somewhat political household.

Majority candidates got accustomed to the groundwork involved during elections after working for social causes in their localities. While a large number of male candidates were earlier members of a political party/ small organisations (through which they developed their public contacts) at the local level, in the case of female candidates, the pattern was not very common and was hardly seen in 3-4 candidates. After having spoken to 3 female candidates who were earlier members of Gram Panchayats, it was revealed that the experience of running a Panchayat helped them score an extra point in the KDMC elections when these villages were added to the municipal corporation.

Some factors that acted as driving forces behind the candidate’s decision to contest were- access to power, prestige/ social status, interest in policy making, economic benefits and ideology. Most of them saw this as a way to fulfill their political ambitions and aspirations along with long term monetary gains and perks associated with the power. While some of them tried to use this to further their business interests, some others had the intentions of serving the society by addressing the local issues of people. The decision to contest largely came from self-motivation but was often coupled with a candidate’s popular demand. In the case of female candidates, self-motivation was almost absent as they mostly contested due to the insistence of their male counterparts who fielded them in reserved constituencies.

Aspirants were found taking stock of public support for their candidature from their constituencies after they made up their minds about contesting the election. They also met the leaders of different communities, social organisation and well-known personalities in the ward in order to get legitimacy to their decision- also helping them in lobbying with the party. Popular acceptance depended on- personal qualities of the candidate, his/her

oratory skills, polished behaviour- cultural capital, economic wealth, social power (caste)-leadership of a social class, religion, gender, etc. An aspirant's decision to contest an election depends on his or her realisation of popular acceptance.

After this, they approach a political party for candidature. Parties also approach good candidates at times who have been in long association with the party, are into party work and programmes, develop a good rapport in the organisation and constituency in general, and have good leadership qualities. Aspirants were often found to be lobbying through middlemen for acquiring tickets. Generally, political parties or selectors looked for high chances of winning, money power, popular support and the overall image in the ward due to the candidate's work while giving a ticket.

A candidate with a political background, motivation and security of resources can easily think about entering into electoral politics. This includes personal income and family income, personal or organizational financial contributions, time, political experience, social power, and support networks (social and political). The general impression is that the elections are becoming expensive day by day and a common man cannot think of contesting an election considering its costly nature. It was seen that practically, the election expenses range between Rs. 15 lakh to 2 Crores. On an average 30-50 lakhs are spent on an election. Expenses are incurred on image building, maintenance of ward, donations to different kinds of organisations, actual election campaigning, expenses on volunteers etc.

It was found that the cost of image building for 5 years is around 4 to 5 Crore rupees. However, all these activities organised or undertaken in order to contribute to their image building and 'routinisation of charisma' in their constituencies often operate without any paper work. Election becomes so prestigious that candidates don't hesitate to spend a great sum for winning it. Money is not only distributed in slums but also in plush housing societies. Even educated families don't hesitate to take money from the candidates.

Almost all the candidates bear huge share of these expenses. Though they show party contribution on paper, in reality only a few candidates get help from the party.

Elections have become so competitive that candidates leave no stone unturned for the best results in the election. Generally, aspirants and incumbents engage in image building

activities in the prospective wards for the upcoming election. Those who are not associated with any of the parties either gets close to a party of their choice or engage in activities or movements to raise the issues of civic importance with the administration.

The electoral strategy is decided by a close group of people considering the nature of the constituency and competition from the opposite side. During elections, apart from door to door campaigning, public meetings, *chowk sabhas*, distribution of pamphlets, manifesto and work report aspirants meet community leaders, influential persons and presidents of various social/cultural groups (*Ganesh* and *Navaratri mandals*) for better networking. Migrated and shifted voters are contacted and requested for voting- even travelling expenses are paid to them. Vehicles are arranged by candidates for voters on the voting day- from their residence to the booth. Last two hours on the voting day are strategically important where voters and volunteers bargain for money against votes.

In the recent times, candidates often employ modern technology to strategically face the opposition and win the election by circulating WhatsApp messages, sharing pictures on Facebook, circulating digitized data etc.

Existing candidates work well in advance for the elections. Those who wish to contest the upcoming election start engaging themselves in the ward a year or two in advance. Every attempt is made by the incumbent (male) to keep the ward in his hand even if the ward gets reserved for women. Incumbent candidates use officeholders' benefits to improve their electoral prospects

While all these factors help aspirants woo their voters, the road to victory is not an easy one. It is marked by several challenges. From spending huge sums of money to having a large volunteer base, candidates have to struggle with resources at every stage to give their best shot at the elections. Social markers often play an important role in influencing voters. A male candidate with enough resources is easily preferred over a dedicated woman who wished to work towards the development of the ward- as she is often not seen as competition to the powerful male lobby. A candidate's caste is also an important factor in this regard. While some OBC candidates are fielded by those from upper castes due to ward reservations, social acceptability among masses is not easy to achieve. A large number of upper caste voters often belittle those coming from lower caste groups as these individuals are often seen as 'not so well-off' and 'white collared'. The entire process of

contesting- from the time of deciding to contest to filling up the nominations, campaigning and finally winning or losing, requires a lot of time and energy. It often takes a toll on the candidate's physical and mental health. While campaigning for the cause, people often have to negotiate with unscrupulous demands for money and other things as they want to bring more voters. In most cases, even after working for a long time for a party aspirants are often not sure of getting a ticket.

Characteristics of those who contest an election:

The researcher found some key characteristics of candidates-

- **Candidates without a political lineage:**

Most candidates had no political legacy as far as elections were concerned. The most prominent reason for this is the fact that elections for the corporation started as late as 1995, almost 12 years after the corporation was formed in 1983. The 1990's saw rapid transitions in the city landscape moving from a semi-urban to an urban milieu. The new economy which was an underlying reason for this transition also saw the emergence of the 'new elite class' which had an aspirational value with its improved socio-economic mobility.

- **Socio-politically active:**

This class was found to be highly active in handling socio-political issues as a result of the existing challenges with respect civic amenities.

- **Association with some political party or the other:**

The new aspirant class was well-organised and highly ambitious, irrespective of whether it was working with a political party or on its own.

- **Economically well-off and strategic:**

Their cohesiveness and openness to new experiences and experiments made them confident in taking risks and challenges which however were strategically planned considering their economic and socio-political status.

- **Polished behavior and good oratory skills with great engaging capacity:**

Through their polished behaviour (emerging from socio-economic alleviation and not necessarily education) these people were successful in engaging a majority of the population with the help of their oratory skills.

- **Assertive yet assimilative:**

While they registered their opinions assertively the long-term impact that their opinion building had on people help them assimilate a lot of diverse interests for their own good.

Major concerns and suggestions for reforms

While interviewing candidates, they raised certain concerns about the current electoral process. Some of them include-

1. Orientation for aspirants

The general impression is that with the increasing use of money along with muscle power and after the advent of new technology leading to an increasing use of WhatsApp and other social media platforms, further met with fierce electoral competition, it has become rather difficult for a common citizen to contest even local level elections (*lest Vidhan Sabha or Lok Sabha*). This was evident while studying the KDMC elections 2015. It was observed that those who are economically powerful easily get entry into electoral politics with the help of the resources at their disposal by sidelining those party workers who deserve to get the nomination. Factors like gender, caste, religion, age etc. play a very prominent role in shaping individual political motivations when it comes to contesting an election. People belonging to the Scheduled Castes, minority communities and female aspirants cannot even think of contesting an election from non-reserved constituencies. Thus, socio-economic and political conditions along with the constructed fear about electoral politics discourages many from directly participating in the electoral process.

Considering this social-psychological set up Municipal Corporations (which is the only government body that directly works with people) and the State Election Commission should take up an initiative and organize orientation and counseling for aspirants in order to address their fears and to aid them with technical formalities involved in the entire electoral process like filling the nomination and affidavit forms, understanding electoral rules and norms, etc. This would encourage potential aspirants in contesting the local body elections.

2. Revision of the Voters List

During the study, it was found that the existing voters list used for local body elections is same as the one made for the Vidhan Sabha elections. The same list is bifurcated as per the ward formations at the municipal level. It was found that the list has not been revised for a long time and the law for local body elections makes it mandatory to use voter list of Assembly elections.

In the absence of the revision of electoral roll, the existing list is often found to have names that are no longer present in the constituency, along with those who might have migrated and the deceased which often raises concerns over the tampering of votes with the help of such names.

In order to bring about reforms in the current electoral system, it is imperative for the State Election Commission to recommend the Election Commission of India to undertake the task of revision of the voters list at the earliest.

The need to have a revised and updated electoral list was also backed by a senior official who was on duty during the 2015 KDMC elections stating that the move would bring in more transparency and accountability to the existing electoral process at the local level. In order to bring about reforms in the current electoral process, the State Election Commission should request/recommend the Election Commission of India to take this as one of the most important tasks at hand, as opined by many respondents. To achieve this task, fresh registration drives should be conducted to register eligible yet unregistered voters in the constituencies from time to time. In this endeavor, inter-departmental coordination could be developed to make the system more voter-friendly.

A new system could be developed which can interlink the data provided by various identity proofs including *Aadhar* card, death certificate, marriage certificate etc. with voter registration. There should also be a link between the death registration list and the list of voters in the wards. While issuing death certificates, there should be a clause regarding issuing the same only after the cancellation of the individual's name from the voter list. Names of all the deceased individuals from within the constituency should be automatically deleted once a death certificate is raised by the registering office. For married women, there should be a clause in the Marriage Registration Form with the help of which they can add a new address or change their name according to which the changes would be reflected in the voter list.

A more practical application of technology is the computerization of the electoral roll, which should lead to improvements in the accuracy and transparency of the registration process. Such technical innovation (whilst not solving the problems faced by potential voters with poor access to computers) would facilitate a continuous process of updating

the electoral rolls, rather than the periodic updating of the electoral register (MacMillan, 2014).

3. Voter ID cards

In several cases, candidates expressed their concerns over the process of voter registration and distribution of voter IDs. It was found that on several instances those names that have been registered before hand are not reflected in the final list or often there are mistakes in the names and addresses of voters. Quite often names of voters from one ward appear in the list of another ward. Before elections, the voter list is often released officially either online or through other means which is often not accessible to a voter. This often leaves huge scope for errors on the part of the departments concerned.

Candidates also mentioned the great difficulty that voters encounter while making corrections with respect to their names and addresses on the electoral rolls. Thus, it was found that most people wanted the system to become transparent and simple which would, in turn, encourage a lot of them to register themselves and vote in the elections- thus solving the major issue of low voter turnout.

The issue of Voter ID is related to Election Commission of India. The State Election Commission should request the Election Commission of India to take an initiative/campaign to solve the problems of voter registration, personation and electoral corruption through the ‘smart’ voter identity cards.

4. Curbing the practice of ‘Bogus voting’:

Those voters who have either migrated or died but whose names still exist in the list are often used by political parties for malpractices like bogus voting as reported by many respondents interviewed for the study. While there was no way to verify these claims, an updated voting list would be able to plug this loophole, if at all it exists. In the case of bogus voting, those who are engaged in such practices should be held responsible and be penalized as per the law.

5. Curbing the ‘bribe for votes’ practice

It is the general observation that people get allured by money and gifts offered to them by the candidates and different political parties during elections. During the interviews,

respondents (candidates) also mentioned that the distribution of money and other rewards in kind in exchange of votes was a common practice during elections.

According to Trilochan Sastry (2014), “Any winning candidate who spends lavishly in elections will focus on recovering his investment or returning favours to those who funded him/her. The same is true of political parties and of ruling coalitions. A superficial analysis says that voters have become savvy, take money from all candidates, and then vote for the candidate of their choice. Therefore the misuse of money no longer affects the outcome. This is clearly not true as the earlier analysis reveals. But even if it were true, governance will suffer no matter who wins because all have spent huge sums. A clean election process is important to ensure good governance, even if it has no impact on the final outcome. Elections are not only about who wins but also about the quality of governance we get. The problem of misuse of funds in elections goes to the heart of the matter.”

As per the Election Commission of India’s Website, “Acceptance of money to vote for a candidate is a corrupt practice of bribery under Section 123 (1) of R. P. Act, 1951. It is also an offence under section 171-B of Indian Penal Code and is punishable with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year or with fine or both”. The State Election Commission is already trying its best to curb these malpractices. Corrupt practices used by candidates and political parties should be arrested at the very beginning by providing strict vigilance at all times which would ensure that the candidates are deterred from such malpractices.

As per the guidelines of the State Election Commission, ‘Special Vigilance Squads’ need to be appointed by the Municipal Corporation/Election Officers in order to ensure that the candidates observe the guidelines given in this regard as per the Model Code of conduct.

Acceptance of money, gifts in kind, liquor or other intoxicants to vote for a particular candidate/ party or not to vote for him/the party is also considered as bribery according to the guidelines of the Election Commission of India. Thus, those who are found engaged in such kind of practices should be booked under the appropriate law and it should be given due publicity in the media to curb such practices of ‘bribe for votes’.

6. Limiting the Election Expenses:

A candidate is not free to spend as much as he likes on the election. The State Election Commission, Maharashtra prescribes that the total election expenditure shall not exceed the maximum limit prescribed under an order dated 30th July, 2011. However, as per the law for local elections, there is no legal limit prescribed for expenditure by candidates and parties. The SEC has prescribed limits but there is no legal provision for punishment in case the limit is exceeded.

As per report no. 255, prepared by the Law Commission of India on electoral reforms in March 2015, ‘it is well established that money plays a big role in politics, whether in the conduct or campaigning, for elections’. The report cites the guidelines of the Election Commission of India, issued on 29th August 2014, stating that- “*concerns have been expressed in various quarters that money power is disturbing the level playing field and vitiating the purity of elections.*”

The State Election Commission has limited the electoral expenses to Rs. 4 lakh per candidate for elections of Municipal Corporations in ‘B’ and ‘C’ category. It was however found that candidates often incur expenses from Rs. 15 lakh to 2 Crore which is way above the prescribed limit. Thus, clearly, there is under-reporting of the election expenses.

Candidates often said that they had to spend the money due to growing competition in order to keep their vote banks intact at any cost. Supplementing this claim is the conclusion of the 2002 report of the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution which was affirmed by the Apex court in the *PUCL v Union of India case (2003)*.

It states-

“One of the most critical problems in the matter of electoral reforms is the hard reality that for contesting an election one needs large amounts of money. The limits of expenditure prescribed are meaningless and almost never adhered to. As a result, it becomes difficult for the good and the honest to enter legislatures. It also creates a high degree of compulsion for corruption in the political arena. This has progressively polluted the entire system. Corruption, because it erodes performance, becomes one of the leading reasons for non-performance and compromised governance in the country. The sources of some of the election funds are believed to be unaccounted criminal money in return for

protection, unaccounted funds from business groups who expect a high return on this investment, kickbacks or commissions on contracts etc.”

Despite having some mechanisms that limit the election expenditure of candidates and with respect to the disclosure of contributions to parties and candidates, there are certain lacunae in its monitoring process. In fact, one of the major concerns regarding expenditure and regulation about contribution to political parties is that the apparently low ceiling of candidate expenditure increases the demand for black money, cash contributions and drives campaign expenditure underground, causing parties to conceal their actual source of funds and expenditure.

If the Election Commission conducts a detailed survey of average spending required today for each candidate and comes up with a median cap on expenditures by taking into consideration the principle of creating a level playing field, it might help bring in more transparency in election expenses by candidates and political parties. This would also curb the use of black money in elections.

The issue of electoral finance has continued to play a major part in the perception of the role of the Election Commission and the conduct of elections. The impression that ‘black money’ dominated political campaigns has persisted, despite attempts at reform (McMillan in Jayal and Mehta, 2014). Until this flow of black money into elections is minimized we cannot get good governance.

7. Continuous monitoring during the campaigning:

Considering the fact that electoral expenses of most candidates exceed the prescribed limit set by the State Election Commission for local body elections, the Commission should not depend only on the election expenditure accounts submitted by the candidates. There should be continuous vigilance on the spending by each candidate and political party by the Municipal Corporation as per its guidelines in this regard.

Last two hours on the day of voting are strategically important where voters and volunteers bargain for money against votes and candidates are also ready to shower more money on voters in order to get their votes. It was found that migrated voters are often contacted and requested by candidates to vote for them. In such cases, candidates vouch to

pay for the voters' travelling expenses and also, at times arrange vehicles for them to reach the booth from their homes on the day of voting.

Any arrangement, direct or indirect, to carry any voter to or from the polling station by any kind of vehicle used for transport is a criminal offence (refer Section 133 of Representation of People Act, 1951). Also, any attempt to influence the voters is also considered as an offence by the Election Commission. While stringent actions should be taken against those who are not following the Model Code of Conduct during the elections there should be a continuous monitoring of these activities by the State Election Commission to keep a tab on them.

8. Awareness Drive on ‘Voters Education’:

An awareness programme should be undertaken by the State Election Commission on ‘Voters Education’ with the help of NSS students, Civil Society Organizations and through the media to curb the practices of bribe for votes and the practice of gift distribution in return of votes during the elections. As pointed out by Sastry (2014), “a deeper understanding of the link between black money, vote buying, corrupt elections and corrupt government delivering bad governance needs to be built. They sometimes do not see how they themselves suffer and get bad schools, healthcare, roads, corrupt government, and bad implementation of various government schemes.....Needless to say, media support is vital.”

Appendix I
Interview Questionnaire

Ward no.	
Booth no.	
Candidate's Name	
Name of Political Party	
Gender	Male: _____ Female: _____
Age	
Religion	Hindu / Muslim/ Christian/ Sikh/ Buddhist/ Jain/Other _____
Caste Category	General/ OBC/ SC/ ST/ Other _____
Educational Qualification	
Occupation	Business/Self Employed/Service/Daily Wages/ Retired/House-wife/Student/Social service _____
Family income (Annual)	Less than One Lakh 1 Lakh to 2.5 lakh 2.5 Lakh to 5 lakh 5 lakh to 10 lakh 10 lakh to 25 lakh 25 lakh to 50 lakh 50 lakh to 1 Crore 1 Crore and 5 Crore 5 Crore and Above -----
Election Expenses (Rs)	
Address	
Mobile no.	
Email	

1. Do you have a family background of social work and associated activities?
2. Do you have a family background of politics?
3. Since how long have you been engaged in social or political activities related to issues of public significance?
4. When did you first think of contesting an election?
5. What was the most determining factor leading to this decision?
6. Did anybody ask/recommend your name to contest the election?
7. What was in your mind when you were thinking about contesting an election?
8. Please share some of the challenges that crossed your thoughts when you were thinking about contesting an election?
9. Did you try to take any stock of public support for your candidature from your constituency?(through verbal surveys etc)
10. Was the decision a result of your public acceptance and popular acknowledgement?
11. (For party candidates) How did you approach the political party? On what basis did you decide to contest for a particular party?
12. (For party candidates) For how long have you been trying to get a ticket?
(No. of attempts or No. of years?)
13. What problems did you face for getting the party ticket?
14. What are the requirements to get a party ticket for contesting the elections?
15. Describe the nomination form filling process? Was it simple or complicated?
16. How much funds according to you are required for contesting the Municipal elections?
17. How did you arrange the funds for your elections? State some major sources.
18. How much part of the expenditure for elections was contributed by the party?
19. What was your strategy for the election (campaigning)? List two important ones.
20. How did you manage your volunteers/ karyakartas? What was the incentive promised?
21. Did you get support from any of your community organizations (social, religious, cultural, nativist)?
22. Tell us something about your election agenda. What were the two major agendas?
23. Why did you zero down on those points?
24. How did you find the election commission's administration and police during the entire process of electioneering? Was there enough effort to ensure free and fair elections?

25. What reforms do you recommend in the electioneering process?
26. What is your opinion about 50% reservations to women candidates?
27. What is your opinion about the NOTA option on the ballot? Will it change the current election system? If yes, why and how?

Some specific questions for female candidates:

1. Whose decision was it that you should contest the elections?
2. If it were your decision, what was the determining factor behind it?
3. As a woman, does your political agenda differ from the other male candidates? If yes how?
4. Who decides the political campaigning and where do the funds come from?

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