KEJRIWAL – REDEFINING INDIAN POLITICS

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AIM:

This case is designed to enable students to:

- Explore the role of the environment and the characteristics which a political entrepreneur needs to have in order to become successful in the current political world

- Clearly analyze the political system and issues plaguing the current political system in the developing world

- Analyze whether corruption is the single major problem plaguing the developing world

- Learn from the success of Kejriwal's Aam Aadmi Party

CASE SYNOPSIS

With its promise to weed out corruption from public life, Arvind Kejriwal's Aam Aadmi Party (AAP, Common Man Party) captured the imagination of millions of Indians. So much so that his one-year-old party was catapulted to power after the December 2013 elections in the state of Delhi (India). With a well worked out strategy which included a promise to introduce a bill which made everyone in the government including the prime minister accountable, Kejriwal's AAP party projected itself as an alternative to the existing political parties which were known for deep-rooted corruption. Working closely with the grass-roots, formulating manifestos for each and every constituency, taking the opinion of the people on every major decision, taking the use of social media to a totally new level, AAP gained tremendous popularity among the voters. Having formed the government, it now remains to

be seen how it will achieve its promises, which according to its critics, were impossible to fulfill.

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"I hope people have voted for the development work done by the Congress in the past 15 years. I would not want to say how many seats we will win. It was a direct fight between the Congress and the BJP and I don't view AAP as a strong contender.''

– Ms. Sheila Dikshit (Congress), Chief Minister, New Delhi[1].

"We are far ahead of the Congress and the AAP. It is the Congress and the AAP who are contesting for the second position. Nobody can make a dent in our vote bank.''

– Harsh Vardhan (BJP), Chief Minister Candidate, December, 2013 Elections[2].

"People are ready; they have made up their mind to remove the corrupt. I am very confident of the results. It will not be my victory but that of the people.''

– Arvind Kejriwal (AAP), Convenor, AAP[3].

INTRODUCTION

Arvind Kerjiwal (Kejriwal), a common man, created history in Indian politics by becoming the youngest Chief Minister of New Delhi (Delhi). Kejriwal's fledgling Aam Admi Party (AAP) had contested the Delhi elections against well-entrenched political parties like the Indian National Congress (Congress)[4], the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)[5], and other regional parties. But none of these parties were able to stop the year-old AAP from succeeding. Kejriwal and AAP had caught the attention of not only the Delhiites but also of many

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[1]   "What they said", www.thehindu.com, December 5, 2013.

[2]   "What they said", www.thehindu.com, December 5, 2013.

[3]   "What they said", www.thehindu.com, December 5, 2013.

[4]   Congress was the first and the largest national political party in India formed in the year 1885.

[5]   BJP was the second largest national political party in India formed in year 1980.

expatriate Indians who made donations to the party. AAP won a considerable number of seats and was the second largest party in terms of seat share in Delhi. However none of the parties was able to cross the crucial 35-seat mark required to form the government. *(Refer to Exhibit-I for Results of Delhi Assembly Elections, December 2013).* Though the Congress and BJP were willing to support the AAP to form the government, Kejriwal was initially reluctant to accept either their support. But the prevailing circumstances forced him to rethink his decision. He said he was not interested in forming an alliance government with either the Congress (or) the BJP as he did not want to compromise on the AAP's objectives. To know their actual intentions, Kejriwal wrote to the chiefs of both parties asking them to express their stand openly on his party's agenda *(Refer to Exhibit-II for AAP Agenda).* He stated that their feedback would be placed in the public domain for consideration. In response to his letter, the Congress came forward to support his agenda, while the BJP stated that it could provide only situational support in implementing his agenda.

Kejriwal said his conscience did not permit him to form an alliance government. However, his well-wishers and friends suggested that he should take up the responsibility as it would give him an opportunity to implement his ideas and prove his mettle. After a series of discussions with his team-mates and well-wishers, Kejriwal decided to go in for a referendum[6]. He wanted the people to convey their opinion on whether he should form the government or not. Kejriwal and his party organized the referendum. The responses were quick and overwhelmingly in support of forming the government *(Refer to Exhibit-III for Outputs of Referandum Process).* Encouraged and motivated by the results, Kejriwal decided to form the government with the external support of the Congress. He communicated his decision to the Lieutenant Governor of Delhi. After following the constitutional formalities, he finally took the oath on December 28, 2013, at the age of 45.

However the challenge remains as to how Kejriwal would go about fulfilling the promises which he made during the election campaign especially of removing corruption which is so rampant and is in the veins of Indian politics. Non delivery of the promises could lead to lose of faith and even an uprising among the voters.

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[6] It is a process of direct voting in which the public are asked to communicate their opinions on a particular issue (or) a proposal. This helps to provide solutions for certain critical issues.

BACKGROUND

Kejriwal was born in a humble middle class family on August 16, 1968, in the Hisar District of Haryana. His father, Gobind Ram Kejriwal, was an engineer by profession and his mother Gita Devi a housewife. Kerjiwal was the eldest of three children. Gobind Ram Kejriwal's job required him to move around various north Indian towns like Sonepet, Ghaziabad, Mathura, and Hisar. Kejriwal spent most of his childhood and schooldays in these places. In school, he was a sincere, dedicated, and focused student who topped the class. He was a loner and spoke very little. He did not mingle easily with others and had only a few friends. Thanks to the interest shown by Mrs. Chopra (Chopra), his Biology teacher, that Kejriwal learned to express his thoughts and ideas. Mrs. Chopra encouraged Kejriwal to participate in debates and in social and cultural activities. She introduced Kejriwal to Arvind Pandey (Pandey), a senior student of his school, and asked Pandey to provide career guidance to Kejriwal and clarify any doubts he had. Initially, Kejriwal wanted to become a doctor. But on Pandey's suggestion, he decided to opt for the engineering stream instead. He worked with strong determination and made his entry into the prestigious Indian Institute of Technolgy (IIT)[7], Kharagpur.

Kejriwal enjoyed his college days. He did well in studies. Though he was not the topper, he managed to get a score of 8.2. He participated in extra-curricular activities like public speaking and theater activities. He made some life long friends in college, though most of them (8 out of 10) went abroad for further studies. After completing his graduation in the year 1989, he joined Tata Steel[8] (Tata). Before he opted to join Tata Steel, Kejriwal got opportunities from public sector companies like Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC)[9] and Gas Authority of India Limited (GAIL)[10]. He turned down both the offers and joined Tata Steel.

However, it proved to be a testing time for Kejriwal at Tata Steel. He was posted as Assistant Manager in the design department at Jamshedpur. He was responsible for the design and development of the plant and machinery for future steel projects. Kejriwal did not find it

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[7] A national level reputed autonomous college in India that offers Engineering courses.

[8] Tata Steel is an Indian multinational company making steel. Its headquarters are located in Mumbai, Maharashtra.

[9] ONGC is India's largest public sector oil and gas exploration and production company. Its headquarters are located in Dehradun, India.

[10] GAIL is India's largest public sector natural gas processing and distribution company. Its headquarters are located in New Delhi, India.

interesting. He also began to feel that his qualifications were not enough for him to achieve a higher position in his career. After exploring all the opportunities, Kejriwal found he had three options – he could go abroad, pursue a management degree, or try for the civil services. Kejriwal tried to pursue management studies but was not successful. During a discussion he had with a close friend at IIT, Mr. Sanjay Virsingh (Sanjay), Kejriwal realized that civil servants wielded a lot of power and authority and also could make a difference to society. He finally decided to go in for the civil services. He took leave of absence from his job and prepared for the civil services examination[11].

Kejriwal was successful in his first attempt. He got a score that made him eligible to work for the Indian Revenue Service (IRS). But he wanted to join the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) which required a higher score and so decided to take the examination another time. He had the option of retaining the better of the two scores. In the meantime, he rejoined Tata Steel but realized that he was still dissatisfied with the job. He requested the management to transfer him to the Corporate Social Responsibility division (This unit worked for the development of rural people). But his request was turned down with the management replying that he had been recruited as an engineer, not a social worker. They left it to him to decide whether to continue in the job (or) not. He decided to quit.

Kejriwal liked reading. He read books on Mother Terasa, Ramakrishna Mission and other religious subjects, and about Christian missionaries. He was greatly influenced by the teachings of Swami Vivekananda (Vivekananda). Being a sincere follower of Vivekananda, Kejriwal had strong belief in God. After quitting his job at Tata Steel, Kejriwal visited Mother Terasa's Missionaries of Charity, Christian Brothers Association, Ramakrishna Mission, and the Nehru Yuva Kendra[12]. He took part in the social activities organized by these organizations. In the meantime, he came to know that his second attempt at the civil services examination had proved futile – he could not get into the IAS. He had to settle for IRS. After completing his training period, Kejriwal was posted as Asst. Commissioner of Income Tax in the year 1995. He was posted in a town near Delhi. Kejriwal married his IRS

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[11] The civil service examination in India is a three stage process. An applicant has to first appear for a preliminary examination. Once he/she qualifies, he/she is shortlisted to write the main examination. Those who clear the mains are called for the Final Interview. The Indian Administrative Service (IAS) is the highest service that an applicant can be selected to, followed by the Indian Foreign Service (IFS), the Indian Police Service (IPS), the Indian Revenue Service (IRS), etc.

[12] Reputed social service organizations in India.

batch-mate Ms. Sunitha, whom he met during his training period at the National Academy for Direct Taxes, Nagpur, Maharashtra. He has two children, a daughter, Harshitha and a son, Pulkit.

SOCIAL ACTIVIST

On the first day after he joined the IRS, Kejriwal met his superior and was taken aback by what he said. "In the first few years of your service, you should make sufficient money for yourself so that you can appear to be honest for the rest of your life,"[13] his senior advised him. The man added that he had done the same thing and had earned sufficient money. Though Kejriwal was aware of corruption in the government departments, this came as a shock to him. He had no idea about the extent and level of corruption. As Assistant Commissioner of Income Tax, he had around ten people working under him. They were all responsible for processing the income statements and tax returns of local people and businessmen. One day when he was seriously working on the files, one of the security guards approached him and said Chai Paani (tea and snacks). Kejriwal thought he wanted to buy some snacks and was asking him for money. He was surprised when he came to know it was a code for a bribe. Kejriwal came to office by scooter. His staff often said, "It is okay, sir, it will take only a few months for you to have a car"[14]. There was enough scope in his department to indulge in corruption. Even though he was aware of this, he was unable to take disciplinary action against the corrupt officials, as he did not have the authority. He felt that the systems in place to tackle corruption were inadequate and lacked transparency and there was a lack of genuineness in handling corrupt practices.

Despite being concerned about corruption in the department, Kejriwal enjoyed working in the IRS. He dealt with many cases concerning taxation issues. He was acknowledged as a sincere, honest, and hardworking person. He was promoted as deputy commissioner in the year 2000. Besides being a sincere civil servant, he had a spiritual side to him. He had studied in missionary schools where he had been taught moral studies and taken on church visits. In addition, there were the normal Hindu teachings, daily rituals, and celebration of festivals in his house. All these had an impact on Kejriwal. He was devout and believed in prayer until his twelfth standard. There was a break in his spiritual path when he was doing his

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[13] Arvind Kejriwal Biography, www.rmaf.org.ph, 2006.

[14] Arvind Kejriwal Biography, www.rmaf.org.ph, 2006.

graduation. He regained his sense of spiritualism only after taking part in social activities during the period between resigning from Tata Steel and joining the IRS. He believed serving people was a part of spiritualism.

In the year 1997, he started practicing "Vipassana"[15]. He then formed an association called KABIR (Karmayogis Association for Bringing Indian Regeneration). KABIR was registered as a society under the Societies Act. He tried to persuade several persons and organizations to act against corrupt practices. He requested them not to pay their electricity bills, in order to focus attention on the corruption in the Electricity department. It was around this time that he met Kailash Goduka (Kailash), a Chartered Accountant, and Colonel J.N.Pandey (Pandey), a retired army officer. He had long discussions with them on corruption and the all-pervasive sense of dissatisfaction he felt as an honest officer. During their discussions, they decided to act on behalf of the common man by helping him to overcome corruption. They began their activities under the name "Parivartan"[16]. It was initiated in the year December 1999.

The Parivartan Team (Parivartan) first decided to address issues related to the income tax department. Kejriwal and Kailash knew how the income tax department functioned. Kailash, Pandey, and Dr. R.S. Gupta (Gupta) were the key members of Parivartan. Kejriwal did not play a direct role in the activities, as he was still working with the department. He took care of the back-end in executing the activities. Parivartan started its work with a computer in a room provided by Kailash. Later on, it was shifted to a room provided by Gupta. All the three members (Kailash, Pandey, and Gupta) met the commissioner of income tax and requested him to address the grievances of the public brought up by Parivartan. After he agreed to do so, Parivartan requested the public not to pay bribes or approach middlemen to get their work done with the income tax department. Instead, it urged the public to bring their grievances to the notice of Parivartan. All the grievances were collected by Parivartan which then approached the commissioner for redress. This process slowly gained momentum. Parivartan publicized its activities through bannners and pamphlets distributed across Delhi. The banners read"Don't pay bribes in income-tax department", "Come to us. We'll get it done free of cost". This annoyed the income tax commissioner who refused to support Parivartan. However, this did not stop Parivartan, which continued to address the grievances of the

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[15]   A Buddhist meditation technique.

[16]   It represents a voluntary association of persons formed for the purpose of helping the common man from the corrupt practices in Government departments.

public and send them by post to the income tax commissioner. At the same time, Parivartan met Members of Parliament and Vigilance officials in the income tax department to seek their help in getting the grievances redressed. Several suggestions were made by Parivartan to bring in transparency in the working of the department and improve its efficiency. Parivartan put in a lot of effort to get the income-tax department to implement their suggestions. . It approached the Delhi High Court (Court) to direct the income tax department to implement its suggestions.

In the court, Partivartan faced a setback when the income tax department claimed that it had already implemented the suggestions. Parivartan knew this was a false claim, but it was unable to prove it in court. It staged a protest in front of the income tax department seeking copies of the departmental order issued for the implementation of the suggestions. For a long time there was no proper response. After some time, the commissioner came out and requested Parivartan to give him two or three weeks' time to provide the copies. Parivartan agreed to do so and returned after ten days. But it was still not able to get a favorable reply from the commissioner. This prompted Manish Sisodia (Manish)[17], to write a letter to the commissioner stating that he would launch a fast unto death, if the order copies are not given within ten days. This issue came to the notice of N.Vittal (Vittal), Chief Vigilance Commissioner, India. He discussed the issue with Manish and advised the income tax commissioner to implement Parivartan's suggestions. Vittal was successful in convincing both the parties. Parivartan finally succeeded in bringing about a change in the income tax department. During this entire process, though Kejriwal did not play a direct role, he was behind Parivartan's activities.

Parivartan then moved on to the Electricity department to tackle the problems there. The commissioner of the electricity department took an interest in supporting Parivartan. He appointed an officer to address the concerns put forth by Parivartan. There was not much resistance from the electricity department in implementing the suggestions made by Parivartan. In a short span of time, there was a decline in the number of cases related to the electricity department.

The Parivartan volunteer base increased considerably. From a four-member team, it expanded to have around seven key members and above 100 volunteers. Parivartan was on the path to

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[17]   Manish was the first volunteer who joined Parivartan apart from Kailesh, Pandey, Gupta, and Kejriwal.

achieving its objectives. But it believed the approach it was following lacked stability. It wanted to create a system that would be sustainable in the long term and could be accessed by a large number of people. The answer came in the form of the Right to Information (RTI) Act *(Refer to Exhibit-IV for RTI Act)*. The RTI Act caught Kejriwal's attention. He thought that this could solve the problems of the common man and help to counter corruption. He then began campaigning for the RTI Act. He took a sabbatical from his job and participated actively in solving problems using the RTI Act. Several problems related to the Public Distribution System (PDS)[18], Municipal Department, and other public projects were identified and solved through the RTI Act. Kejriwal and his team were able to bring out several discrepancies in the functioning of government departments with the help of the RTI Act. It was their relentless campaign that resulted in a revamp of the entire PDS in Delhi. They unearthed one of the biggest ration dealers' scams in Delhi and suggested solutions for the effective implementation of the PDS in Delhi. Kejriwal organized several campaigns to enlighten the public about the RTI Act and its benefits. He along with his team visited government offices and requested them to implement the RTI Act in their departments.

Kerjiwal and his team were responsible for making a mark with the RTI Act. It became a national level Act in the year 2005. Kejriwal played a key role in leading the RTI movement. He was awarded the Ramon Magsaysay award[19] for Emergent Leadership in the year 2006. The same year, Kejriwal resigned from his job and decided to take on a much more active role in implementing and creating awareness about the RTI Act. He founded a Non-Governmental Organization called Public Cause Research Foundation (PCRF) on December 19, 2006. PCRF was an extension of Parivartan activities. Kejriwal contributed his Magsaysay award money as a corpus fund for PCRF. The primary objective of the foundation was to bring in efficiency in governance by using and promoting the RTI Act. The RTI Act was used to collect information about various aspects of governance. The information was researched and analyzed and then disseminated to ensure that the rules and laws were enacted and enforced properly. The information was also used to ensure implementation of various government policies. PCRF constituted the RTI awards. People who played an active role in

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[18] A food distribution in India through which the government distributes basic food and non-food items to the poor. They are distributed at subsidized rates through government notified shops called ration shops.

[19] An award established in the memory of Philippines President Ramon Magsaysay who lost his life in a plane crash. He was known for his simplicity and humility. He had strong passion for providing justice, especially for poor people and for protecting human dignity. This award sets an example of integrity in public service and pragmatic idealism within a democratic society.

implementing and promoting the RTI Act were awarded by PCRF. The awards given were for best RTI citizen, best Information commissioner, and best Public Information officer[20]. Kejriwal won several awards for his social service activities and leadership *(Refer to Exhibit-V for List of Awards of Kejriwal).*

Several eminent persons joined Kejriwal in his endeavor. They included Kiran Bedi (a Phd holder and the first woman IPS officer in India), Prashant Bhushan (a Supreme Court advocate and social activist), Manish Sisodia (a senior journalist and RTI activist) and Abhinandan Sekhri (a famous writer and film producer). All of them were part of PCRF. PCRF played an active role in ensuring effective governance practices. The legal cell of PCRF dealt with several cases related to different issues on governance in various courts. It was successful in winning legal battles providing relief to different individuals and for the implementation of the RTI Act.

INDIA AGAINST CORRUPTION (IAC)[21] MOVEMENT

After his success as an RTI activist, Kejriwal focused on protesting against corruption practices. He became a part of civil society[22]. Civil society members (Civil society) first protested against corruption practices in the Commonwealth Games[23]. It was believed that Kejriwal played a key role in designing the future plan of civil society. This process gave birth to the India Against Corruption (IAC) movement. The primary objective of this movement was to pressure the government into passing a strong Lokpal Bill (Lokpal)[24] in the Indian parliament. Before the launch of the movement, the civil society members requested the government to consider their suggestions to strengthen the Lokpal bill as part of improvements to the Lokpal. The civil society members requested the government to make them a part of the formulating committee. But there was no response from the government.

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[20] www.pcrf.in

[21] India against Corruption was a movement organized by a group of civil society members to protest against corruption in India.

[22] A part of the society formed as an institution, organization (or) as an association of persons to address the issues and problems of social life. Here, the term civil society represents the association of persons formed for the purpose of protesting corrupt practices of bureaucrats and politicians in India. It includes a group of educationists, social activists, and politicians.

[23] The Commonwealth Games were organized by the Delhi government in the year 2010.

[24] It is an Act that obligates the Central and State Governments of India to form an Authority to monitor and control corruption of both politicians and bureaucrats.

The civil society members then approached Anna Hazare (Anna)[25] to lead and direct them to organize the protest against the government. Anna took the lead and threatened to launch a fast unto death protest if the government did not consider their request. With no concrete assurance forthcoming from the government, Anna launched his protest on April 5, 2011, at Jantar Mantar, New Delhi. In a short span of time, the movement attracted huge public attention across the country. Millions of people across various sections of society expressed their support for the movement. Thousands directly participated. During this entire process, Kejriwal acted as a key spokesperson for Anna's team. Taking note of the situation, the government decided to discuss the terms with Team Anna (Civil society members after joining with Anna represented themselves as Team Anna) members.

There were several rounds of discussions between a Group of Ministers (GoM) and Team Anna, but there was no consensus. Several objections were raised by the GoM on the contents of Team Anna's version of the Lokpal, also called "Jan Lokpal" *(Refer to Exhibit-VI for Key Features of Team Anna's Version of Lokpal and to Exhibit-VII for Points of Difference Between Team Anna and GoM).* It termed this version as operationally difficult to implement. But Anna and his team stood firm and were unwilling to accept any other version of Lokpal. The fight continued between the government and Team Anna. But there was no result. Anna was determined to start his fast once again to convince the government to accept their version of the Lokpal Bill. The government offered several times to hold discussions,but on the condition that Team Anna make some compromises to their version of the Lokpal. Anna and his team were determined not to go back on their stand. They started to counter the government practices and exposed various corruption practices. Though the entire situation was centered on Anna, Kejriwal was the lead organizer of all the activities. He acted as chief spokesman of Anna in organizing the movement.

The government and other major political parties were determined not to accept Anna's version of the Lokpal. To help Anna in his cause, Kejriwal also began a fast unto death along with Anna. During this time, he raised several allegations against the government and criticized its nature of working. He himself came in for severe criticism from politicians. He and his supporters were harassed in several ways. Kejriwal, however, was not deterred by these activities. He was very active and determined in his approach. Finally, Anna and his

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[25] A prominent septuagenarian social activist known for protesting in Gandhian (non-violent) ways for social causes.

team realized that they were being ignored. They were advised by their well-wishers to take the political route to win their cause. While Kejriwal was ready to take up the challenge, Anna was not interested in jumping into politics. After having been active for more than a year, the movement found itself in a deadlock.

SPLIT WITH ANNA

Team Anna was not successful in convincing the political parties on Jan Lokpal Bill *(Refer to Exhibit-VIII for Political Scenario in India)*. The team suffered a setback when the political parties refused to provide the support required for the passage of the Jan Lokpal Bill. The parties cited several reasons for not supporting the Bill. They opined that implementation of Jan Lokpal Bill provisions was a challenging task. But Kejriwal wanted to show that it is possible to implement the Lokpal Bill by taking the political route and forming the government. There were mixed opinions in Team Anna about taking the political route. This led to the formation of two different groups within Team Anna – one supporting the political route and the other opposing it. Kejriwal led the group in favor of taking the political route. Members of IAC movement conducted a survey through social media to know whether the people were in favor of forming a political party. They received a favorable response from the public. However, Anna could not be convinced to adopt this way. He felt they could not continue with the Gandhian way if they did so. But Kejriwal was determined to enter politics. After a series of deliberations among team members, Anna decided to lead his movement separately. After playing a crucial role and being a close aide of Anna, Kejriwal parted ways to lead a separate movement.

POLITICAL ENTRY

Even after splitting from Anna, Kejriwal did not stop protesting against corrupt practices. He further intensified his protests, raising allegations against well-known individuals with strong political support. The allegations were made against Robert Vadra[26], Nitin Gadkari[27], Salman Kurshid[28], Mukesh Ambani[29], etc. He directly blamed them and charged them with indulging

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[26] Son-in-law of Congress President Sonia Gandhi.

[27] BJP President. BJP is a leading national level political party in India and a primary opposition party in 2013.

[28] Law minister in Congress led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) Government, 2009-2014.

[29] CMD Reliance Industries, reputed and world famous businessman in India.

in corruption and provided the necessary proofs. He dared them to an open debate and was ready to face any defamation charges lodged by them. He challenged the politicians and others to prove his claims to be false. Simultaneously, he concentrated on addressing public issues. He participated in several protests and agitations on issues of public concern. The protests were related to the demolition of houses in a slum, increase in water and electricity charges, etc. All these attracted the attention of the public in Delhi and across the country. A 15-day hunger strike undertaken by Kejriwal to protest against a hike in water and electricity bills especially gained much attention. Around 10 lakh people of Delhi expressed their support to Kejriwal's cause.

Kejriwal formally announced the launching of the common man's political party on October 2, 2012. Giving a brief outline about the party's objectives and agenda, he said in an address to the media, "We tried everything from 'andolan' and 'anshan'[30] to pleadings with folded hands but nothing has worked with the present-day political leaders, so now we will fight to uproot these parties from power and change the system that corrupts"[31]. He vowed to bring about a change in both the political and bureaucratic systems. He focused on implementing his vision of "Swaraj"[32]. Mohalla Sabhas[33], and Gram Sabhas[34] formed a major part of this governance. He announced that his party would shun the VIP culture[35] if it was elected to power. He named his party the Aam Admi Party (AAP) on November 26, 2012. Later on, it was recognized as a political party by the Election Commission and allotted the broom as its Election symbol. Kejriwal moved ahead to gain and instil confidence in the public. He followed a unique approach in reaching out to the people. He succeeded in attracting the youth and making them volunteers for his party. Kejriwal's major strength was his team. He had an excellent and determined team which supported his efforts. He maintained utmost confidence in his team. This confidence remained intact even when team members faced

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[30]   'Andolan' means protests and 'Anshan' means Hunger strike (or) Fasting till death.

[31]   "Kejriwal launches party, vows to defeat 'VIP system'", www.thehindu.com, October 3, 2012.

[32]   It is a type of governance which functions as per the wishes of the common man.

[33]   The Mohalla Sabha was an organization of people at the city level to discuss their problems and come up with plans to solve them.

[34]   Grama Sabha is an organization of people at the rural level to discuss their problems and come up with a plan to solve their problems.

[35]   A status given to high level bureaucrats and political leaders by providing them with high class facilities. Their vehicles are fitted with beacons indicating their level and importance and residences are provided in high class buildings. All these facilities are provided in the Public Expenditure account.

allegations on the basis of sting operation conducted by a media team, while warning them with disqualification if they were proved guilty.

Kejriwal successfully led his campaign. His party used both traditional and modern means of communication to reach out to all categories of people. Kejriwal himself went on a door-to-door campaign and also used social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter, and his party's website. This helped him get in touch with all categories of people. He worked hard to reach the public at the grassroot level. This approach helped him to reach out to the maximum number of people. In February 2013, when a survey was conducted, AAP's vote share was only 15%. This had increased to 31% by October 2013. His party followed a unique approach in preparing the election manifesto and choosing candidates. He and his party consulted the public of different constituencies and prepared 71 different manifestos (one for each constituency and one common one for the whole of Delhi). The manifesto for each constituency related to the provision of public services, state of housing, transportation system, employment, and issues related to minorities. AAP also concentrated on the inadequate supply of water, rising electricity charges, sanitation and healthcare, and education. Further, it took up the challenge of naming candidates with a clean image in all the 70 constituencies of Delhi. Kejriwal himself decided to contest against three-time winner and Delhi Chief Minister, Ms. Sheila Dixit. The election turned into a battle between the Congress, the BJP, and the AAP.

Kejriwal and his team made every effort to communicate their vision to the public. Dedicated teams were formed to organize various campaigning strategies. Volunteers played a crucial role in implementing their strategies. The budget limit for campaigning for each candidate was Rs.1.4 million. AAP kept to the limit by using autos and taxis for campaigning. It requested the owners of the autos and taxis to carry party posters on the back of their vehicles. It floated banners on busy flyovers during the early hours when the traffic was heavy and the vigilance by police was limited. Party volunteers stood at busy centers carrying the placards and party banners. The AAP found that it could not resort to the print and electronic media because of budget constraints. But it used social media extensively to reach out to young people. Social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter, Google Hangouts, YouTube, and blogs by the volunteers in particular played a very important role.

AAP's website served as a major source for communicating information to the public. It was launched on November 26, 2012. It provided up-to-date information on party activities.

Facebook and Twitter links were provided on the web page. It also helped volunteers to register and to make donations to the party. The website provided an option for online discussions through various forums on the site. Social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter were used to reach the maximum number of people. On Facebook, AAP had around 11,37,873 likes. On Twitter, it utilized multiple hashtags like #AAPSweepingDelhi and #VoteforAAP to reach to the maximum number of citizens. There were around 60,000 tweets sent through hashtags. Kejriwal himself had Facebook and Twitter accounts. On Facebook, Kejriwal had a million likes and on Twitter he had 7.7 lakh followers. AAP also relied on a political social networking site called "Voterite", which helped its party contestants interact with the maximum number of people online. Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) also played an important role in promoting the AAP. They participated actively in the Call Delhi Campaign (CCC) and promoted the party. Party sources provided telephone numbers to NRIs who had registered under CCC. The NRIs then called up the Delhities and promoted Kejriwal and his party. At the last moment of their campaign, they used an App called "Thunderclap" which helped to create multiple posts on Facebook and Twitter automatically based on the specified timelines. This helped them to reach to a maximum of 35 million netizens online.

HURDLES AND CRISTICISM

Kejriwal had a peaceful job, a supportive family, and good friends. Yet, he knew he had a role to play beyond all that. He wanted to serve the people and the nation. But he faced hurdles and criticism in his journey. Right from the days of campaigning for the RTI Act to the day he became Chief Minister, he and his team faced several obstacles. When they were campaigning for the RTI Act, his activists were beaten up several times. Kejriwal was on the road most of the time and slept on railway platforms. He underwent tremendous physical and mental strain while campaigning for the RTI Act. During the time of IAC, he was severely criticized by politicians. There were allegations that when he was in the IRS, he had misled the department and taken the salary during his long leave period against the rules. Later on, he settled the issued to avoid the criticism and approached the court for justice. Various cases were filed against him. He faced police charges several times for protesting against corrupt practices. Various defamation cases were also filed against him. He was even criticized by his mentor Anna. Anna alleged that Kejriwal was after power and that was why he had joined politics. He forbade Kejriwal from using his name or fame in his political campaigns.

Kejriwal was threatened and criticized by politicians and others. But he never thought of stepping back or of compromising on his decision.

CHALLENGES AHEAD

For Kejriwal, being Chief Minister was anything but an easy task. He and his team-mates were criticized for being political novices. His manifesto was considered impractical "They owe it to their voters to form the government. I appeal to the youth who joined AAP to compel Kejriwal to fulfill the promises he listed in the manifesto," said Congress leader and former Delhi power minister, Haroon Yusuf[36]. Besides, Kejriwal was not at all sure about how long he would be able run the government with the support of the Congress. He knew that the Congress could withdraw support at any time. But if everything went well, he was confident of implementing his manifesto "Not sure of Congress and BJP. We are not bothered whether the government survives or not. We are running the government assuming that we have just 48 hours with us. We want to do the maximum good to the people, if we can in this time," news reports quoted Kejriwal as saying[37]. Kejriwal focused on addressing the problems of the people. He assured them that he would sort out their problems amicably. He wanted to get much closer to the public and expected their support in each and every endeavor. He wanted to rule the state as per the wishes of the common man. On the other hand, his opponents from various segments were eager to find fault with the way Kejriwal and his team-mates functioned. They kept on the lookout for every possible opportunity to bring them down. Kejriwal needed to focus on designing strategies to overcome any adversity. People across the country and around the world wished that Kejriwal would be successful in his endeavors.

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[36] Congress responds to Arvind Kejriwal's letter, says AAP mocking democracy, http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com, December 14,2013.

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Exhibit-I

Results of Delhi Assembly Elections, December 2013

Party	Seats Won
Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	31
Indian National Congress (Congress)	8
Janata Dal (United)	1
Shiromani Akali Dal	1
Aam Admi Party (AAP)	28
Independent	1
Total	70

Source: Election Commission of India, eciresults.ap.nic.in, updated as on 10/12/2013 @ 12.10 PM

Exhibit-II
AAP Agenda

1. To bring an end to the VIP culture in Delhi.
2. Passing of the Jan Lokpal Bill – the version for which Anna Hazare held fasts.
3. Swaraj in Delhi: People will take decision directly in mohalla sabhas, which will be held in every locality and colony.
4. Complete statehood for Delhi; central government's hold on Delhi Development Authority (DDA) and police should end.
5. Special audit of all power companies in the Capital from the time they were privatized.
6. Electricity meters to be checked.
7. Availability of water to every household in the Capital.
8. Regularization of unauthorized colonies.
9. Clean and affordable houses for those living in slums.
10. Support to provide regular jobs to those working on contractual basis.
11. Infrastructural facilities like roads, electricity, water, and basic facilities to ordinary traders and simplification of VAT system.
12. No FDI in retail should be allowed in Delhi.
13. Providing facilities and subsidies to farmers in the villages in the Capital.
14. Opening 500 government schools, stopping donations in private schools and making the fee system transparent.
15. Opening new government hospitals with better facilities.
16. Special security units for women and all harassment cases need to be tackled within three months.
17. Setting up enough courts and appointing judges so that all cases are dealt with within

six months.

18. Support from the municipal corporations on all these issues.

Source: http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/arvind-kejriwal-aam-aadmi-party-18-demands/1/332447.html

Exhibit – III

Outputs of Referandum Process

Particulars	Total Response	Total Responses – (unique)	Total Valid Responses for Delhi	Outcome – Yes	Outcome-No
Website	1,34,917	99,043	20,969	14,256	6,713
Phone Calls	238, 239	1,83,093	85,716	62,412	23,304
SMS	324,154	2,41,047	1,59,281	1,20,418	38,863
Total	**6,97,310**	**523183**	**265966**	**197086**	**68880**
Jansabhas/ Public Meetings	280			257	23

Source: www.aamaadiparty.org

Exhibit-IV

Right to Information (RTI) Act

The Right to Information (RTI) Act was introduced in India to empower Indian citizens to find out about the functioning of government departments. Initially, it was introduced by only a few state governments in India. Later on, in 2005, it was introduced all over India. It was called the RTI Act, 2005. This law gave an opportunity to the citizens of India to gain access to information related to the functioning of government activities. Public Information Officers (PIOs) appointed by respective government departments were responsible for providing the required information to the general public. The public by paying a requisite fee could ask for specific information in a prescribed format through the PIOs. The Law provided the necessary guidelines for the dissemination of information.

Source: Compiled by Author

Exhibit-V

List of Awards for Kejriwal

Year	Name of the Award
2004	Ashoka Fellow
2005	Satyendra Dubey Memorial Award
2006	Ramon Magsaysay Award
2006	CNN-IBN Indian of the Year
2009	Distinguished Alumnus Award by IIT
2010	Corporate Excellence Award by Economic Times
2010	Policy Change Agent Award along with Aruna Roy
2011	NDTV Indian of the Year along with Anna Hazare

Source: http://www.elections.in/political-leaders/arvind-kejriwal.html

Exhibit-VI

Key Features of Team Anna's Version of Lokpal

1. Establish a central government anti-corruption institution called Lokpal.
2. Lokpal to be supervised by the Cabinet Secretary and the Election Commission
3. Members will be appointed by judges, Indian Administrative Service officers with a clean record, private citizens, and constitutional authorities.
4. A selection committee will invite shortlisted candidates for interviews, video recordings of which will thereafter be made public.
5. The Lokayukta will publish a list of cases dealt with, brief details of each, their outcome, and any action taken or proposed.
6. Losses caused to the government by a corrupt individual will be recovered at the time of conviction.
7. The existing anti-corruption agencies (Central Vigilance Commission, Departmental Vigilance, and Anti-Corruption branch of the CBI) will be merged into Lokpal which will have complete power and authority to independently investigate and prosecute any officer, judge, or politician.

Source: http://www.slideshare.net/niharika03/lo-kpal-bill-2

Exhibit-VII

Points of Difference between Team Anna and GoM

Issues	Team Anna's Lokpal Bill	Government Lokpal
Prime Minister	Can be investigated with permission of seven-member Lokpal bench.	Cannot be Investigated by Lokpal
Judiciary	Can be investigated, though high level member may be investigated only with the permission of a seven-member Lokpal bench.	Judiciary is exempt and will be covered by a separate "Judicial accountability bill"
MPs	Can be investigated with the permission of a seven-member Lokpal bench.	Can be investigated, but their conduct within Parliament, such as voting, cannot be investigated.
Lower Bureaucracy	All public servants will be included.	Only Group A officers will be covered.
Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI)	The CBI will be merged into the Lokpal.	The CBI will remain a separate agency.
Removal of Lokpal members and Chair	Any person can bring a complaint to the Supreme Court, which can then recommend removal of any member to the president.	Any aggrieved person can raise a complaint to the president, who will refer the matter to the CJI.
Lokayukta	Lokayukta and other local/state anti-corruption agency would remain in place.	All state anti-corruption agencies would be closed and responsibilities taken over by centralized Lokpal.
Punishment for Corruption	Lokpal can either directly impose penalties or refer the matter to the courts. Penalties can include removal from office, imprisonment, and recovery of assets from those who benefited from the corruption.	Lokpal can only refer matters to the courts, not take any direct punitive actions. Penalties remain equivalent to those in current law.
Removal of Lokpal staff and officers	Complaints against Lokpal staff will be handled by independent boards set up in each state, composed of retired bureaucrats, judges, and civil society members.	Lokpal will conduct inquiries into its own behavior.

Source: http://www.slideshare.net/niharika03/lo-kpal-bill-2

Exhibit-VIII

Political Scenario in India

India is a "Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic" country. It has a federal democratic form of government. It is the largest democracy in the world. In India, political parties play a major role in forming the government and ruling the country. The Constitution is at the base of Indian politics. The country is headed by the president and the government is headed by the Prime Minister. The President exercises only executive power and he is independent of the legislature. Legislative power is vested with government and with both the houses of parliament (the Lok sabha and the Rajya Sabha). The judiciary, the third pillar of the Indian constitution, is independent of both the executive and the legislative. The Supreme Court is the highest judicial forum in India.

The Indian political scenario is dominated by several political parties. There are around six national parties, 53 state parties, and around 1500 unrecognized political parties. Elections take place within a multi-party system. For most of the years after independence, the Indian political scenario was dominated by the Indian National Congress (Congress). The Congress has been regarded as a major party since independence. The second largest national party which dominates the Indian political scenario is the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). In addition, there are several regional parties which dominate national politics. The Congress has had a long history of ruling the country since 1950 to 1990. In between, there were two breaks. Because of the emergency declared by Indira Gandhi in the year 1975, there was discontent among the people. This resulted in the Congress losing power in 1977 and 1980. Janata Party won the elections. The second time, in 1989, a Janata Dal led coalition government was formed with the support of Left Front

But after 1990, no single political party was able to form an independent government. As none of the political parties gained full majority in 1991 elections, the Congress formed a minority government under the leadership P.V. Narasimha Rao. He was able to complete his five-year term. Several short-lived alliances were formed during the period 1996–1998. Though BJP managed to form the government in the year 1996, it did not sustain for long-time. Another front called United Front coalition came into being excluding both BJP and Congress. It was not successful. In the year 1998, BJP formed an alliance government called National Democratic Alliance (NDA) with other parties and ruled country for a full-term. Congress won highest number of seats in 2004 and formed an alliance government called United Progressive Alliance (UPA). This was Congress Party's first coalition government. The success of Congress and its alliance continued in 2009 elections and again formed the government.

Indian democracy was suspended once but India is generally regarded as a strong democracy. However, Indian politics is often described as chaotic. More than a fifth of parliament members face some criminal charge or the other and around 40 of them are accused of serious criminal charges.

Source: Compiled by Author.

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