Ballot & Beyond

Delhi Assembly Election Report – 2025

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VOTER HELPLINE NUMBER

📞 **1950**

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to check your name in the voter list, log on to– https://electoralsearch.eci.gov.in

Around 40 percent of the voters did not vote in the 2020
Delhi assembly elections.
DO NOT remain a passive citizen.
Exercise your right, cast your vote!

CAST YOUR VOTE ON
5th February, 2025

Think carefully, Act responsibly

Contents

ABOUT CAUCUS

Caucus was formed in 2007 in Hindu College, University of Delhi. We discuss and deliberate, and also provide our members with avenues to grow and explore through the various events that we organise. Group discussions on a weekly basis are where we discuss current events of national and international importance. Our flagship annual event is 'Compass' – The Annual Speaker Conclave of Hindu College.

'Compass' is an interactive, integrated and innovative conversation series with stalwarts in diverse fields: Journalism, education, economics, health policy, law etc. held by Caucus under the aegis of IQAC. The Annual Speaker Conclave is an initiative of Hindu College's Internal Quality Assurance Cell and is hosted by Caucus-The Discussion Forum. The first edition of Compass was organised in 2020. It seeks to bring eminent personalities and noted dignitaries together. Caucus annually organises Compass to play its part in proliferating the culture of discussion and discourse in the student community. We have had the privilege of hosting the likes of senior journalist Mr. Shekhar Gupta; Scottish historian Mr. William Dalrymple; former National Security Advisor of India, Amb. Shivshankar Menon; noted economist Prof. Arvind Panagariya; former Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Dr. Montek Singh Ahluwalia; former Assistant Secretary-General at the UN, Amb. Lakshmi Puri; former Solicitor General Mr. Harish Salve; retired IAS officer Ms. Shailaja Chandra; former Chief Scientist at the WHO, Dr. Soumya Swaminathan; Chairman and Editor-in-Chief of India TV, Mr. Rajat Sharma; noted educationist, philanthropist, and the Prince of Mewar, Dr. Lakshyaraj Singh; the 18th Chief of Army Staff of the Indian Army, General Ved Prakash Malik; former Minister of State for Civil Aviation of India, Shri Jayant Sinha; and eminent jurist and former Judge of the Supreme Court of India, Justice A.K. Sikri, among many others.

The Probe is a non-profit, student-run, independent, and non-partisan monthly magazine published by Caucus, a student organisation of Hindu College, University of Delhi. The Probe was first published in 2020. Its main ambition is to create a platform that promotes writing and reporting among students and enables them to engage in a learning experience with experts and working professionals. In 2023, The Probe hosted Mr. Abhinandan Sekhri, the co-founder and CEO of Newslaundry, for a moderated discussion on the topic 'News & the Avalanche of Disinformation.'

Caucus also runs a blog giving the members an opportunity to express themselves and put their opinions out into the world. We also encourage our members to indulge in intensive research and provide them with all the necessary resources to facilitate the same for publication.
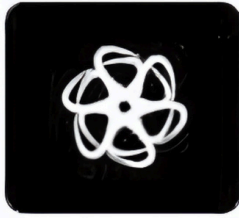
ABOUT GEOJURISTODAY

Founded in 2023 on the sidelines of the G20 summit in India, The Geojuristoday is a dynamic think tank led by young individuals committed to representing India on the global stage. This group of passionate patriots is dedicated to strengthening India's foreign policy and promoting the "India Way" worldwide. The think tank serves as a premier platform for bright minds from diverse fields and educational backgrounds, all united by the common goal of advancing their nation.

Since its inception by like-minded individuals, The Geojuristoday has trained over 300 individuals, participated in numerous international dialogues, and enlisted the expertise of over 10 former Foreign Service officers. Our mission extends beyond dialogue; we are focused on creating tangible change. Through our podcasts, we aim to provide valuable insights and foster engaging, participatory discussions. From webinars to conferences, we cover a wide range of topics to inform and inspire.

"As the capital enters a pivotal and intense election cycle, with time ticking and political parties ramping up their campaigns with fervour, the need for independent, non-partisan coverage becomes more crucial than ever. It is the responsibility of think tanks like The Geojuristoday to rise to the occasion and provide citizens with unbiased, fact-based reporting.

In an atmosphere charged with political urgency—one that "smells like Teen Spirit"—our commitment to unconventional yet insightful coverage stands firm. At this decisive moment, our sole objective has been to present the facts—nothing more, nothing less— empowering voters with the knowledge they need to make informed choices.

Now, as Delhi prepares to exercise its democratic right, The Geojuristoday, in collaboration with Caucus, has played its part in assisting citizens in making a capable and well-reasoned representation for themselves. The choice is theirs—may it be made wisely."

–Rudraksh Aneja

founder of The Geojuristoday

From the desk of the
EDITOR(S)-IN-CHIEF

"

Dear Readers,

As the Editors-in-Chief of Ballot and Beyond, we consider it our privilege and our responsibility to address you at this crucial juncture when the very cornerstone of our democracy — the electoral process —demands collective attention and action. This edition of our magazine is dedicated to increasing the electoral awareness of our populace so that they are empowered and in a position to make informed decisions.

The issue of information overload in the epoch of information technology is coincident with a frighteningly unprecedented fragmentation in our "post-truth" world. This makes it all the more important to contextualise what is happening around us. Elections are the foundation of democracy; the popular mechanism through which the will of the people is expressed and governments are chosen. Yet, voter apathy, misinformation, and disinformation continue to plague our society. However, we see this not only as just a challenge; but an opportunity for us to rise, educate, and empower.

The electoral process is not just about casting our vote. It compels us to acquire a profound understanding of the significance that our vote holds, the power it is endowed with, and the innate responsibility it carries. It is also about recognising that each and every vote shapes what the future holds. It changes the destiny of our communities, nations, and the world. When these very citizens are informed, they make choices that reflect their values and aspirations. On the other hand, when they are unaware or disengaged, the very essence of democracy gets severely impaired. The difference between citizenship and subjecthood lies in the constructive utilisation of political agency. One could very well have a "democratic" charade that masks the surrender of the population before invented realities.

This is why the title of this report is Ballot and Beyond. It is the product of our realisation that to focus solely on the "Ballot" is reductionist and this myopia is partly responsible for some of the travails we face as a society and a country. Therefore, we have attempted to go much beyond the mundane aspects of voting. We have explored the technological basis of the electoral process given the Luddite tendencies that confront any such transformation. At the same time, the issue of misinformation, a sad side effect of such technical prowess, also features in this report. A major attempt in this report is to transcend what is often described as the "Tyranny of Metanarratives" – the act in which we succumb to simplistic formulations because of their purported explanatory power. This is reflected in the equipoise in the opinion editorials.

The role of the youth is another aspect we wish to emphasise while moderating the idealism inherent in this phase of life; via emphasising the importance of being realistic in our expectations.

This magazine is not just a mere collection of articles; it is a call for action. It is a resounding reminder that democracy is not just a spectator sport—it requires our active engagement and participation . Regardless of whether you are a first-time voter, a seasoned and aware citizen, or someone who has just never really felt the urge to engage, this edition is for you. It is an appeal to ask the right questions, seek the correct answers, and take responsibility.

To the youth, we say: Your voice matters. Do not let anyone ever tell you otherwise.
To the marginalised, we say: Your vote is your power. Use it to demand the change that you deserve.
To every citizen, we say: Democracy thrives when you take lead and participate. Do not keep relying on someone else to take the initiative. It's the most precious legacy we have inherited. Do not take it for granted.

Attempting to increase electoral awareness is not the sole responsibility of the government or the election commission. It is the shared duty of all of us: media houses, educators, and civil society, among others. Hence, through the means of this magazine, we pledge to continue our efforts to inform, inspire, and ignite conversations that matter. But we surely cannot do it alone. We need you—our readers—to be the ultimate torchbearers of change.

As you flip through these pages, we hope you find not just information but inspiration. We hope to reiterate the power that you hold as a citizen and the difference you can make by simply being an informed and active participant.

Let us together work to build a democracy that is not only procedurally robust but also reflective of the hopes and dreams of every single citizen. Let us ensure that no voice is left unheard , that this call for action reaches the last mile and ultimately, no vote is left uncast.

Thank you for being a part of this beautiful journey!

Happy reading
Jai Hind.

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Yours sincerely,
Ayushi Priya and Pushkar Pandey
Editors-in-Chief

Research and data compilation from online sources

Ground reporting to grab the core public sentiment

A group discussion amongst students from different electoral constituencies

Recording the expert opinions of economists, advocates and a former CEC

Online survey to assess the demography and the status of development

SOP

The project kicked off on the **10th of January**- attracting students from different domains and fields of interest, to become part of this joint venture between Caucus and Geojuristoday.

Soon, on the **12th of January**, the ideation head and director put together a team of like-minded individuals from Caucus who dedicated themselves to the project. Along the same lines, the project supervisor also brought together a subset of people from the think tank Geojuristoday to work on an independent report without any political backing of sorts.

With meetings and discussions that kicked off, the team heads were soon allotted and the work began with all its might and force from the **15th of January.** With 15 days in hand to publish the report and garner maximum public attention, design, media, research, reporting and editing heads were constantly sourced with daily goals.

The five levels of sifting data through various stages and multi-dimensions have thereby yielded a report that carries both the opinion of a former chief election commissioner alongside that of a vegetable vendor.

The intensive ground reporting, above all is the penultimate evidence of our attempts to voice the voiceless and make their demands heard. The link to this can be found on the last page of this booklet.

Ultimately, our efforts bore fruits with the interactions we could carry out with the experts in the respective fields, with our combined efforts and aspirations we hope it serves the purpose it was meant to fulfil!

Complete Roadmap

A Deeper look into the
Constituencies

CHANDNI CHOWK

Key Issues

1. Traffic and Transportation issues: The region is plagued by poor planning and frequent jams. These problems are particularly conspicuous in Adarsh Nagar, Shalimar Bagh, Sadar Bazar and Wazirpur. Some issues associated with it are heavy vehicle movement, inadequate bus stops and poor road management/infrastructure
2. Water and Sanitation: Many constituencies, most notably Shalimar Bagh, Shakur Basti, Tri Nagar, and Model Town suffer from water supply issues. Over-contaminated water and lack of adequate sanitation systems combine with unfinished development projects and open drains have contributed to health and hygiene issues
3. Infrastructure and Governance: Tri Nagar, Sadar Bazar, Matia Mahal, and Ballimaran are all victims of damaged roads, inadequate parking, and poor condition of public spaces. Many developmental projects to address the same remain unfinished
4. Economic Concerns: Shakur Basti, Chandni Chowk, and Sadar Bazar all report high levels of discontent with sealing drives and rising costs
5. Safety and Law Enforcement: Residents of Adarsh Nagar are extremely distressed at the increasing crime rates
6. Pollution: Wazirpur, an industrial area suffers from air quality deterioration and excessive waste burning.

Developmental Projects

1. Progress in infrastructure and public amenities has been uneven, with residents highlighting unfinished or poor-quality work in certain areas.
2. There has been some improvement in healthcare but the demand for further progress remains high

Political Context and Trends

1. There appears to be a sense of discontent among residents with the governments inability to deliver on promises like pollution control and infrastructure development.
2. Traders are among the social classes most vocal about their discontent
3. Voters here are more likely to prioritize local issues and practical solutions than party affiliations

NORTH EAST DELHI

Key Issues

1. Infrastructure-related issues: Almost every constituency in North East Delhi reports discontent with existing levels of infrastructure. The residents are frustrated with the omnipresent potholes, waterlogging and narrow roads
2. Water Supply and Sanitation: Access to clean water and proper sanitation is a major issue in Seema Puri, Ghonda, Mustafabad and Karawal Nagar. Poor garbage disposal systems, inadequate drainage and contaminated water pose major challenges to residents
3. High Crime Rates: Seema Puri and Timarpur report high levels of drug-related crimes (almost 80% of the youth in Seemapuri is reportedly addicted to drugs). Meanwhile the inadequate street lighting and law and order issues in Rohtas Nagar and Seemlapur make it highly unsafe for women
4. Education and Healthcare: Residents of Gokalpur and Karawal Nagar are victims of lack of educational and healthcare facilities, which is a cause for discontent
5. Environmental Concerns: Timarpur, Seema Puri and Mustafabad are all plagued by high levels of pollution and environmental deterioration. E-waste, overcrowded informal settlements, lack of green cover and emission of toxic gasses make life difficult for citizens
6. Homelessness and Slums: Gokalpur and Karawal Nagar report high levels of slums, homelessness, and unauthorised colonies

Development Progress

1. Despite claims from political representatives about progress, the general feedback from residents across constituencies is overwhelmingly negative. Issues pertaining to drainage, water supply and road infrastructure remain unaddressed
2. Most infrastructure projects been slow, incomplete, or ineffective.

Political Context & Trends

1. The focus on basic needs and the government's failure to provide them is a major electoral rallying point
2. Issues like communal tensions, vote bank politics, and indifference towards local concerns have been mentioned in several constituencies

EAST DELHI

Key Issues

1. Poor Traffic Management: Vendor encroachments and inadequate regulation have led to severe congestion in the major intersection areas of Shahdara, Krishna Nagar, Laxmi Nagar, Gandhi Nagar and Kondli. Limited Parking Spaces and Illegal Parking make life difficult in these areas
2. Waterlogging: Poor drainage systems lead to flooding and waterlogging during the monsoon season in Shahdara, Pratapganj and Kondli.
3. Sanitation: Krishna Nagar, Shahdara, Gandhi Nagar and Pratapganj suffer from rregular garbage collection, open dumping, and poor waste management
4. Air Pollution: Shahdara, Laxmi Nagar and Vishwas Nagar find themselves surrounded by major roads, industrial zones, and ongoing construction activities which leads to higher levels of pollution
5. Public Safety: Rising incidents of theft, chain-snatching, and other crimes in busy market areas and poorly lit streets raise concerns about safety in Laxmi Nagar, Shahdara and Gandhi Nagar.
6. Overcrowded Markets: Shahdara Market suffers from overcrowding and unauthorized street vendors.

Development Progress

1. There have been attempts to widen roads to ease traffic in GT Road, Swami Dayanand Marg, and Shahdara Chowk. However, the impact of this has been limited by increasing vehicular density. Currently, efforts are underway to create additional parking spaces near some of the most prominent commercial hubs, including Lal Quarter Market and Shahdara Marke
2. The Government has undertaken market restoration initiatives in Laxmi Nagar, Gandhi Nagar, and Shahdara. This initiative has aimed to improve walkways, regulate vendors, and install better lighting. Despite this, markets remain overcrowded
3. There has been a switch to LED street lights in an effort to enhance public safety and reduce energy consumption. Under the Smart City mission attempts are now being made to install CCTV cameras in Lakshmi Nagar and Krishna Nagar
4. Park redevelopment initiatives and tree plantation drives have been conducted in Vishwas Nagar and Shahdara to combat air pollution, improve urban greenery and provide more recreational spaces
5. Sanitation campaigns have been launched in Shahdara and Krishna Nagar yet irregular garbage disposal remains an issue
6. Drainage systems in flood-prone areas such as Shahdara and Gandhi Nagar have seen some improvement but monsoon waterlogging continues to be a nuisance. The Delhi Jal Board is currently working on fixing the drainage problem
7. Pipeline replacement projects have been undertaken in Vishwas Nagar to improve the water supply situation
8. The introduction of electric buses in the local routes of Gandhi Nagar and Krishna Nagar has helped provide low-emission transit options.

Political Context & Trends

1. The AAP's campaigns in the region are more focused on door-to-door outreach, discussions on area-specific governance successes and welfare programs.
2. The BJP in contrast has based their campaign on digital outreach, central leadership branding (using PM Modi's appeal) and large-scale nationalist rallies.

NEW DELHI

Key Issues

1. Water and Sanitation: Karol Bagh, RK Puram and Greater Kailash all report irregular water supply, outdated pipelines, inadequate sewage systems and waterlogging during monsoon. Water scarcity and sewage management is reported as an issue in almost all constituencies
2. Traffic and transportation: There is often congestion due to heavy traffic in Karol Bagh, Moti Nagar, and Malviya Nagar. This problem can be attributed to the poor road conditions, damaged infrastructure, and inadequate parking facilities
3. Waste Management: Garbage collection problems, inefficient waste disposal systems, and unhygienic conditions are prevalent in the slums and overcrowded areas of Kasturba Nagar
4. Safety & Law Enforcement: Many constituencies (most notably Patel Nagar and Malviya Nagar) report rising crime rates, safety hazards, and public safety concerns. There is a demand for increased police presence and stricter law enforcement.
5. Pollution: Air and noise pollution, particularly in RK Puram and Moti Nagar, have become significant health concerns
6. Public Amenities & Housing: Kasturba Nagar and Greater Kailash are plagued by poor housing quality, inadequate infrastructure and lack of public amenities.

Development Progress

1. Infrastructural upgrades, road repairs and beautification projects have been carried out in many constituencies (most notably Karol Bagh and Patel Nagar) but progress remains slow
2. Despite attempts to fix the problem there has been minimum improvement in waste management and areas like RK Puram and Moti Nagar contine to suffer as a result of government innaction.
3. Schemes to improve water supply and drainage systems were announced in Patel Nagar and Greater Kailash, but many areas continue facing disruptions as a result of poor infrastructure and lack of timely action.
4. Security enhancements like increased police presence have been discussed but remain insufficiently implemented.

Political Context & Trends

1. There is widespread discontent with local governance because of unfulfilled promises regarding basic infrastructure, public services, and safety. Residents demand political accountability
2. As a result of this widespread discontent, voter mobilisation is high in areas like Greater Kailash and RK Puram. Rising costs, inadequate infrastructure, and growing dissatisfaction seem to be omnipresent problems

NORTH WEST DELHI

Key Issues

1. Safety and Law Enforcement: Mangol Puri, Nangoli Jat and Rohini are plagued by increasing crime rates and gang violence. Incidents of stabbings, murders, and fraud have been reported in these areas. Rohini has seen an explosion and a tragic drowning incident, while Mangol Puri is known for the poor women's safety conditions
2. Water Supply and Sanitation: Kirari, Sultanpur Majra, and Mundka are victims of waterlogging and sewage overflow as a result of inadequate drainage systems and poor sanitation
3. Infrastructure Development: Poor infrastructure, especially road maintenance, public transport integration, and sewage systems, is a major problem. Bawana, Kirari, and Mundka have shown very slow progress in this regard which has led to widespread discontent among the people. The residents of Rithala are frustrated with the slow pace of metro corridor development and Mangol Puri continues to be a victim of water supply disruptions and waste management issues
4. Environmental Pollution: High levels of air pollution are a major issue, especially in Nangoli Jat and Mundka, where the air quality has reached extremely unhealthy levels. Mundka also suffers from high levels of industrial pollution, while Bawana faces pollution from nearby industries

Development Progress

1. Sewer line installations, metro corridor constructions and waste management initiatives have been undertaken in Bawana, Rithala, and Mundka but progress has been sluggish
2. Security measures have been increased in Rohini after the explosion but it remains a major issue in Mangol Puri and Nangoli Jat
3. Rithala has seen an improvement in the water supply infrastructure
4. Sultanpur Majra and Mundka have seen new sewage management projects but residents are still facing health risks due to unsanitary conditions.

Political Context & Trends

1. A significant portion of residents in constituencies like Kirari, Mangol Puri, and Sultanpur Majra are dissatisfied with the local government's handling of issues like sanitation, water supply, and crime
2. In Rohini, Bawana, and Nangoli Jat, political debates are centred on promises for improved safety, cleaner air, and better infrastructure. AAP retains its dominance in constituencies like Sultanpur Majra, but competition is intensifying as residents now demand more responsive leadership.
3. Safety and law enforcement have become major electoral rallying points in constituencies like Rohini and Nangoli Jat, where rising crime and safety concerns, especially for women, are dominating discussions. Rohini and Mangol Puri are seeing an increased political focus on enhancing law enforcement and public safety.

WEST DELHI

Key Issues

1. Overcrowding and Housing: : The rapid population growth has resulted in overcrowding in several constituencies. The problem is particularly acute in Janakpuri, Tilak Nagar, Dwarka, Rajouri Garden and Uttam Nagar
2. Unemployment: High unemployment rates and lack of opportunities for the youth has led to mass emigration as an increasingly frustrated populus seeks opportunities that cannot be provided in their local areas elsewhere
3. Illegal Enroachments and Urban Development Issues: Encroachments on public land and roads have obstructed traffic flow and safety, which has induced growing demands for urban planning and better development policies.
4. Traffic and transportation: Daily Commute is heavily obstructed as a result of poor management and traffic congestion in constituencies like Janakpuri, Tilak Nagar and Dwarka
5. Sanitation & Cleanliness: Inadequate waste management, garbage accumulation, and water supply disruptions are omnipresent issues, and raise questions about the sanctity of public health and hygiene.

Development Progress

1. The government has sough to improve basic infrastructure, road conditions, sanitation systems, and healthcare access and has launched various initiatives to meet these goals. However there has been no major progress towards the same
2. Political discourse and plans often emphasise on clearing encroachments, enhancing waste management systems and improving water supply. Future initiatives are likely to centre around these issues

Political Context & Trends

1. The region has experienced high population growth and rapid urbanisation which has induced a demand for immediate reforms in the arenas of public amenities and infrastructure
2. The present regime has primarily focused on addressing the urbanization challenges through infrastructural development projects and urban management. Despite this residents continue to feel that no real improvement has been made in the realm of overcrowding, sanitation, and employment gaps.
3. Voters in this area are more likely to be concerned with local development than the larger state elections

SOUTH DELHI

Key Issues

1. Water Scarcity: Irregular water supply and overreliance on tankers has led to water shortages across the constituency. Some areas face issues of contamination and poor water quality. The issue is particularly acute in Sangam Vihar and Bijaswan
2. Infrastructure Defeciencies: Roads, drainage, and power infrastructure in Deoli, Ambedkar Nagar and Sangam Vihar are poorly managed. There is a high frequency of potholes, blocked drains and erratic electricity supply
3. Homelessness and evictions: Illegal settlements and enroachments combined with lack of housing infrastructure and widespread evictions have left many residents without a roof over their head. The poorer residents of Palam, Badarpur and Bijaswan often find themselves being forced to change locations at short notice
4. Sanitation Issues: Seasonal flooding is common as a result of poor sewage systems and waterlogging. There is no proper system to ensure hygiene standards are maintained, which has led to questions regarding public health
5. Traffic Congestion and Illegal Parking: The lack of adequate public transport facilities have lead to severe congestion in the narrow roads of some of these areas particularly Kalkaji, Mehrauli and Badarpur

Development Progress

1. Various infratrsuctural projects have been undertaken such as oad repairs, drainage upgrades, and metro expansions. Notably, the redevelopment of Bijwasan Railway Station has been a major upgrade. Nonetheless, progress on water supply, sanitation, and power infrastructure remains sluggish and inadequate
2. Urban redevelopment initiatives have been undertaken around Bijaswan but there is still an acute need for affordable housing solutions
3. Areas like Sangam Vihar have witnessed the introduction of skill development initiatives but there is still progress to be made before the government can hope for large-scale employment
4. Mohalla Clinics have been expanded and there have been proposals to build new hospitals. Overcrowding remains a pressing challenge.

Political Context & Trends

1. Many areas have witnessed tensions between populist welfare measures and demands for sustainable infrastructural reforms. Parties thus need to chose their rhetoric carefully when addressing different crowds
2. With mass evictions in places like Tughlaqabad, there is growing dissatisfaction over rehabilitation policies. Most residents have lost faith in the governments promises of affordable housing
3. The shutdown of industries like the Badarpur Thermal Power Station has made unemployment a major rallying point for frustrated voter.

Know Your Candidate

	Constituency Name	Party	Candidate Name	Criminal Cases	Education	Age	Total Assets
1	Narela	BJP	Raj Karan Khatri	0	12th Pass	59	Rs 10,44,11,275
1	Narela	AAP	Sharad Kumar	1	10th Pass	49	Rs 6,78,78,442
1	Narela	INC	Aruna	0	Post Graduate	43	Rs 2,27,72,639
2	Burari	JD (U)	Shailendra Kumar	0	Graduate	65	Rs 23,83,47,615
2	Burari	AAP	Sanjeev Jha	2	Graduate	45	Rs 14,47,331
2	Burari	INC	Mangesh Tyagi	3	12th Pass	52	Rs 7,59,56,328
3	Timarpur	BJP	Surya Prakash Khatri	0	Graduate Professional	62	Rs 26,91,52,712
3	Timarpur	BJP	Surya Prakash Khatri	0	Graduate Professional	62	Rs 26,91,52,712
3	Timarpur	AAP	Surinder Pal Singh (Bittoo)	0	12th Pass	64	Rs 5,55,93,536
3	Timarpur	INC	Lokendra Kalyan Singh	1	Graduate Professional	42	Rs 68,70,70,296
4	Adarsh Nagar	BJP	Raj Kumar Bhatia	1	12th Pass	59	Rs 16,60,42,306
4	Adarsh Nagar	AAP	Mukesh Kumar Goel	0	Graduate	64	Rs 10,27,64,691
4	Adarsh Nagar	INC	Shivank Singal	0	Post Graduate	30	Rs 37,78,997
5	Badli	BJP	Aahir Deepak Chaudharyy	0	Graduate Professional	40	Rs 1,58,41,080
5	Badli	AAP	Ajesh Yadav	0	Graduate	57	Rs 9,89,29,035
5	Badli	INC	Devender Yadav	1	10th Pass	50	Rs 48,38,01,676
6	Rithala	BJP	Kulwant Rana	3	Graduate	55	Rs 70,11,25,079
6	Rithala	AAP	Mohinder Goyal	3	10th Pass	60	Rs 5,36,31,160
6	Rithala	INC	Sushant Mishra	0	Graduate Professional	46	Rs 1,94,20,660
7	Bawana	BJP	Ravinder Indraj Singh	0	Graduate	50	Rs 7,23,37,348
7	Bawana	AAP	Jai Bhagwan Upkar	4	12th Pass	43	Rs 6,87,37,506
7	Bawana	INC	Surender Kumar	0	12th Pass	68	Rs 3,52,67,309
8	Mundka	BJP	Gajender Drall	0	Graduate	48	Rs 12,71,69,681
8	Mundka	AAP	Jasbir Karala	0	12th Pass	57	Rs 4,31,56,239
8	Mundka	INC	Dharampal Lakra	0	Others	66	Rs 76,01,44,877
9	Kirari	BJP	Bajrang Shukla	1	Graduate	56	Rs 1,64,34,388
9	Kirari	AAP	Anil Jha	3	Post Graduate	50	Rs 4,33,02,165
9	Kirari	INC	Rajesh Kumar Gupta	0	Graduate	59	Rs 19,84,42,437
10	Sultanpur Majra	BJP	Karam Singh Karma	0	12th Pass	48	Rs 9,39,17,786
10	Sultanpur Majra	AAP	Mukesh Kumar Ahlawat	4	12th Pass	49	Rs 11,09,82,888

10	Sultanpur Majra	INC	Jai Kishan	3	12th Pass	66	Rs 78,41,573
11	Nangloi Jat	BJP	Manoj Kumar Shokeen	0	12th Pass	58	Rs 13,12,83,303
11	Nangloi Jat	AAP	Raghuvinder Shokeen	0	Graduate Professional	58	Rs 23,30,30,525
11	Nangloi Jat	INC	Rohit Choudhary	1	Graduate Professional	45	Rs 2,30,95,564
12	Mangol Puri	BJP	Raj Kumar Chauhan	0	12th Pass	67	Rs 11,83,32,064
12	Mangol Puri	AAP	Dharam Rakshak Alias Rakesh Jatav	0	8th Pass	46	Rs 1,82,80,055
12	Mangol Puri	INC	Hanuman Sahay Alias Hanuman Chauhan	0	8th Pass	58	Rs 37,41,108
13	Rohini	BJP	Vijender Gupta	4	Post Graduate	61	Rs 16,10,28,213
13	Rohini	AAP	Pardeep Mittal	2	12th Pass	47	Rs 43,92,451
13	Rohini	INC	Sumesh Gupta	0	8th Pass	53	Rs 2,20,44,295
14	Shalimar Bagh	BJP	Rekha Gupta	0	Graduate Professional	50	Rs 5,31,34,981
14	Shalimar Bagh	AAP	Bandana Kumari	1	Graduate	50	Rs 11,54,29,658
14	Shalimar Bagh	INC	Parveen Kumar Jain	0	10th Pass	63	Rs 27,66,70,764
15	Shakur Basti	BJP	Karnail Singh	0	10th Pass	57	Rs 2,59,67,36,090
15	Shakur Basti	AAP	Satyendar Jain	14	Graduate Professional	60	Rs 8,83,26,139
15	Shakur Basti	INC	Satish Kumar Luthra	0	10th Pass	61	Rs 72,49,59,523
16	Tri Nagar	BJP	Tilak Ram Gupta	0	10th Pass	73	Rs 2,35,65,559
16	Tri Nagar	AAP	Preeti Jitender Tomar	0	Post Graduate	55	Rs 4,26,89,094
16	Tri Nagar	INC	Satender Sharma	0	12th Pass	60	Rs 2,00,31,200
17	Wazirpur	BJP	Poonam Sharma	0	12th Pass	40	Rs 1,27,55,121
17	Wazirpur	AAP	Rajesh Gupta	1	Graduate	46	Rs 2,80,89,021
17	Wazirpur	INC	Ragini Nayak	3	Doctorate	42	Rs 1,89,99,401
18	Model Town	BJP	Ashok Goel	0	Graduate Professional	57	Rs 26,30,39,120
18	Model Town	AAP	Akhilesh Pati Tripathi	10	Post Graduate	40	Rs 67,24,979
18	Model Town	INC	Kanwar Karan Singh	1	12th Pass	68	Rs 9,96,49,359
19	Sadar Bazar	BJP	Manoj Kumar Jindal	0	12th Pass	55	Rs 8,20,99,353
19	Sadar Bazar	AAP	Som Dutt	1	Graduate	49	Rs 21,20,795
19	Sadar Bazar	INC	Anil Bhardwaj	1	Graduate	58	Rs 10,22,34,994
20	Chandni Chowk	BJP	Satish Jain	0	Post Graduate	72	Rs 7,66,06,736
20	Chandni Chowk	AAP	Punardeep Singh Sawney (Sabby)	1	12th Pass	44	Rs 21,21,50,426

20	Chandni Chowk	INC	Mudit Agarwal	2	Graduate	53	Rs 14,15,91,694
21	Matia Mahal	BJP	Deepti Indora	0	Post Graduate	42	Rs 1,09,71,252
21	Matia Mahal	AAP	Aaley Mohammed Iqbal	1	12th Pass	34	Rs 1,17,94,437
21	Matia Mahal	INC	Asim Ahmed Khan	0	Graduate	48	Rs 24,60,27,514
22	Ballimaran	BJP	Kamal Bagri	1	12th Pass	41	Rs 76,75,841
22	Ballimaran	AAP	Imran Hussain	0	Graduate	43	Rs 3,56,46,554
22	Ballimaran	INC	Haroon Yusuf	0	Graduate	66	Rs 4,78,63,695
23	Karol Bagh	BJP	Dushyant Gautam		Graduate	67	Rs 5,31,46,269
23	Karol Bagh	AAP	Vishesh Ravi	2	12th Pass	41	Rs 41,47,048
23	Karol Bagh	INC	Rahul Kumar	0	10th Pass	34	Rs 98,85,968
24	Patel Nagar	BJP	Raaj Kumar Anand	2	Post Graduate	58	Rs 79,85,29,298
24	Patel Nagar	AAP	Pravesh Ratn	0	Graduate	39	Rs 1,52,82,007
24	Patel Nagar	INC	Krishna Tirath	0	Graduate Professional	69	Rs 18,61,06,656
25	Moti Nagar	BJP	Harish Khurana	1	Graduate	50	Rs 2,70,46,864
25	Moti Nagar	AAP	Shivcharan Goel	0	12th Pass	63	Rs 24,19,86,928
25	Moti Nagar	INC	Rajender Singh	0	10th Pass	81	Rs 5,50,21,828
26	Madipur	BJP	Kailash Gangwal	0	12th Pass	53	Rs 76,79,369
26	Madipur	AAP	Rakhi Birla	1	Post Graduate	37	Rs 38,52,358
26	Madipur	INC	Jai Prakash Panwar	0	12th Pass	53	Rs 55,16,85,853
27	Rajouri Garden	BJP	Manjinder Singh Sirsa	5	12th Pass	52	Rs 2,48,85,52,444
27	Rajouri Garden	AAP	A Dhanwati Chandela A	0	10th Pass	65	Rs 1,09,90,05,522
27	Rajouri Garden	INC	Dharam Pal Chandela	0	12th Pass	70	Rs 6,10,36,079
28	Hari Nagar	BJP	Shyam Sharma	0	10th Pass	60	Rs 16,01,14,845
28	Hari Nagar	AAP	Surinder Kumar Setia	0	10th Pass	66	Rs 50,59,26,226
28	Hari Nagar	INC	Prem Ballabh	0	12th Pass	54	Rs 3,76,64,421
29	Tilak Nagar	BJP	Shveta Saini	0	Graduate Professional	48	Rs 64,30,169
29	Tilak Nagar	AAP	Jarnail Singh	4	12th Pass	43	Rs 4,06,97,670
29	Tilak Nagar	INC	Parvinder Singh Alias P S Bawa	0	Graduate	67	Rs 16,20,48,836
30	Janakpuri	BJP	Ashish Sood	1	Graduate	58	Rs 9,22,02,367
30	Janakpuri	AAP	Parveen Kumar	2	Graduate	37	Rs 23,58,628
30	Janakpuri	INC	Harbani Kaur	0	Graduate	33	Rs 30,04,878
31	Vikaspuri	BJP	Pankaj Kumar Singh	1	Graduate Professional	48	Rs 4,92,97,498
31	Vikaspuri	AAP	Mahinder Yadav	1	10th Pass	61	Rs 3,84,85,038
31	Vikaspuri	INC	Jitender Solanki	0	Post Graduate	43	Rs 4,38,20,615
32	Uttam Nagar	BJP	Pawan Sharma	0	Post Graduate	65	Rs 6,46,85,034
32	Uttam Nagar	AAP	Posh Balyan	0	Graduate Professional	48	Rs 72,69,40,052

32	Uttam Nagar	INC	Mukesh Sharma	1	Post Graduate	60	Rs 54,60,33,928
33	Dwarka	BJP	Parduymn Singh Rajput	2	Post Graduate	60	Rs 42,53,16,587
33	Dwarka	AAP	Vinay Mishra	6	Post Graduate	42	Rs 8,70,17,731
33	Dwarka	INC	Adarsh Shastri	2	Graduate	51	Rs 6,66,59,648
34	Matiala	BJP	Sandeep Sehrawat	2	Graduate Professional	32	Rs 1,84,38,177
34	Matiala	AAP	Sumesh Shokeen	1	12th Pass	51	Rs 65,14,17,698
34	Matiala	INC	Raghvinder Singh	1	Graduate	53	Rs 24,42,80,358
35	Najafgarh	BJP	Neelam Pahalwan	0	Post Graduate	43	Rs 12,50,10,791
35	Najafgarh	AAP	Tarun Kumar	1	10th Pass	49	Rs 2,65,46,659
35	Najafgarh	INC	Sushma Devi Yadav	1	Post Graduate	56	Rs 49,54,536
36	Bijwasan	BJP	Kailash Gahlot	0	Post Graduate	50	Rs 59,91,14,620
36	Bijwasan	AAP	Surender Bhardwaj	3	Graduate Professional	47	Rs 4,46,80,746
36	Bijwasan	INC	Col Devinder Kumar Sehrawat	1	Graduate Professional	59	Rs 3,44,22,585
37	Palam	BJP	Kuldeep Solanki	1	10th Pass	58	Rs 13,62,42,582
37	Palam	AAP	Joginder Solanki	0	Graduate	42	Rs 15,42,48,976
37	Palam	INC	Mange Ram	1	Illiterate	56	Rs 7,40,91,817
38	Delhi Cantt	BJP	Bhuvan Tanwar	0	Post Graduate	36	Rs 15,30,51,818
38	Delhi Cantt	AAP	Virender Singh Kadian	2	Post Graduate	49	Rs 6,00,44,332
38	Delhi Cantt	INC	Pradeep Kumar Upmanyu	1	Graduate	63	Rs 5,77,75,661
39	Rajinder Nagar	BJP	Umang Bajaj	0	Post Graduate	31	Rs 10,75,63,096
39	Rajinder Nagar	AAP	Durgesh Pathak	4	Post Graduate	36	Rs 19,47,576
39	Rajinder Nagar	INC	Vineet Yadav	0	12th Pass	30	Rs 21,67,58,598
40	New Delhi	BJP	Parvesh Sahib Singh	1	Post Graduate	47	Rs 1,15,63,83,180
40	New Delhi	AAP	Arvind Kejriwal	15	Graduate Professional	56	Rs 4,24,36,504
40	New Delhi	INC	Sandeep Dikshit	0	Post Graduate	60	Rs 11,13,81,677
41	Jangpura	BJP	Tarvinder Singh Marwah	1	12th Pass	64	Rs 49,67,68,001
41	Jangpura	AAP	Manish Sisodia	6	Others	52	Rs 1,42,81,215
41	Jangpura	INC	Farhad Suri	5	Graduate	68	Rs 32,46,263
42	Kasturba Nagar	BJP	Neeraj Basoya	0	Graduate Professional	49	Rs 7,24,50,155
42	Kasturba Nagar	AAP	Ramesh Pahelwan	0	12th Pass	53	Rs 5,99,97,020
42	Kasturba Nagar	INC	Abhishek Dutt	1	Post Graduate	44	Rs 63,74,34,319
43	Malviya Nagar	BJP	Satish Upadhyay	0	Graduate	62	Rs 13,22,51,447
43	Malviya Nagar	AAP	Jitender Kumar Kochar	0	12th Pass	60	Rs 20,58,56,905
43	Malviya Nagar	INC	Somnath Bharti	5	Post Graduate	50	Rs 2,23,67,040
44	RK Puram	BJP	Anil Kumar Sharma	0	Graduate	53	Rs 7,13,00,145

44	RK Puram	AAP	Pramila Tokas	2	12th Pass	47	Rs 73,21,95,667
44	RK Puram	INC	Vishesh Kumar	0	Post Graduate	38	Rs 1,90,98,249
45	Mehrauli	BJP	Gajender Singh Yadav	0	Post Graduate	48	Rs 30,11,02,326
45	Mehrauli	AAP	Mahender Chaudhary	0	Graduate Professional	40	Rs 1,25,87,137
45	Mehrauli	INC	Pushpa Singh	1	12th Pass	56	Rs 90,93,865
46	Chhatarpur	BJP	Kartar Singh Tanwar	0	Others	62	Rs 25,21,59,151
46	Chhatarpur	AAP	Brahm Singh Tanwar	1	8th Pass	72	Rs 24,29,85,718
46	Chhatarpur	INC	Rajender Singh Tanwar	0	Post Graduate	65	Rs 6,77,78,976
47	Deoli	LJP (RV)	Deepak Tanwar	0	8th Pass	46	Rs 30,72,681
47	Deoli	AAP	Prem Chauhan	0	Graduate	37	Rs 16,49,779
47	Deoli	INC	Rajesh Chauhan	0	Graduate	54	Rs 4,72,83,869
48	Ambedkar Nagar	BJP	Khushi Ram Chunar	0	Graduate	50	Rs 53,50,657
48	Ambedkar Nagar	AAP	Dr. Ajay Dutt	0	Doctorate	49	Rs 11,92,94,435
48	Ambedkar Nagar	INC	Jai Prakash	9	12th Pass	41	Rs 2,55,14,467
49	Sangam Vihar	BJP	Chandan Kumar Choudhary	5	Graduate	44	Rs 3,94,73,899
49	Sangam Vihar	AAP	Dinesh Mohaniya	4	Graduate Professional	47	Rs 77,00,166
49	Sangam Vihar	INC	Harsh Choudhary	0	Post Graduate	45	Rs 5,10,16,582
50	Greater Kailash	BJP	Shikha Roy	0	Post Graduate	60	Rs 16,13,44,383
50	Greater Kailash	AAP	Saurabh Bharadwaj	6	Graduate Professional	45	Rs 1,48,09,968
50	Greater Kailash	INC	Garvit Singhvi	0	Post Graduate	37	Rs 16,72,65,549
51	Kalkaji	BJP	Ramesh Bidhuri	0	Graduate Professional	61	Rs 19,94,62,028
51	Kalkaji	AAP	Atishi	4	Post Graduate	43	Rs 76,93,374
51	Kalkaji	INC	Alka Lamba	1	Post Graduate	49	Rs 3,90,57,898
52	Tughlakabad	BJP	Rohtash Kumar	0	Post Graduate	57	Rs 5,42,18,729
52	Tughlakabad	AAP	Sahi Ram	2	10th Pass	65	Rs 1,38,99,388
52	Tughlakabad	INC	Virender Singh	0	Literate	56	Rs 19,02,33,937
53	Badarpur	BJP	Narayan Dutt Sharma	1	12th Pass	52	Rs 2,71,60,133
53	Badarpur	AAP	Ram Singh Netaji	0	5th Pass	69	Rs 89,67,03,141
53	Badarpur	INC	Arjun Singh Bhadana	1	Graduate	37	Rs 1,57,70,224
54	Okhla	BJP	Manish Chaudhary	0	Graduate	37	Rs 8,37,53,407
54	Okhla	AAP	Amanatullah Khan	19	12th Pass	51	Rs 1,84,15,626
54	Okhla	INC	Ariba Khan	1	Graduate Professional	31	Rs 21,11,744
55	Trilokpuri	BJP	Ravi Kant	0	Post Graduate	32	Rs 20,47,145

55	Trilokpuri	AAP	Anjana Parcha	1	Graduate	45	Rs 65,23,054
55	Trilokpuri	INC	Amardeep	0	10th Pass	35	Rs 2,07,36,780
56	Kondli	BJP	Priyanka Gautam	0	Graduate Professional	39	Rs 82,27,984
56	Kondli	AAP	Kuldeep Kumar	7	12th Pass	35	Rs 53,00,281
56	Kondli	INC	Akshay Kumar	0	Post Graduate	37	Rs 5,14,657
57	Patparganj	BJP	Ravinder Singh Negi	0	Graduate	48	Rs 1,78,40,741
57	Patparganj	AAP	Avadh Ojha	0	Graduate Professional	49	Rs 8,59,07,918
57	Patparganj	INC	Anil Kumar	7	Graduate Professional	48	Rs 3,85,40,745
58	Laxmi Nagar	BJP	Abhay Kumar Verma	1	Graduate Professional	52	Rs 1,97,80,321
58	Laxmi Nagar	AAP	B B Tyagi	2	Graduate Professional	66	Rs 7,33,24,194
58	Laxmi Nagar	INC	Sumit Sharma	0	8th Pass	49	Rs 2,16,99,389
59	Vishwas Nagar	BJP	Om Prakash Sharma	0	Graduate	71	Rs 25,12,31,937
59	Vishwas Nagar	AAP	Deepak Singhal	1	8th Pass	38	Rs 15,28,50,269
59	Vishwas Nagar	INC	Rajiv Chaudhary	0	Graduate Professional	57	Rs 4,28,54,696
60	Krishna Nagar	BJP	Dr Anil Goyal	0	Post Graduate	67	Rs 78,18,42,401
60	Krishna Nagar	AAP	Vikas Bagga Ca	0	Post Graduate	44	Rs 3,53,67,049
60	Krishna Nagar	INC	Gurcharan Singh (Raju)	1	8th Pass	59	Rs 1,30,90,52,000
61	Gandhi Nagar	BJP	Arvinder Singh Lovely	0	Graduate	56	Rs 11,65,02,287
61	Gandhi Nagar	AAP	Naveen Chaudhary (Deepu)	4	12th Pass	60	Rs 25,73,93,912
61	Gandhi Nagar	INC	Kamal Arora (Dabbu)	2	Graduate Professional	56	Rs 1,83,03,180
62	Shahdara	BJP	Sanjay Goyal	0	Graduate Professional	56	Rs 54,47,44,218
62	Shahdara	AAP	Jitender Singh Shunty	0	10th Pass	62	Rs 7,60,92,538
62	Shahdara	INC	Jagat Singh	0	Graduate	52	Rs 2,13,29,241
63	Seemapuri	BJP	Ku. Rinku	0	10th Pass	50	Rs 90,56,365
63	Seemapuri	AAP	Veer Singh Dhingan	0	10th Pass	71	Rs 58,37,000
63	Seemapuri	INC	Rajesh Lilothia	0	Post Graduate	59	Rs 5,05,45,167
64	Rohtas Nagar	BJP	Jitender Mahajan	3	Graduate	55	Rs 2,57,58,304
64	Rohtas Nagar	AAP	Sarita Singh	1	Post Graduate	38	Rs 7,95,524
64	Rohtas Nagar	INC	Sureshvati	0	10th Pass	62	Rs 1,85,11,299

65	Seelampur	BJP	Anil Kumar Sharma (Gaur)	0	8th Pass	53	Rs 1,92,39,979
65	Seelampur	AAP	Chaudhary Zubair Ahmad	0	Graduate	44	Rs 3,69,25,933
65	Seelampur	INC	Abdul Rehman	3	8th Pass	58	Rs 57,73,795
66	Ghonda	BJP	Ajay Mahawar	0	Post Graduate	53	Rs 7,71,06,885
66	Ghonda	AAP	Gaurav Sharma	0	Graduate Professional	38	Rs 76,06,533
66	Ghonda	INC	Bhisham Sharma	0	Graduate	64	Rs 44,79,45,834
67	Babarpur	BJP	Anil Kumar Vashisht	0	Post Graduate	63	Rs 4,53,66,037
67	Babarpur	AAP	Gopal Rai	1	Post Graduate	49	Rs 1,41,99,753
67	Babarpur	INC	Mohd Ishraq Khan	1	5th Pass	64	Rs 2,93,53,000
68	Gokalpur	BJP	Praveen Nimesh	0	12th Pass	43	Rs 9,58,05,528
68	Gokalpur	AAP	Surendra Kumar	1	Others	57	Rs 4,55,20,497
68	Gokalpur	INC	Ishwar Singh	0	8th Pass	59	Rs 5,08,97,683
69	Mustafabad	BJP	Mohan Singh Bisht	0	12th Pass	67	Rs 7,82,93,737
69	Mustafabad	AAP	Adeel Ahmad Khan	0	Graduate	42	Rs 49,38,831
69	Mustafabad	INC	Ali Mehdi	1	Graduate Professional	40	Rs 3,79,56,382
70	Karawal Nagar	BJP	Kapil Mishra	3	Post Graduate	44	Rs 1,06,54,682
70	Karawal Nagar	AAP	Manoj Kumar Tyagi	1	Graduate	47	Rs 2,74,02,865
70	Karawal Nagar	INC	Dr. P.K. Mishra	0	Post Graduate	59	Rs 1,39,71,502

The public opinion

"Chunaav se pehle diye jaane wala freebie, ek bacho ke saath khelne wale khilaune ke saaman hai, agar koi acha faisla lena hota toh woh pichle das saalo mein leliya gaya hota, humne dekha hai ki mahilao ke liye bus free krdi gyi hai pr sarkar ko iska economy pr impact nhi dikh rha."
-Sunny Kumar (College Student)

"Koi bhi party aajaaye par hamaari samasya nahi dur karti Naa liya bhari reheti hai aur paani ki dikkat hoti hai. Alag alag bimaariyon ke alag alag ilaaj mil jaati hai ye suvidha hai. Sarkaari school Kejriwal ke dwaara acche kie gaye hai. Congress ke samay school ki suvidha acchi nahi thi maine khud padhai kar rakhi hai. Chunaao aane vaali thi to pipeline pad rahi hai Picchle ek mahine se chunaao ke baad sab kaam band."
–Sunil Yadav (Shopkeeper)

"Har state mein CM acha kaam krta hai"

"Sheila Dixit ke raaj me har chiz sasti hua karti thi, ab 30-35% mehengaai badh gai hai. Jinka makaan hai muft bijli sirf unhe hi milti hai ham kiraayedaaron ko kuch nahi milta"
–Dhananjay kumar Sahoo (Fruit Seller)

"Sarkar toh sahi hai, paani ki suvidha hai, batti hai aur kya chahiye. Hum khush hai, jo sarkar badhiya kaam kregi woh humare liye badiya hai"
–Sohan Lal (old man)

"Gareeb log hai vo free ke jhaanse me aajaate hai,mere hisaab se padhai hospital aur roz mara ki cheezo pe kaam honi chahiye. Mere area mein ek murder hua tha- marne wala bhi nabalig, maarne wala bhi nabalig. Aajkal ye sochte hain ki jail jaake wahan se nikal ke bhai ban jayenge , basti mein value badh jayegi"
–Sulaim Ansari (Rickshaw Driver)

"Yeh saari politics hai, aap yamuna ka karvalo ji ya puri delhi ka vikas krvalo, kisi ka kuch nhi hai, jo si party jeet jaayegi aap dekhna 5 saal baad konsi party kaam krti hai chahe bjp ho congress ho ya aap"

"Mahila purush sb saaman hone chahiye, bechare purush kha jaayenge, purush samaj kha jaayega unki koi value nhi hai, equality wali baat hoti hai dono kaamare hai toh free sirf mahila ko kyu ? hum naagrik h iss desh ke free ka thodi khaayenge. bjp jo hai, woh saaf hai jo bolti hai woh karti hai jo nahi krna nhi karti."

"humme free cheezon se koi matlab nhi hai, aap tax vasoolo koi dikkat nhi hai, par humme service achi chahiye"
-Kunal (middle class man)

"Kisi ne daaru free kri, kisi tulsi free kri"

"Jaise hi delhi se bahar nikloge vikas hi vikas nazar aayega"

"Vaade to sab karte hai pura koi nahi karta. Mohalla clinic to hai Delhi me par ayushmaan yojna kyu nahi laagu hui Delhi me ye to sochne vaali baat hai.Vikaash dekhna hi hai to Delhi se baahar Ghaziabad aur Meerut me dekh lo Itte acche highways nai metro rrts ban gai hai. Nal to lagwaya hai AAP ne par paani acchi nahi aati hame to khareed ke hi peena padta hai."
-Rakesh Chaurasiya (old aged retired man)

Delhi's Voter Map

Vikaspuri and Matiala Assembly constituencies have the highest number of voters while Delhi Cantt has the least

Delhi Assembly Electors 2025

0.78 L — 4.6 L

3,81,779
Bawana

4,52,053
Matiala

4,20,157
Burari

1,26,233
Chandni Chowk

3,79,509
Okhla

4,62,184
Vikaspuri

78,893
Delhi Cantt

1,09,022
New Delhi

Legacy of
Chief Ministers

The rich political legacy of Delhi began with Chaudhary Brahm Prakash becoming Delhi's first Chief Minister on March 17, 1952. His tenure lasted until February 12, 1955. A zestful participant in the Indian independence movement, he focused on rural development and social justice during his term. During its short-lived term, the Congress government could not bring about many modifications. Yet, Brahm Prakash took an implacable stance against the central government and steadfastly demanded increased autonomy for the state. Succeeded by Gurmukh Nihal Singh, he was Delhi's Chief Minister from February 12, 1955, to November 1, 1956. A member of the Indian National Congress, Singh made pivotal contributions to improving infrastructure and public services.

In 1956, the States Reorganisation Commission changed Delhi's status from a state to a union territory. This resulted in the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly. For 37 years, between 1956 and 1993, Delhi had no chief minister or legislative assembly. For the initial decade, governance in the Union territory was presided over by the elected members of the municipal council. Nevertheless, the council did not have legislative powers, resulting in poor governance. Following the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission, the legislative assembly for the national capital was reinstituted, and Elections to the Delhi Assembly were held in 1993. The elections were dominated by the BJP, which won 49 of the 70 seats, securing a 42 per cent vote share. The Congress, the BJP's closest competitor, won 14 seats with a 34 per cent vote share.

BJP leader Madan Lal Khurana had control of the reins of power in Delhi from 1993 to 1996. He was popularly known as 'Delhi ka Sher' (Lion of Delhi) for his efforts in bolstering the BJP's roots in Delhi. Khurana was also the first CM to serve Delhi after the state legislative assembly was reinstituted through the 69th Constitution Amendment Act, of 1991. He contested and emerged victorious from the Moti Nagar assembly segment. While being a vocal proponent of full statehood for Delhi, Khurana was a strident critic of the relationship between the Centre in terms of power-sharing dynamics. Khurana played a major part in getting the Metro project initiated in Delhi in 1993, and it was during his regime that the Dhaula Kuan and Safdarjung Hospital-AIIMS flyovers were planned. He was a staunch proponent of enacting a provision for appointing five members of the "Delhi Legislative Assembly" to the Delhi Development Authority, elected by it according to the principle of proportional representation using the single transferable vote, on the pattern of the erstwhile Metropolitan Council, by amending the Delhi Development Act, 1957[3].

Sahib Singh Verma took over the helm of power from the former BJP stalwart Madan Lal Khurana and was appointed as chief minister in 1995 after the party suddenly felt the requirement to reach out to the non-Punjabi constituency, comprising Jats and Other Backward Classes. Verma was considered an apt choice because he was a Jat from outer Delhi, one of the country's largest Lok Sabha seats. His tenure witnessed the "onion crisis," when prices of onions skyrocketed, and power and water shortages. However, he also received accolades due to accentuation of the energy supply during his tenure. In 1993, only 1,600 megawatts of electricity were being supplied to Delhi. But during his regime, 2,400 megawatts were being supplied to Delhi every day. Before the November 1998 polls, the BJP replaced him with Sushma Swaraj

Sushma Swaraj, who was also referred to as the "firefighter CM," led a brief 52-day stint as the chief minister. She set up a committee immediately to manage the inflation of onion prices and even got vans specifically to distribute them. Swaraj would also do regular inspections of the police to make sure they were working to address the people's problems, even though the Delhi Police were not under the CM's control

In the second election held in 1998, the Congress emerged as the winner with 52 seats and a 47.7 per cent vote share. The BJP won only 15 seats with a vote share of almost 36 per cent. Sheila Dikshit was made the chief minister and went on to become the longest-serving CM in Delhi. Under Dikshit's leadership, the Congress also won the 2003 and 2008 elections. Delhi flourished under Dikshit's government, especially in the public transport sphere. She spearheaded the building of the first Metro lines, and her government also purchased 5,500 buses for easy commutes. In terms of developing road infrastructure, remarkable progress was made with nearly 65 flyovers built during her term. Dikshit was also a strong voice for Delhi and managed to strike a decent balance between the Centre and the state. She also led the effort of privatisation of the electric sector, reducing distribution losses from 50 per cent to 15 per cent. Funds gained from mitigating these losses were then used to construct more than a dozen hospitals in Delhi. The Commonwealth Games of 2010 took place during Dikshit's administration, and she took the initiative to revamp Delhi. This included modernising the Indira Gandhi International Airport and improving the streets. When an overpass collapsed in front of the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium shortly before the games were set to begin, Dikshit responded quickly to address the situation. Additionally, she made efforts to reduce air pollution in the city. However, her tenure was not free from tarnish. In 2009, the Delhi Lokayukta investigated a complaint alleging Dikshit misused ₹3.5 crore received under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission for political advertisements. While corruption claims were eventually dropped, Dikshit faced accusations of violating norms of conduct for public functionaries. Additionally, Dikshit faced criticism for granting parole to Manu Sharma, a convicted murderer, in 2009. Media reports revealed Sharma was seen partying in Delhi nightclubs during his parole. Although Dikshit defended her decision as procedurally correct, the Delhi High Court accused her of preferential treatment, highlighting her neglect of similar pleas from less privileged prisoners. Dikshit maintained that her actions were based on files processed through proper channels and attributed the final decision to the lieutenant governor[5]. Dikshit's reign spanned between 1998 and 2013. The Aam Aadmi Party came out as an underestimated newcomer in the politics of Delhi. The first-time voters were oblivious to Delhi's conditions decades back and were not able to make a difference. They took the then state of infrastructure and growth for granted. As a ramification, Sheila Dikshit was defeated by Arvind Kejriwal from her New Delhi bastion.[6]

With changing dynamics in Delhi's political landscape, the Aam Aadmi Party garnered new influence. As chief minister, the AAP leader Arvind Kejriwal is credited with focusing on key areas such as education, healthcare, water, electricity, and infrastructure. His government introduced the Mohalla Clinics initiative, providing accessible healthcare across Delhi. Kejriwal's administration is also credited with offering free water up to 20,000 litres per month per household and subsidising electricity rates to make utilities more affordable. However, he was later arrested due to impervious responses to repeated enquiries by the Enforcement Directorate regarding the Delhi liquor scam. Later on, he tendered his resignation and was succeeded by his close aide, Ms. Atishi Marlena. [7]

As elections are around the corner, the AAP has pledged to increase the monthly financial assistance for women voters in Delhi from ₹1,000 to ₹2,100 if it wins the elections. Additionally, it has promised free healthcare for residents aged 60 and above under the 'Sanjeevani Yojana.' They have also announced an honorarium of ₹18,000 per month for priests and granthis in gurdwaras as part of the Pujari Granthi Samman Yojana. For autorickshaw drivers, a key support group since 2013, the party has promised life and accident insurance worth ₹15 lakh. Other assurances include ₹1 lakh financial aid for their daughters' weddings and a ₹2,500 uniform allowance twice a year. The onus lies on the Janta of Delhi to use their acumen in a responsible manner to make the most critical political decision. It would be worthy to witness the people's verdict, whether the Aam Aadmi Party sustains its rule in the National Capital or a new regime awaits its turn.

-Navlika Mehta

Manifesto Analysis

Where bold ideas meet their reality check.

-Kushika Madan
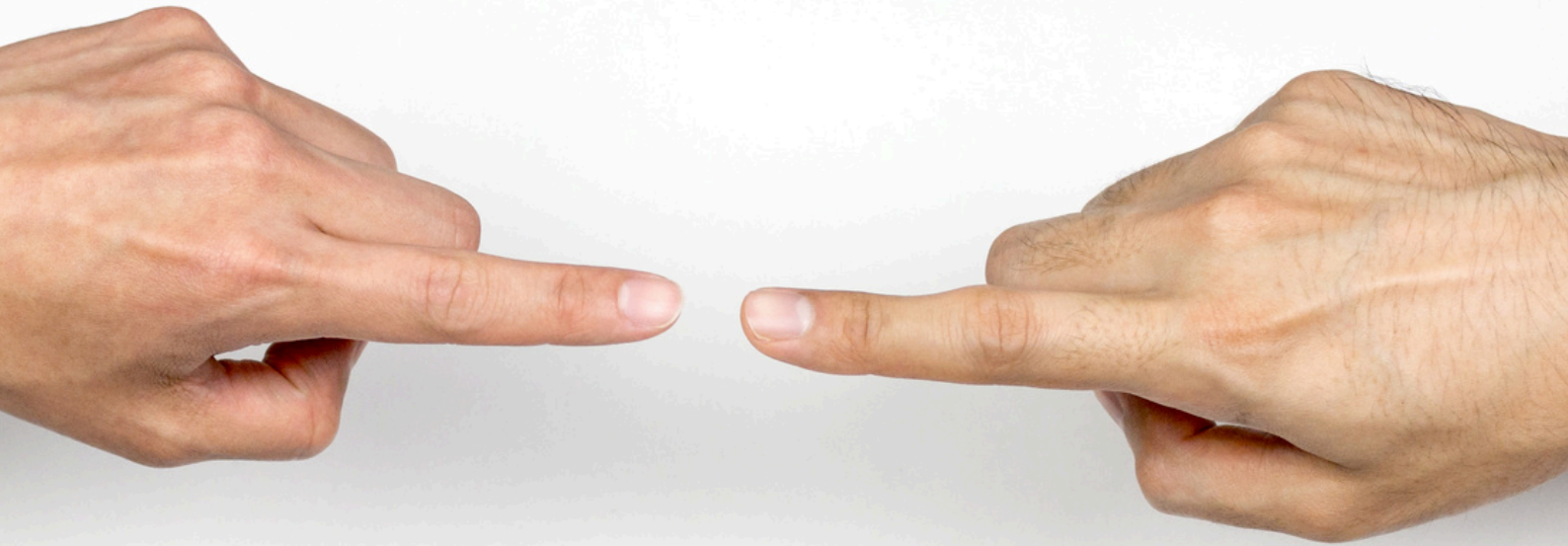
Delhi's political and administrative framework is a complex web of power dynamics. At the center, there's a dual party system, with the Union Government, led by one party, overseeing national policies, while the state government of Delhi, often led by a different party, manages local affairs.

The 69th Constitutional Amendment Act of 1991 conferred partial statehood and special status on Delhi as the National Capital Territory (NCT), establishing a state government with legislative powers. Nonetheless, the Central Government maintains authority over vital subjects like police, public order, and land. Interestingly, Delhi deviates from the constitutional norm, as police and public order which typically state subjects under the 7th Schedule, fall under the Central Government's jurisdiction.

Then there is the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) which is responsible for civic amenities. However, there's a twist - Central Delhi (i.e., Lutyen's Delhi) falls under the jurisdiction of New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC), while the rest of Delhi is managed by the MCD. To add to the complexity, the MCD works under the supervision of the state government of Delhi, and NDMC, under the supervision of the Central Government of India.

This unique arrangement is indeed a perfect cocktail for confusion, chaos, mismanagement, and maladministration which usually leads to a blame game between the Centre and the State governments, eventually affecting Delhi and its citizens.

Aam Aadmi Party (AAP)

The AAP has several strengths, including its flagship welfare schemes, such as subsidies on electricity and drinking water, revamped government schools, Mohalla clinics, and free electricity. The party's "Delhi Model" of governance has been successful in capturing the capital's poor and lower-middle-class vote bank.

As part of its election promises, the AAP has announced several key initiatives.

- **Mahila Samman Yojana:** The AAP has promised to increase the monthly allowance for women voters (non-income taxpayers) from ₹ 1,000 to ₹ 2,100, if they win the February 5 elections.
- **Sanjeevani Yojana:** The party has pledged to provide free healthcare for residents over 60 years old.
- **Pujari Granthi Samman Yojana:** The AAP has promised a monthly honorarium of ₹ 18,000 to priests and granthis in gurdwaras.
- **Free Bus Rides:** Although not explicitly mentioned in the latest manifesto, the AAP has provided free bus rides for women in Delhi in the past.

The party's leadership, including Arvind Kejriwal, Atishi, and Saurabh Bharadwaj, are contesting key seats in the Delhi Assembly elections.

Strengths:
AAP's focus on welfare schemes, developmental work, and its appeal to the common man has been its strong points. The party has also managed to build a strong organizational structure in Delhi. Their initiatives like 'Rewdi par Charcha' have enabled the party to engage directly with voters, strengthening its grassroots connection.

Weaknesses:
Critics argue that AAP's model of free services is financially unsustainable, placing a significant burden on taxpayers and the state exchequer, raising concerns about fairness and long-term viability. The model leads to inefficient allocation of resources, doesn't account for true costs, and fails to target vulnerable sections. Overconsumption of free electricity and water may also have negative environmental impacts.

They have faced criticism for their inadequate response to Delhi's environmental crises as well. Despite being in power for 10 years, the party has failed to effectively address the city's severe air pollution and Yamuna flood bank issues. Mr. Satyendar Jain, a senior AAP leader, has claimed that his arrest was an attempt to stall the party's projects, including the cleaning of the Yamuna River.

However, the party's inability to expand its developmental work beyond schools and healthcare centers may undermine their credibility.

Corruption allegations against AAP leaders, including Arvind Kejriwal, Manish Sisodia, and Satyendar Jain have the potential to damage the party's image and erode public trust.

Additionally, anti-incumbency sentiments after 10 years in power could work against AAP.

Overall, AAP faces an uphill battle in the Delhi elections, and addressing these challenges will be crucial for its success.

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

The Bharatiya Janata Party, too, is gearing up for the 2025 Delhi Legislative Assembly elections with a strong campaign strategy. The party has launched a scathing attack on the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) with the slogan "AAP-da" (disaster) and is focusing on its own slogan "parivartan" (change). This targeted campaign aims to bring the BJP back to power in Delhi after 27 years, with a focus on corruption allegations against the AAP during its ten-year rule. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has also been actively involved in the campaign, highlighting the alleged "lavish spending" in the construction of the official CM house.

The BJP has also announced its candidates for the elections, including Shri Raj Kumar Bhatia from Adarsh Nagar, Shri Deepak Chaudhary from Badli, and Shri Kulwant Rana from Rithala. They have released their election manifesto for the 2025 Delhi Legislative Assembly elections which includes initiatives like:

- Women Empowerment: The BJP has promised to provide ₹2,500 per month to women under the 'Mahila Samridhi Scheme'.
- Senior Citizen Welfare: The party has promised a pension of ₹2,500 for senior citizens between 60-70 years old and ₹3,000 for those above 70.
- LPG Subsidy: The BJP has promised to provide LPG cylinders at ₹500 to women from poor sections, along with one free cylinder on Holi and Diwali.
- Healthcare: The party has promised to approve the implementation of 'Ayushman Bharat' in Delhi and provide additional health cover of ₹5 lakh.
- Continuation of Existing Schemes: The BJP has assured that all existing public welfare schemes in Delhi will continue if the party is voted to power.

Strengths:
The BJP has a strong national presence and well-organized machinery in Delhi. The party is also leveraging the popularity of Prime Minister Narendra Modi to its advantage.

Weaknesses:
The BJP's lack of a strong local face in Delhi may hurt its chances. Moreover, the party's criticism of AAP's governance may not resonate with voters if they perceive it as negative politics. Additionally, the BJP's own manifesto has been criticized for lacking originality and mirroring AAP's initiatives, including ₹2,500 per month to women, a subsidy of ₹500 on LPG cylinders, and one free cylinder each during Holi and Diwali, among other schemes. Kejriwal has pointed out that these promises are similar to AAP's existing schemes, such as the 'Mahila Samman Yojana', which provides ₹2,100 per month to women.
This could erode the BJP's credibility and make it harder for the party to gain traction among Delhi's voters.

Indian National Congress (INC)

The Congress party is also gearing up for the 2025 Delhi Legislative Assembly elections with a strong campaign strategy. Their campaign is focused on highlighting the failures of the current AAP government, with party leaders launching an all-out attack against Arvind Kejriwal. The party is also emphasizing its own vision for Delhi's development, with promises to address key issues facing the city.

As the party aims to regain its lost influence in the capital, it has released its fourth list of candidates, featuring notable figures like three-time MLA Surender Kumar.

Their manifesto for the Delhi elections focuses on several key initiatives:

- Jeevan Raksha Yojana: This health insurance scheme aims to provide coverage of up to ₹25 lakhs for residents, modelled after a similar scheme in Rajasthan, ensuring comprehensive health coverage without restrictive conditions.
- Pyaari Didi Yojana: This initiative promises to provide ₹2,500 per month to women, reflecting Congress's focus on women empowerment and financial support.
- Focus on Key Demographics: The Congress party is targeting its traditional voter base, including Dalits, Muslims, and residents of unauthorized colonies, to recover lost ground in Delhi politics.

Strengths:
The Congress party has a strong legacy in Delhi, having ruled the city for 15 years. The party is also trying to capitalize on the anti-incumbency sentiments against AAP.

Weaknesses:
Historically, the party has struggled to revive its fortunes in the state, particularly after its disastrous performance in the 2015 assembly elections, where it failed to win a single seat. The primary reason for this weakness can be attributed to its weak organizational structure and lack of strong local leadership.

Unlike AAP and BJP who have invested heavily in building strong grassroots networks, the Congress party's organizational presence in Delhi remains limited. Additionally, the party's failure to project a credible local face has also made it difficult to resonate with Delhi's voters, a stark contrast to AAP's Arvind Kejriwal and BJP's local leaders.

CONCLUSION
As Delhi prepares to go to the polls on February 5, 2025, the stage is set for a high-stakes battle between the Aam Aadmi Party, the Bharatiya Janata Party, and the Indian National Congress, each vying for control of the national capital's 70 assembly seats with the AAP seeking to retain power, the BJP looking to regain lost ground, and the Congress hoping to revive its fortunes in the national capital.
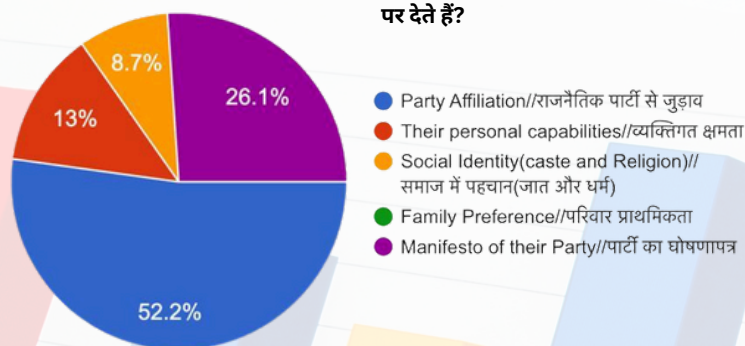
The outcome of this election will have far-reaching implications in shaping the future of India's capital city. As the campaigns reach a fever pitch, the parties are locked in a fierce contest, each seeking to sway the city's diverse electorate with promises of good governance, development, and progress.

SURVEY REPORT

The survey below is based on data collected from people aged 17-54. The survey data shows that people are seriously concerned about Delhi's governance and sanitation problems. On the **Yamuna's cleanliness problem,** a majority (73.9%) said the problem was due to the Delhi government's incompetence, while 21.7% said it was due to the central government's lack of cooperation. Similarly, on **Delhi's air quality,** 56.5% felt that the Delhi government should be held accountable, while 30.4% felt that the central government was not doing enough and were sceptical, and 82.6% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the effectiveness of its power. The data shows that people are divided between **law and regulation,** with 39.1 per cent of people in the middle on whether government regulations have improved women's safety. They strongly agree that Delhi's infrastructure is not top of the priority suitable for a major city where freebies take precedence.

There was strong criticism of the **government's spending priorities,** with 82.6 per cent of respondents agreeing or disagreeing that the Delhi government prioritizes 'philanthropy' over infrastructure. The development of public schools is a mixed bag, with varied views. The survey found that people are highly concerned about corruption, with 52.2 per cent of respondents agreeing and 17.4% strongly agreeing believing that corruption has increased in the last five years. Most respondents (82.6 per cent) prefer a political process that focuses on **long-term development** over short-term gains. The data shows that political participation is important in India, with 69.6 per cent of respondents holding a voting card and 60.9 per cent planning to vote in the upcoming Delhi elections. However, there has been a **decline in voter turnout** in the past; in the last Lok Sabha elections, only 47.8% of voters turned out to vote. In terms of voting decisions, party affiliation is the most important factor (52.2%), followed by the party manifesto (26.1%), indicating that political organization is more important than personal or community considerations when it comes to voters. There are differences between the existing Mohalla Health Centre and the proposed **Ayushman Bharat plan.** While 43.4% of the respondents were negative about replacing **Mohalla Clinic** with Ayushman Bharat, the Mohalla Clinic now receives mixed reviews; 43.5% of the respondents said they were unhappy with the impact on local health ("disagree" and "strongly disagree" responses combined). This shows openness to health reform, despite the lack of strong support for any one direction.

- **On what basis do you vote for a particular candidate?//आप किसी उम्मीदवार को वोट किस आधार पर देते हैं?**

- Party Affiliation//राजनैतिक पार्टी से जुड़ाव
- Their personal capabilities//व्यक्तिगत क्षमता
- Social Identity(caste and Religion)//समाज में पहचान(जात और धर्म)
- Family Preference//परिवार प्राथमिकता
- Manifesto of their Party//पार्टी का घोषणापत्र

- **Did you cast your vote in the last Lok Sabha elections?//क्या आपने पिछली लोकसभा चुनाव में अपना वोट डाला था?**

- Yes//हां
- No//नहीं
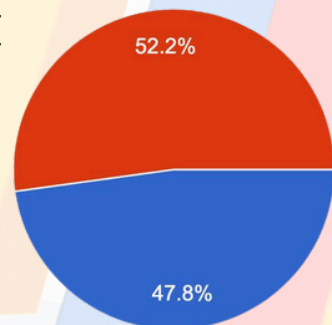
The main reason for this is the **lack of sanitation.** This clearly demonstrates public awareness of society's failure to manage the environment, but more importantly, 21.7% blamed the problem on the central government's lack of cooperation, leading to public recognition that solving **environmental problems** requires a multi-level governance solution. poll data from Delhi demonstrates the interplay between democratic participation, health preferences and environmental concerns. Despite high voter turnout and strong voting habits, recent declines in turnout suggest that some voters are growing disenchanted with the state in which they vote, which is concerning. Perhaps the 5th of February is going to be a real roller coaster ride to witness the AAP, BJP and INC tackle each other head-to-head.

-Avinash Gautam

Model code of conduct

-Prateek

The Model Code of Conduct (MCC) is a framework released by the Election Commission of India to govern the activities of political parties and candidates during the electoral process. It primarily aims to ensure free, fair, and transparent elections while keeping the contesting field equal for all players. The MCC is effective from the date of announcement of the election schedule and is applicable till the process is completed. It includes provisions regarding speeches, election manifestos, processions, and the use of government resources to prevent the misuse of power and influence.

Despite its very intention, the implementation of the MCC has been one of the recurring issues of Indian elections. The ruling parties, irrespective of their political identity, are constantly accused of disregarding these guidelines, using the state machinery to gain electoral success, and perpetuating malpractices. Over the years, the opposition parties have focused on strengthening the narrative that free and fair elections are not taking place.

Since the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has emerged as the dominant national party, the discourse surrounding the implementation of the MCC has changed. Critics and opposition parties have often accused BJP-led governments at the Centre and in the states of violating MCC norms. Charges range from biased media coverage to extravagant expenditure and misutilization of administrative resources. This has led to more debates about the fairness of the electoral process and the independence of institutions responsible for protecting democracy.

With respect to the Delhi Assembly elections, particularly, the severity of MCC violations has been glaring. To date, 570 cases of MCC violations have been registered in the capital. The cases involve hate speeches, freebies, unlicensed rallies, and vandalism of public property. If this figure is accurate, then a serious failure in the adherence to the code as well as no effective deterrents to the violators is evident. The Delhi Police has also recorded significant seizures of illegal items during the election period. These include 284 illegal firearms, 394 cartridges, and 46,682 litres of alcohol intended for distribution among voters to influence their choice. Narcotics and banned substances have also been seized in alarming quantities, with 119.51 kilograms of drugs and 1,200 illegal injections being confiscated. Such figures show how rampant attempts at undermining the democratic process are through corrupt practices.

The opposition has successfully utilized the lack of implementation of the MCC as a pretext to question the credibility of the elections. Arms, drugs, and alcohol hauls point both to attempts to influence voters as well as indicate that the ruling dispensation fails to maintain law and order in the election season. This gives substance to the opposition's claims that free and fair elections are not taking place under the ruling dispensation.

The MCC plays a pivotal role in making our elections free and fair, therefore, it is very important to understand it.

Understanding The MCC

Usually, people have a lack of awareness of MCC as it is believed that the guidelines are largely for political parties and candidates, however, that's not true. It lays these guidelines for politicians, bureaucrats and even for the media. These guidelines are as follows:

General Conduct
1. No activity that creates hatred or tension among communities is allowed.
2. Criticism of other political parties should be confined to their policies and past performance, avoiding personal attacks.
3. Political parties and candidates must refrain from making communal or caste-based appeals to garner votes.
4. No bribery, intimidation, or undue influence should be used to win votes.

Meetings and Campaigns
1. Political parties must inform local police about the time and venue of public meetings for adequate security arrangements.
2. The use of loudspeakers should adhere to the specified time limits and sound regulations.
3. Public places and government properties cannot be used for campaigning without prior permission.

Processions
1. Political parties must ensure their processions do not hinder traffic or public convenience.
2. Processions must follow the approved route and schedule.

Party in Power
1. Ministers and public officials cannot use their official positions for election campaigning.
2. Government transport, machinery, or funds cannot be used for election purposes.
3. New projects, schemes, or financial grants should not be announced after the MCC comes into force.

Election Manifestos
1. Election manifestos should avoid promising actions that may amount to corrupt practices.
2. Manifestos must be realistic and in line with the electoral laws of the country.

Polling Day
1. Canvassing near polling booths is prohibited.
2. Voters must not be offered free transportation to polling stations.

Media and Advertisements
1. Political advertisements on television and radio must be pre-approved by the Media Certification and Monitoring Committee (MCMC).
2. The use of social media for campaigning must comply with the MCC and IT laws.

Code for Polling Officials
1. Polling officials must act impartially and not favour any political party.
2. All election-related actions must be carried out in a transparent and non-discriminatory manner.

The MCC comes into effect the day the election schedule is announced. This time for the Delhi Assembly Elections 2025, the Election Commission has even directed the Government of India to not announce any Delhi-specific scheme to lure the voters in the upcoming union budget.

Model Code or Mere Code?

Now is the time to address the elephant in the room: whether we can implement the Model Code properly. To what degree are our elections free and fair? In hindsight of the Freedom House democracy index, which kept India in the partly free countries, it has become more important to investigate the very truth of our election system.

The last assembly election in Delhi was considered the most toxic election in India. Even the then-Delhi BJP chief Manoj Tiwari acknowledged the fact that hateful comments cost the party heavily in the election. However, this time there are very few such cases.

Ramesh Bidhuri, infamous for saying what should not be said by parliament at election rallies and meetings, has yet again made some remarks that should have been avoided. His sexist remarks on Priyanka Gandhi Vadra and inappropriate statements about Delhi CM Atishi's name and father have been quite popular this time. However, the Chief Election Commissioner only condemned the sexist remark by Bidhuri without naming it and ensuring strict actions, which are still awaited.

BJP's former MP Parvesh Verma and the New Delhi candidate against AAP national convener and former Delhi CM Arvind Kejriwal have been accused of distributing money by the AAP. However, Parvesh Verma has also accused Punjab officials of distributing alcohol and money among people. Furthermore, Parvesh Verma has consistently accused AAP's Punjab government of disturbing the Delhi Assembly elections.

Conclusion
Delhi is the heart of power in India. Therefore, it becomes more important to conduct free and fair elections here, to provide a good example for the rest of the country. When the term "free and fair" election is used, it does not only refer to elections whose electoral process of the casting and counting of votes is free and fair; it also includes a lot more things. Therefore, it is the duty of every citizen to ensure, in their own capacity, that the elections being conducted are democratic. The Model Code of Conduct is the guideline to ensure this, but if it is not implemented properly, then it will remain a "mere code".
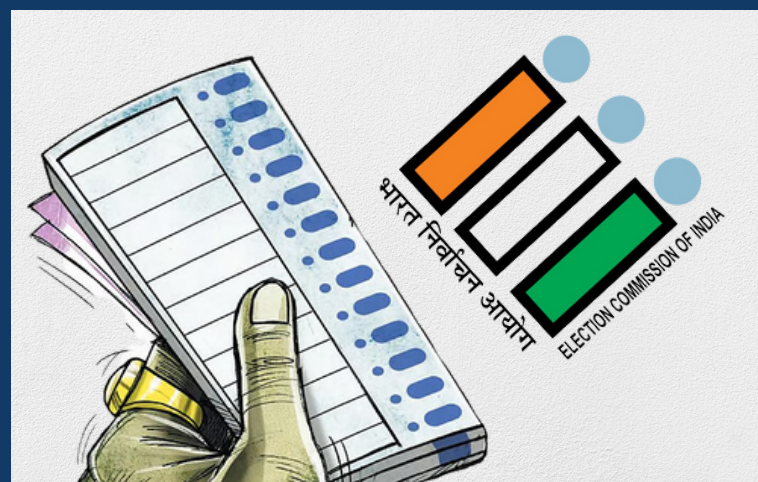
MODEL CODE OF CONDUCT

Health & Education

-Kushika Madan

As Delhi gears up for the 2025 elections, its residents are keenly awaiting the education and health policies that will define their city's future. The upcoming polls have set the stage for a crucial showdown between the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), and Congress, each vying to impress voters with their policy visions. Education and healthcare are poised to be key battlegrounds, with Delhi's voters scrutinizing each party's proposals for upgrading infrastructure, boosting teacher training, fortifying public healthcare, and alleviating financial burdens.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

The Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) has indeed made significant strides in transforming Delhi's primary education system over the last decade. When the AAP assumed power in 2015, the state of government schools was dire, plagued by crumbling infrastructure, inadequate classrooms, and poor learning outcomes. However, through sustained efforts, the AAP has successfully turned things around.

Key Initiatives and Report Card:

·   Infrastructure Revamp: Construction of over 8,000 new classrooms and refurbishment of entire school buildings, providing a conducive learning environment for students.
    Status: Achieved, but more infrastructure development is needed to cater to the growing student population.
·   Teacher Training and Capacity Building: Implementation of programs like the Mentor Teacher Program and the School Leadership Development Program to enhance teacher training and leadership skills.
   -Status: Partially achieved, with a need for more emphasis on continuous teacher training and capacity building.
·   Improved Learning Outcomes: Launch of initiatives like the "Every Child Can Read" campaign, which has helped over 1 lakh children learn to read, and the Chunauti 2018 reforms, which have reduced the dropout rate.
    Status: Achieved, but more focus is needed on improving learning outcomes, particularly in mathematics and science.

Critical Analysis:

Despite the AAP's notable progress in transforming Delhi's primary education system, several challenges persist. To ensure long-term impact, the AAP's initiatives must prioritize sustainability, guaranteeing that gains are not reversed. Additionally, scalability is crucial, as the growing student population demands adaptable solutions. Most importantly, the AAP must intensify its focus on equity and inclusivity, bridging the educational divide for disadvantaged groups, including girls and children from low-income backgrounds, to guarantee equal access to quality education.

HEALTH CARE

The Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) has revolutionized Delhi's healthcare system, transforming it into a model for others to emulate. When the AAP assumed power in 2015, Delhi's healthcare was in disarray with a nonexistent primary healthcare system, severe medicine shortages, and overcrowded hospitals with excruciating wait times.

Key Initiatives and Report Card:

·   **Strengthened Primary Healthcare System:** The AAP has established 520 Mohalla Clinics, providing free primary healthcare services to residents.
 Status: Achieved, with plans for further expansion.
·   **Free Medicines and Diagnostics:** The AAP has ensured the availability of 125 free medicines and diagnostics, reducing out-of-pocket expenses for patients.
 Status: Achieved, with plans for further expansion.
·   **Improved Hospital Infrastructure:** The AAP has upgraded hospital infrastructure, reducing wait times and improving patient care.
 -**Status:** Partially achieved, with ongoing efforts to further improve hospital infrastructure.
·   **Covid-19 Management:** The AAP handled Covid-19 challenges effectively, setting up makeshift hospitals, increasing testing, and providing financial support to affected families.
  Status: Achieved, with Delhi's Covid-19 management being cited as a model for other states.

The AAP's efforts in transforming Delhi's healthcare system have been notable. However, there are still challenges that need to be addressed, such as further expanding primary healthcare services and improving hospital infrastructure.

Proposals by Political parties for the education sector

I. AAP's Agenda

The AAP manifesto promises to continue its efforts to improve Delhi's government schools. Key proposals include:

Ø Retaining the existing scheme of free electricity up to 200 units and 50% subsidy rebate beyond 200 units.
Ø Expanding the benefit of free bus travel to all male school and college students, along with a 50% discount on Delhi Metro fares.
Ø Implementing the Dr. Ambedkar Samman Scholarship Yojana to provide coverage of fees and staying/travel costs for Dalit students pursuing higher education abroad.

II. BJP's Agenda

The BJP manifesto outlines a holistic approach to education, focusing on quality, accessibility, and skill development. Key proposals include:

Ø Ensuring 100% Gross Enrollment Ratio from pre-school to secondary level.
Ø Strengthening the network of PM SHRI Schools, Ekalavya Schools, and other schools as per the NEP to make them world-class.
Ø Implementing the "One Nation, One Student ID" initiative to store academic qualifications, credit scores, and certificates.

III. Congress' Agenda

The Congress manifesto emphasizes social diversity, inclusivity, and employment opportunities. Key proposals include:

Ø Establishing a network of residential schools for poor students, especially SC and ST students, in every block.
Ø Doubling the number of scholarships for SC and ST students to pursue Ph.D. programs.
Ø Implementing the Yuva Nyay programme to provide a monthly payout of ₹8,500 to jobless youth in the state for one year, along with apprenticeships in local industries.

Proposals by Political parties for the health sector

I. AAP's Agenda

Ø Free Healthcare for Senior Citizens: The AAP has promised free healthcare in both private and government hospitals for senior citizens under the Sanjeevani Yojana, with no income cap.
Ø Pension Benefits for Differently-Abled Individuals: The AAP plans to extend pension benefits to differently-abled individuals with a monthly benefit of ₹5,000.

II. BJP's Agenda

Ø Ayushman Bharat Scheme: The BJP has promised to implement the Ayushman Bharat scheme in Delhi, providing a health cover of ₹10 lakh for medical treatment of senior citizens and poor families.
Ø Mobile Health Units: The BJP plans to set up mobile health units in underserved areas.
Ø Matru Suraksha Vandana Scheme: The BJP has announced plans to provide six nutritional kits and ₹21,000 to every pregnant woman under this scheme.

III. Congress' Agenda

Ø Jeevan Raksha Yojana: The Congress party has promised to provide ₹25 lakh health insurance coverage to all Delhi residents under this Yojana.

Delhi's future hinges on comprehensive healthcare and primary education. A winning vision must prioritize accessibility, affordability, and quality in healthcare, ensuring every resident has access to world-class medical facilities. In education, it must promote inclusivity, equity, and excellence, providing every child with a solid foundation for future success.
By focusing on the well-being and empowerment of its citizens, Delhi can drive growth, prosperity, and become a national model for development.

EXPERT OPINION

FORMER CHIEF ELECTION COMMISSIONER

SUPREME COURT ADVOCATES

LEADING ECONOMIST

Correspondence with a former CEC

Q) Over a decade has passed since you served as the Chief Election Commissioner. Since then, social media usage has increased drastically in electoral campaigning; this has been clear in the rounds of campaigning that have been occurring in the Delhi Assembly elections as well. This is linked to the nomenclature of the era that we live In. The "post-truth" world, where it's very easy to come up with AI-morphed videos or statements or WhatsApp forwards. How do you view the electoral and political discourse in light of these challenges?

I personally feel it's a major challenge. The 2014 general elections were the first "social media election" and were officially described this way. Since then, social media has assumed very serious and alarming proportions. Fake news, deep fakes and rumours have multiplied manyfold. So rumours have always been a problem in elections for decades, but in this age, when fake news can spread to millions of people in just a minute, the situation has become very serious. This is why the Election Commission came out with a regulatory framework about 10 years ago. Many people pounced on the Election Commission, asking how they could regulate Social Media. At that point in time, I wrote an article on Outlook, arguing that Social Media also falls under the rubric of Media, which is subject to rules and regulations. In the context of elections, there are two regulations. Number one, you have to submit the expenditure incurred in advertising in a declaration to the Election Commission.

Number two, campaigns on social media also need to be regulated the way television and newspapers are. The next question therefore was: How do you catch the offenders? They are all anonymous. I wrote that the difficulty of catching offenders cannot be the reason to abstain from making laws. It is difficult to catch rapists and dacoits: does that mean we should legalise their crimes? It may be difficult to catch those spreading fake news on social media now but it should become easier later. So you need to make laws. This is what has happened in the past few years. In the age of deepfakes and artificial intelligence, these have serious implications. However, there are benefits too along with the dangers. We can use Artificial Intelligence to detect fraudulence and cheating, just like we can use artificial intelligence to cheat and defraud people. This is the situation in the whole world, stretching beyond elections. The whole world has to face this challenge and we have to find guarantees that there will be safeguards against deepfakes which can set the whole country on fire in one minute. This is why we have to act very responsibly and have to be very concerned.

One (partial) solution which I have tried to suggest over these years has been muti-phase elections. This is a way to save lives. There used to be 100s of murders on the polling booths 20 years ago. Ever since we started deploying paramilitary forces, this violence has disappeared. The availability of these forces is limited though. For instance, we negotiated with the Home Ministry and they gave us 800 companies. The number of sensitive and hypersensitive booths is very high. So, we recycled these forces in two phases so that all the sensitive booths are covered. Now, while the forces take four to five days to move from one phase to another, the Goondas in their swank SUVs move to the next constituency in, say, six hours. So it gets neutralised. Secondly, in the Social Media Age, with prolonged two-and-a-half-month elections, all kinds of negative publicity can go on. So it is better and safer to reduce it to the shortest duration. So I have suggested in one of my articles in the Indian Express that we can do the elections in 32 days, in one phase, but we will need adequate paramilitary forces – say about 4000 companies in one go. One company has about 80 to 100 people. So, give us 4000 companies at one go but only for one month and not for three months. So that's an immediate response.
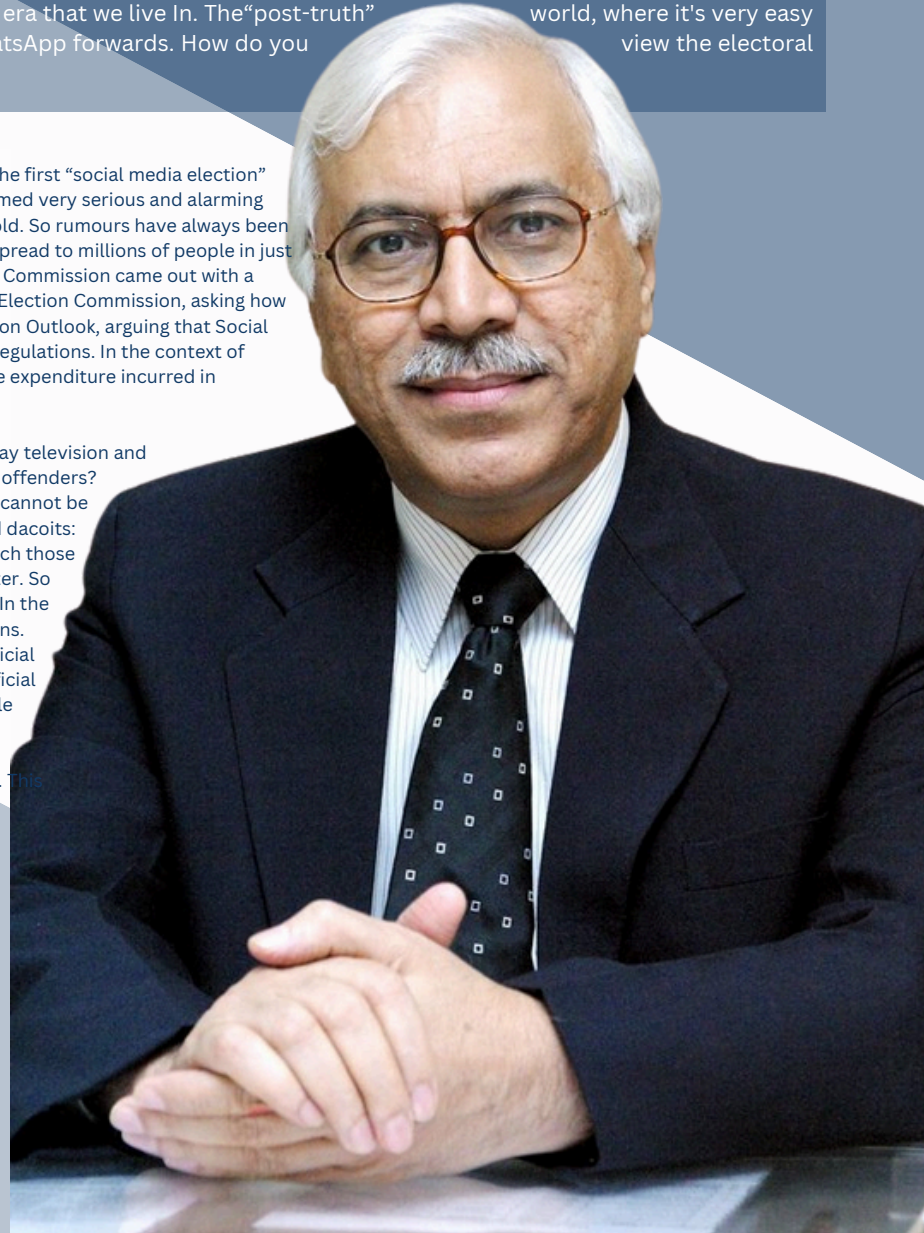
Dr SY Quraishi

S. Y. Quraishi is the former Chief Election Commissioner of India and was the 17th Chief Election Commissioner of India from 30 July 2010. He previously held the position of Election Commissioner with the Election Commission of India. Prior to joining the Commission, he was Secretary, of the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, Government of India and Special Secretary (Health) & Director General of the National AIDS Control Organization. Quraishi also pioneered India's biggest AIDS awareness programme and IEC campaign, 'Universities Talk AIDS'. Dr Quraishi has published a number of books and articles on issues related to democracy, elections, HIV AIDS and family planning, social marketing, women and child development and youth. His book Social Marketing for Social Change (1998) broke new ground in the field of development communication. He is also the author of An Undocumented Wonder: The Making of the Great Indian Election (2014). Dr Quraishi was an International IDEA Board Member from 2012-2021.

With the push for "One Nation, One Election," how do you think this initiative will impact the dynamics of local governance in Delhi, particularly concerning the representation of grassroots issues?

Well, since you are referring only to Delhi, you would have noticed that the one nation, one election principle has been in practice in many states. But in Delhi, the Aam Aadmi Party won 67 seats out of 70. A few months later, the BJP won all 7 Lok Sabha seats. So what if the elections were held simultaneously? The proponents of One Nation, One Election say that the voter is very intelligent and they vote very cleverly. For instance, they may look at Odisha, where the voters vote for one party at the Lok Sabha Level and another party for the Vidhan Sabha Elections. But there is a study which shows that if the elections are held simultaneously, 77% people vote for the same party, and if the elections are delayed by six months, this figure comes down to 61 %. With a further delay, you may have a situation like the Delhi results, with dramatically opposite results. If they were simultaneous, we don't know what would have happened to the Delhi Assembly Elections or the seven constituencies.

With the ongoing debates around electoral freebies and their potential violation of the Model Code of Conduct, how do you believe the Election Commission can effectively enforce regulations to ensure a level playing field during elections in Delhi?

The issue of freebies has been extensively debated for the last 15 years and it even went up to supreme court in 2013. I feel that it is impossible to stop freebies because they are declared through the manifesto of the parties. The manifesto is a legitimate legal document of the political party. Political parties have to announce their policies and programmes to the people, so that they choose their party. So the case went up to the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court, instead of declaring freebies illegal, because it's impossible and not practical, referred it to the Election Commission, asking them to frame some guidelines. The Election Commission realised that this is not feasible, but went through the drill half-heartedly since the Supreme Court asked them to. All the political parties pounced on the Election Commission: how dare you stop us; shall we not announce our programmes through our manifesto? So the Election Commission came out with extremely wishy-washy guidelines: "you should be responsible in making announcements". There is no way that the Election Commission can monitor this though. Some people say that the Election Commission should monitor whether you fulfilled your promises five years ago or not. How can the Election Commission sit in judgement? It is for hte voter to sit in judgement and for the political parties and the media to remind the voters about the promises made in the past and whether they have been fulfilled or not, on the basis of which voters should decide. So, the Election Commission should not be dragged into it. Unfortunately, the same situation continues today and has become extremely dirty. At the same time, perhaps it will neutralise itself. Every party is offering more of the same: somebody a bicycle, the others a motorcycle, and so on. So maybe the situation will come that you will be getting something regardless of the party you vote for; maybe even the same thing. Once we had gone to Tamil Nadu and Kerala. The elections in Tamil Nadu have a significant financial component to them since money plays a huge role. The next day, we went to Kerala and when we asked a politician about the financial scene in Kerala's elections, he told us that there is no such problem. We were very surprised and asked them why this was the case despite Tamil Nadu having such a long border with Kerala? In fact, Kerala has the additional issue of petrodollars coming in! He said that the voters in Kerala are smart and cannot be bribed. They vote according to their conscience even if offered money. Hence, the politicians do not waste their money because they aren't in a position to ascertain their vote. So, this is what has to be made a part of Voter Education. They have to be told that all the parties are going to offer you something or the other anyway; it is on them to vote as per their conscience.

They must in fact vote against anyone attempting to overdo this since it is wreaking havoc on India's economy. After all, where does the money for all these lavish promises come from? There are many direct benefits and transfers that are very good. I have in fact been supporting them. There was a time when Rajiv Gandhi said if one sanctions 100 rupees, only 15 rupees will reach the people; then if a television was promised, only an empty box would reach the people. Now, at least you know that a television will reach the people. It is a shortcut to enriching the people. The sustainable solution would be to enable the people to earn the television themselves, but that will take a long time. That is why all these shortcuts are resorted to. Irresponsible promises which are difficult to fulfil ultimately will lead to a rise in taxation. All of us taxpayers will be paying money for the irresponsible behaviour of the politicians.

As urban migration continues to shape Delhi's demographics, how should the Election Commission adapt its strategies to ensure that the electoral needs and voices of newly settled populations are adequately represented?

Migration is a constant phenomenon all over the country and not just in Delhi. You have people migrating from villages to big towns and cities all the time. The challenge for the Election Commission is to update the electoral rules so that one doesn't lose their right to vote. Suppose you come from Bihar to Delhi and you aren't registered to vote here, it may not be easy for you to go back to Bihar. Hence the rules provide the choice to the voter to enroll at your new place. In fact the law is that you should be enrolled at a place where you permanently reside. Permanent residence is defined for a period of 6 months or more. So even if you are coming as a student for more than 6 months, you can enroll in Delhi and after 3 years when you go back to your town, you can change your residence. It's very easy now. It used to be very difficult earlier to get your name cancelled there and registered here. This issue came up a while before I served as the Chief Election Commissioner and we simplified the process. So, you have to fill up Form 6 and give details of your previous address in the place where you used to vote earlier. It will then be our duty to get it deleted from there and registered here; the onus is on us. So, you have to discharge your responsibility just to ensure that you are registered in the new place. There are many voters who continue to be registered at their homeplace. That is there choice; they think that they need political power there. So it is up to them. The issue however is that when the elections happen, they have to go back and it costs them money. Sometimes, even re-elections may be held! Even for simultaneous elections, there may be elections 100 days apart. Now, you cannot expect that you come back for the Lok Sabha elections and then have to return once more after 100 days. Your employer may not give you leave to do so, in which case you may not be able to vote. This will take away your Right to Vote. Ideally, you should get yourself registered where you are currently living, but it is up to you to decide where you need political empowerment: back at home, or where you are currently living. According to me, you need political empowerment here because if you do not become voters, your colonies won't be registered and you won't get facilities. You need political power here and you need to be registered because if you aren't, nobody will even come to you.

Are you satisfied with the extent to which the discourse in mainstream media has responded to this challenge, given how you feel that this is a serious problem?

Well, the mainstream media is irrelevant now. You don't wait for tomorrow morning to read the newspaper. On social media, you'll get the news in the next 30 seconds. To that extent, it is a good thing. It ultimately depends on if you are using it destructively to spread negativity, or if you are using it positively to send out constructive messages.

Delhi as a metropolitan city attracts people across the nation. It has therefore also acquired a cosmopolitan nature with different groups: linguistic, ethnic, religious and so on. There is a lot of stratification even within cities in certain areas which promotes segmentation and cultural disjunction. As a result, in the mainstream political discourse, there is this notion that illegal migrants, often described as Bangladeshis or Rohingyas, have been added en masse to voter lists. A lot of voters seem to have caught on to this. Is it that easy to distort the voter list, or is this just an act of Xenophobia?

For instance, the local school teacher generally knows everybody and they can go from house to house to see whether every voter's name is there. If not, they may give you Form 6. In case there is an error, they will give you Form 8 to make the correction. In case a neighbour is dishonest and tells them that you have migrated, your name cannot be unilaterally deleted by the Electoral Officers. You have to be given a notice period of seven days during which you will be visited personally and a written notice will be pasted outside your door so that nobody can have your name deleted by cheating you.

No, it is not easy at all. When you apply for Form 6 as a voter, our Booth Level Officer visits that home and talks to the neighbours for cross-verification. Even for homeless people, in case a beggar comes to us and tells us that he has no home but sleeps under a certain tree or outside a particular shop, we enquire from the neighbours and shopkeepers to ascertain the same. We cannot bar him from elections. So there is a door-to-door verification. It is only out of carelessness, mischief or corruption that there may be a lapse in this process. Serious action is taken in response to this dereliction of duty. The Election Commission has to be very vigilant. Of course, political parties try to abuse the system by pushing in bogus voters and getting genuine ones deleted: "Oh this guy is dead"; "This guy is very much alive"; "He lives here"; "This person has emigrated to Bombay". This thing happens all the time and the Election Commission has the primary role to be vigilant and stop this. The Booth Level Officer is generally a local person.

I think then that these notions are xenophobic and any dishonesty in these electoral rolls is due to political manipulation rather than groups coming in as "intruders".

Absolutely. Politics today is unfortunately not just competitive. It has become very very dirty. The Election Commission is concerned about this and aims at making politics clean. I suggest that all of you download the Model Code of Conduct. This was a creation of Political Parties themselves which aimed at keeping the election campaign clean and free of personal attacks, distribution of liquor, disruption of party meetings, and other forms of corruption. The Model Code of Conduct is a great document and it needs to be enforced. Wherever there is a laxity in its enforcement, it will lead to problems.

The team in conversation with Dr SY Quraishi

Correspondence with SC lawyers

What is the rationality behind the advocacy of freebees in the current politics? How should the checks and balances be maintained, ensuring the welfare of the state as well as the people?

Adv Mangi Ram Sharma

Presence of a deficit in budgets year after year is a giving of the freebie culture to a very great extent. Post subsidisation when resources are made available to the public free of cost, the willingness to work to attain so eventually fades away. Universal direct benefit transfers (DBTs) also need to be reduced considering as this approach was meant only the serve the most backward and deprived communities. When beneficiaries transcend beyond this demography

What defines the elections in a single line?

Adv Atiq-ur- Rehman

"हर शाख पर उल्लू बैठा है अंजाम गुलिस्ताँ क्या होगा" , following the lines of integral conscious cleanliness before trying to clean the politics of nation is of prime importance. The politicians nowadays aim to pacify their interests motivated by selfish means towards an unjust end. Rather than working for the holistic development of state, they often get involved in corrupt and immoral malpractices that denude the public trust in the system.
But I also ask, isn't the population itself responsible for the representatives it elects?
The rulers mindset of the power holders these days gradually even starts to define the aspirations of population

The promises made by the regime of Delhi government seems an objectified shortcoming considering the basic right to livelihood as mentioned in various Supreme and High Court judgements, including Olga Tellis vs Bombay Municipal Corporation are unheard when the topics of air pollution and Yamuna cleanliness come to play?

Adv Avtar Singh Rawat

The right to livelihood does not imply that one has to survive . It rather implies a life with dignity and availability of other life sustaining amenities. Vegetative existence or that devoid of a respectable and dignified life is not what we seek.
The simple line of comparison between Yamuna's condition in Uttarakhand and Delhi is a very clear reflection of the cities' water and waste management policies.
It is the pollutants in the later half of the river primarily in Delhi, further worsened by the industrial affluents drained in, which majorly contributes to the deteriorating health of Yamuna. Perhaps the steps taken by the respective governments shall be the only benchmark which can ensure and appreciative status of the river and the air pollution levels, the corruption at every juncture has to be comprehended by the authorities to increase the effectiveness of the governance.

In the upcoming Delhi Elections, freebies is one of the biggest USPs of every major political party hence are there any constitutional provisions to keep a check on such provisions?

Adv Anil Srivastava

Hon'ble courts have made it significantly evident that such electoral policies are completely upon the wishes of the government i.e executive and ultimately the people themselves. Moreover, gradually, the efforts are made in the direction of promoting freebies rather working on the principles of urban and rural development. It is high time to revisit the policies. The government takes to ensure the welfare of the citizens.

Correspondence with a leading economist

Rajnish: Hello sir, we basically wanted to know the economical aspect of Delhi elections . So, sir, what are your thought on freebies?It all started from Delhi government and then the other governments fell in line following the same, in Maharashtra, in Jharkhand and now in Bihar, so what is your informed take on this?

So, these are, you know, words—powerful words. When you use terms like *revdi* or freebies, they are loaded words. The moment you call something a freebie, how can you then talk about its benefits?
On the other hand, for the past five years, India has been providing free food—five kilos of wheat, rice, or millets—every month to 810 million people. That's 81 crore men, women, and children receiving free food every month for five years. A kilo of rice—uh, Raj, do you know the price of a kilo of rice in the local market?

Around 55-60.. I think..i don't have very precise information for that sir

Student toh ho na? Basmati is probably around ₹55, but regular rice costs about ₹25-30 per kilo. Now, the government is providing it for free—at zero cost to the recipient. However, the production cost of that rice is ₹25 per kilo. So, the government procures it for ₹25 and then distributes it for free. Now, imagine the difference—₹25 per kilo. To simplify, let's round it to ₹20 per kilo. If a person receives 5 kilos, how much does that amount to? ₹100, right?
So, ₹100 per person every month. Now, multiply that by 12 months—₹100 into 12. How much does that come to? ₹1200-

yes sir, that makes sense

But that's just one person. Now, multiply ₹1,200 by 81 crore—*kitna ho sakta hai?* It's a massive number, and this has been happening for five years. Yet, no one talks about it. Toh uske baare mein toh koi nahi bolta hai. Nobody calls it a freebie.
Let's not load this discussion with words like freebies and *revadies*—I do agree with that. As it is, elections have increasingly become a race to the bottom, with parties simply offering free cash or goods to voters. And voters have become smarter—they are demanding.
In the Maharashtra elections, which concluded in November, the government gave ₹2,000 per woman to 2.46 crore women, regardless of whether they were high-income or low-income. The annual burden of this scheme is ₹63,000 crore. Meanwhile, the Maharashtra government already has a debt of ₹7 lakh crore—a massive debt mountain. On top of that, they have to pay ₹40,000 crore in interest alone, which cannot be avoided. Now, add another ₹63,000 crore to the expenses. What is the justification for this?
I don't have a straightforward answer. I do believe that this tendency to hand out free stuff is problematic. At the same time, I agree with the idea that basic necessities should be covered. For example, the Delhi government announced that families would receive 100–200 liters of water and 100 units of electricity for free. If policies are structured intelligently—where basic needs are met within a limit, and anything beyond that is charged—it can be justified. Some argue that such policies improve food security, but then, are we saying that 81 crore out of 140 crore Indians are poor? On the other hand, the government claims that India's poverty rate has dropped to 5%, which means only about 7 crore people are officially poor. If that's the case, why are we extending these benefits to those who aren't in need?

I agree that we need to design policies in a way that genuinely benefits the needy. But this reckless distribution of cash, simply to escalate political competition, is dangerous. It will be very, very damaging to our fiscal situation.

Do you think that legal bodies should take action in this matter or the parliament should enact a law for the same ?

The Central government is providing fertilizers worth one lakh crore. I told you about the food subsidy, and there are several other similar initiatives as well. It's not as if the central government isn't doing the same thing. The Union government is also using similar means to appeal to the public. Either way, it's unfortunate.

Do you think that a proper law should be enacted because these tendencies are increasing day by day so just to- curtail them all , a formal sanction is necessary?

Do you know that the Finance Minister is going to present the budget on the 1st of February? She will propose a budget of around ₹42 lakh crore, or based on expectations, possibly ₹44 lakh crore. Out of this, 77% is allocated solely to pensions, salaries, interest payments, and revenue expenditure. Of course, nobody calls this a freebie, but it results in a massive government expenditure—around ₹20-23 lakh crore. Take the Indian Army and the Indian Railways, for example—they are spending more on pensions than on salaries. That means they are paying more to retired personnel than to those currently working.
And yet, this isn't considered a freebie. But we do need to plan for these things carefully. I think this is a much bigger topic that needs to be addressed.

yes sir!. My last question shall end on a slightly different note. Do you think that the youth particularly from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya pradesh, are focused only on securing government jobs? Considering the low success rate of these endeavours and the significant portion of the working population involved all trying to reach out to the same goal in some way hampers the extent of growth that could otherwise have been achieved ?

It's not just in UP, Bihar, or Madhya Pradesh; this happens in Maharashtra and other parts of India as well. People spend four to five years of their lives preparing, attempting, and re-attempting the same exam over and over again. Now, the maximum age limit for attempting the UPSC exam is 32, whereas for NEET, it has been completely removed. I believe reserved category candidates have been granted an unlimited number of attempts. If you look at a small group of aspirants in Pune, Mumbai, or Delhi, they undergo intensive coaching. Their parents spend around ₹60,000 per year on it, and they keep trying.
The success rate is dismal—less than one percent. It's a terrible waste of time, a terrible waste of youth. Even at the age of 27 or 29, many of them are doing nothing but part-time jobs—*koi padha raha hai, koi tuition le raha hai.* Their entire mental energy is consumed by preparing for this one exam, which they believe defines their life. The mindset is: *Ek exam aapne crack kiya toh next 37 saal 'raj' karenge.*

sir don't you think the government should encourage the youth to invest more -

Government nahi, aap log hi kuch karo. Why should the government do everything? *Aap log karo na bhaiya.* You're the leaders, baba. Hindu College is one of the most elite and prestigious institutions in India—let's not depend on the government to handhold us and guide us through everything.
I'll tell you a story. When India became independent in 1947, the Congress party had already existed before the independence movement. So, Congress leader Nehru became the Prime Minister of India. He instructed his party workers to travel across the length and breadth of the country and inform people that India was now free, that the British had left. *Hum azad ho gaye.*
But do you know what the people's response was? When the workers said, "*British chale gaye,*" the people would ask, "*Accha, British chale gaye? Toh ab yahan par kaun raaj karega?*" The truth is, *praja hi prabhu hai.* You are the rulers. So please, let go of this mindset that government will do this and government will do that. Yeh *humko hi karna hai.*
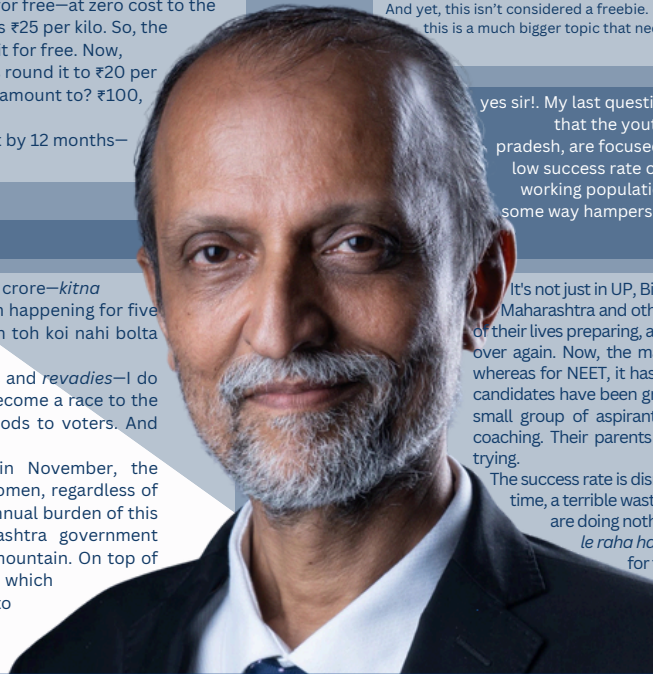
Dr Ajit Ranade

Dr. Ajit Ranade is an Independent Director of CCIL since November 2022.
He is a noted Economist and has served as the Vice Chancellor at Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics ("GIPE").
Prior to his joining GIPE, he was the Group Executive President and Chief Economist with the Aditya Birla Group. His over thirty years career has spanned academic, research and corporate assignments. Prior to the Aditya Birla Group, he was Chief Economist and Head of Microfinance Business at ABN Amro Bank. He has been a faculty member at the Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research, a deemed University funded by the Reserve Bank of India. He has also taught in the U.S.A. at Brown University, Holy Cross College, Wesleyan University, and at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. He has also been Professor at Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER), New Delhi.
He holds a M.A. and Ph.D. (Economics) from Brown University, USA, B.Tech in Electrical Engineering from Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay and MBA from Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad.

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- 113 General Elections of State Assemblies and 3 Lok Sabha Elections in about 10 Lakh Polling Stations successfully conducted through EVMs since 2000.

- Now EVMs enhanced with **Voter Verifiable Paper Audit Trail (VVPAT)** to strengthen the voter trust.

VVPAT: An independent printer system attached with the Electronic Voting Machines (EVM) that allows the voters to verify that their votes are cast as intended.

*

VVPAT: Myths and Realities

Myth 1 : **VVPAT slips are collected by the voter.**
Reality : Incorrect. VVPAT slips cannot be touched by the voter. However they are visible to voter for seven seconds behind a transparent screen, at the end of which they fall into the sealed compartment in the VVPAT.

Myth 2 : **VVPAT print will not last more than 15-30 days.**
Reality : Incorrect. The print on the thermal paper used lasts for more than five years.

Myth 3 : **VVPAT takes photo of the voter, thereby compromising secrecy of votes.**
Reality : Incorrect. VVPAT has no camera and it can't take any photograph of the voter.

Myth 4 : **Election Commission doesn't have requisite number of VVPATs for use in all polling stations for the elections to Lok Sabha to be held in 2019.**
Reality : Incorrect. ECI is committed to 100% deployment of VVPATs with EVMs at all polling stations in all future elections to the Parliament and state Legislative Assemblies. VVPATs shall be available as per the requirement.

Myth 5 : **Large number of VVPATs stop working resulting in stoppage of polls.**
Reality : Incorrect. There have been some instances of VVPATs stopping during polls. However, adequate reserves are provided for replacing such VVPATs.

Name of State/UT	Elections in which EVMs used	No. of Polling Stations in the State
State	Year	Number
Andhra Pradesh	2004, 2009, 2014	43129
Arunachal Pradesh	2004,2009, 2014	2191
Assam	2001, 2006, 2011, 2016	27267
Bihar	2000, 2005, 2010, 2015	62780
Chhattisgarh	2000, 2003, 2008, 2013	23411
Goa	2002, 2007, 2012, 2017	1642
Gujarat	2002, 2007, 2012, 2017	50264
Haryana	2000, 2005, 2009, 2014	17046
Himachal Pradesh	2003, 2007, 2012, 2017	4749
Jammu & Kashmir	2000, 2004, 2009, 2014	10641
Jharkhand	2000, 2005, 2010, 2014	29424
Karnataka	2004, 2008, 2013, 2018	56696
Kerala	2001, 2006, 2011, 2016	24460
Madhya Pradesh	2003, 2008, 2013	65200
Maharashtra	2004, 2009, 2014	91451
Manipur	2002, 2007, 2012, 2017	2817
Meghalaya	2003, 2008, 2013, 2018	3082
Mizoram	2003, 2008, 2013	1148
Nagaland	2003, 2008, 2013, 2018	2194
Orissa	2000, 2004, 2009, 2014	35896
Punjab	2002, 2007, 2012, 2017	23089
Rajasthan	2003, 2008, 2013	51227
Sikkim	2004, 2009, 2014	549
Tamil Nadu	2001, 2006, 2011, 2016	65972
Tripura	2003, 2008, 2013, 2018	3214
Uttar Pradesh	2002, 2007, 2012, 2017	159957
Uttarakhand	2002, 2007, 2012, 2017	10870
West Bengal	2001, 2006, 2011, 2017	77354
Delhi	2003, 2006, 2011, 2017	13418
Puducherry	2001, 2006, 2011, 2016	913

EVMs ended the days of booth capturing and the delays and errors in counting ballot papers.

Counting is now over in 3 to 6 hours whereas earlier it was 24 to 48 Hours.

Earlier during the times of ballot paper, large number of votes in each Assembly constituency ended up being invalid. This was higher than the winning margin in several elections (Source: Study by Indian School of Business ISB). With the usage of EVMs, no vote gets invalidated.

The EVMs and VVPATS are manufactured only at two premium PSUs - ECIL (Electronics Corporation of India Limited) and BEL (Bharat Electronics Limited) under the technical expertise of an independent Technical Expert Committee and supervision of the Election Commission making them absolutely tamper proof.

VVPATs have been used in 933 State Assembly Constituencies and 18 Parliamentary Constituencies. Till date, VVPATs have been used in all ACs at 100% polling stations during the General Assembly Elections in 7 States of Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Gujarat, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura and Karnataka, held in 2017-18.

davp 52101/13/0007/1819

Election Commission of India

URL: www.eci.nic.in

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VVPAT

—Ayushi priya

Amidst the incessant cacophony of roaring chants and sloganeering , election campaigns, partisan rhetorics, and political debates, there is but singular silent sentinel - a custodian that stands tall to its purpose , ensuring the integrity of the democratic process in India- the elections.

The Voter Verifiable Paper Audit Trail (VVPAT) machine- an adjunct system attached to the electronic voting machine (EVM) is overlooked and often underappreciated . The VVPAT machine is not merely a fancy piece of technology; rather it forms the bedrock of trust for the voters in India's electoral system. In a country with varied perspectives, diverse ethnocultural backgrounds and an innate dissonance amongst perspectives, the credibility of institutions is often questioned and made to stand in a dock. The VVPAT machine hence becomes a rare symbol of transparency and accountability. Its importance shall not be undermined or overstated as its role as the safeguard of democracy deserves both public acceptance and applaud.

The VVPAT machine, initially introduced in the assembly constituency of Noksen in Nagaland in September 2013 is a simple yet revolutionary device. It releases a paper slip that allowing the voters who are casting their votes into the EVMs to verify that their vote has been cast accurately and recorded as intended. This slip is visible for 7 seconds before it gets deposited into a sealed box, acting as a form of physical evidence of the vote being recorded. As a pilot project in 2014 Indian general elections- 8 of the 543 parliamentary constituencies used the VVPAT system. In the 2017 assembly elections of entire Goa, VVPATs were used for the first time in the entire UT. From 2019 however, all 543 constituencies got VVPATs along with EVM machines in the general election. In an era where electronic voting machines (EVMs) have faced severe skepticism and allegations of tampering to no end, the VVPAT serves as a tangible assurance to the voters and the institutions alike that their voice matters and will not be silenced by forms technical glitches or physical tampering of sorts or malfeasance.

Even the sample counting of VVPATs across both the general elections in 2019 and several other assembly elections for instance that allow the voter to confirm whether the mandate matches the choice made on the EVM, have shown that the mismatch between the VVPAT recount and the EVM count has been miniscule- as an outcome of trivial errors such as non deletion of mock polls in the machine before the voting process or errors in manual recording of the final count of the machine

Critics of EVMs have often argued that electronic systems are vulnerable to different forms hacking or manipulation. Some also suggest that it has additionally introduced potential vulnerabilities that did not exist with the standalone nature of EVMs. While there has been no concrete evidence to support these claims in India so far, the mere undercurrent of this perception of vulnerability can seem erode the public trust in the electoral process. Blockchain technology can be looked at as a viable means to fix this technologically centric apprehension but the advancements appear to be far off from the time that this idea could actually bear into reality. The VVPAT machine however addresses this concern with a head-on approach by providing a verifiable paper trail that can easily be audited in case of controversies or disputes.

The importance of VVPATs was also reiterated by the Supreme Court of India, which has consistently emphasized upon the need for transparency in the elections. Post previously enacted electoral reforms, and several more yet to come, we look at the judiciary as torchbearers of justice. As of 2019, the apex court had mandated the Election Commission of India (ECI) to increase the number of VVPAT slips verified from one polling booth per constituency to a total of five. This decision seemingly was a victory, as it assisted in reinforcing the principle that every vote counts and shall be equally subject to scrutiny. The Court's timely intervention was also a reminder that democracy is not just about merely about casting of votes but about also ensuring that each one of these votes are both accurately recorded and counted as well.

In the age of misinformation and fake news, the VVPAT machine also acts as a bulwark against the baseless allegations from conspiracy theorists and those who wish to unnecessarily waste state funds in reconduction of elections by creating false narratives and spreading propagandist theories against the institutions. Political parties and candidates often also resort to questioning the legitimacy of election results when the outcome does not seem to favor them. The VVPAT also provides an irrefutable physical record that can be used to validate the results, thereby also reducing the scope for post-election disputes and any forms of unrest. It is a tool that facilitates not only the strengthening of democracy but also fostering political stability.

However , despite its undeniable benefits, the use of VVPAT machines also comes along with several challenges. The process of counting of VVPAT slips is time-consuming and also labor-intensive, which often ends up delaying the declaration of the results. Additionally, the limited number of slips that are verified (currently five per constituency) has also led to calls for greater amount of scrutiny. While some of the activists and political parties have demanded for a higher percentage of VVPAT slips be counted to ensure complete transparency, these concerns however so valid, should not detract us from the importance of the VVPAT system. It is meant to only complement the purpose that the EVMs play, and not replace it. Instead, the public sentiment could be used to serve as a catalyst for improving the process and addressing logistical hurdles in the actual process of conduction of elections altogether.

The election commission of India must persistently train the poll workers, making facilities to ensure that the counting process is streamlined, furthermore raising awareness among voters regarding the importance of both the EVMs & VVPATs. All the more, of their votes itself. Political parties must share responsibilities to educate the voters and their supporters, ensuring free and fair elections nationwide. VVPATs should not be viewed with suspicion, rather efforts should be made to embrace it as a mechanism to build trust.

The VVPAT machine as a silent protector; is witness to the country's commitment to democratic values. With 1.4 billion people, making us the largest democracy in the world, where elections prove to be a mammoth exercise in both logistical and coordination terms, the VVPAT serves as a testament to ensure that every voice in the form of a vote is heard.

Student Body Election

-Adamya Sharma

One of the most poignant sources to enter electoral politics are the respective student wings of political parties out of which the ABVP (Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad) of the BJP-RSS remains a potent force. For instance in the 2019 Union Cabinet , 24 out of 56 ministers had roots in the ABVP. From 2014 to 2023 , 13 out of 28 BJP CMs were also linked with the same organisation including Bhajan Lal Sharma , Mohan Yadav and Vishnu Deo Sai and the same goes for Ram Nath Kovind (Former President). ABVP leaders have served as the BJP party chief , later on in their life including Rajnath Singh , Nitin Gadkari, Amit Shah (All of them are now an integral part of the Union Cabinet serving in lynchpin portfolios)

The ABVP is thought to have been created in a specific socio-political environment , and was founded in 1949 by Balraj Madhok . It was not meant to be a reactionary entity against the Indian National Congress or even the religious minorities but was meant as a counterbalance to the increasing left influence in India

Although it's important to mention that the fortunes of student wings are tied with their parent party , for instance SFI's influence has dwindled given the recent electoral developments in Tripura and West Bengal (The Last Decade or so)

If we talk about the NCT of Delhi specifically , Madan Lal Khurana the first CM of Delhi post the inclusion of Article 239 AA in the constitution had emerged as a student leader in his nascent days at Allahabad University (ABVP affiliation). Sushma Swaraj also had a childhood influenced by the RSS's philosophy and served as a member although her stint as the CM was brief

The longest serving Delhi CM , Sheila Dikshit was not associated with the NSUI but served as an Mos under the Prime Ministership of Rajiv Gandhi

Arvind Kejriwal and Atishi , both the AAP CMs were not active members of student wings

The AAP formed a student wing only in 2014 called Chattra Yuva Sangarsh Samiti. It is yet to make a splash in the DUSU polls (Did not contest in 2023 and 2024). CYSS has lost the Panjab University polls but controversially decided to form a parallel council

One of the. most pressing issues in the Delhi elections influencing the popular frontline opinion is that of Sheesh Mahal. Former CM Arvind Kejriwal is accused of spending more than 30 crores from the exchequer on renovation of the CM residence 6 Flag Staff Road, this has given the. BJP a chance to level charges of meaningless profligacy. Many BJP leaders have also pointed out that the AAP dispensation has not tabeled the reports of the CAG in the Delhi assembly. The. BJP has decided to showcase replicas of the Sheesh Mahal (14! of them) to create a narrative of Mr Kejriwal being a benighted leader. The probability however of this issue influencing the. outcome the election is patchy given the preponderance of other issues like Air Pollution, Welfare and waste management .

Air pollution for instance has remained an issue in Delhi for the past decade or so. What's important to note here is that no state government in the NCR is ready to accept the onus of the toxic smog in the winter months , stubble burning has continued unabated with the NGT imposing fines and little success in the adoption of Crops Residual Management techniques. Super Seeder machines continue to remain expensive for the farmers in Western UP , Haryana and Punjab , this continues to have a deleterious effect . The problem of farm fires is further complemented by the presence of coal powered and waste to power generation plants , Delhi has limited potential for Wind Energy and it's important for a shift to be made to rooftop Solar farming for changing the composition of the energy mix. The NCT Govt experimented with the Odd Even vehicle rationing for the first time in 2015 , it was tried again in 2016 and 2019 with limited success , since the two wheeler vehicles were kept out of the ambit and an exemption was given for Heavy Motor Vehicles after 8 PM. This system also created problems for the gig economy (Ola , Uber). The NCT Transport department also had to face incessant corruption because the people getting new vehicles registered were paying bribes to get certain vehicle numbers , rendering the entire exercise counterproductive. The excise policy case trammelled the senior cadre of the AAP including the erstwhile CM Arvind Kejriwal, Manish Sisodia , Satyender Jain (In the aftermath Kailash Gahlot joined the BJP) . The NCT Govt had made a proposal to change the liquor excise policy by withdrawing state control and introducing a system of allocating permits to sell liquor through an auction system , the NCT was divided into a certain number of zones with a fixed number of permits per zone , the liquor retailers were given the freedom to issue discounts as well , all of this was done to boost liquor sales (which in turn , was expected to enhance the excise revenues). The NCT Govt had claimed that excise revenues were being siphoned off by Haryana and UP State Govts (Since Delhi had a regressive excise policy), later on irregularities were reported in the auctioning process as reported by the CAG and the leadership was booked under corruption cases by both the CBI and ED. The daughter of Former Telangana CM , K Kavitha was alleged to have been a part of the South Group (Said to have bribed Mr Kejriwal for receiving favours in the liquor policy). The consequences of this alleged scam are still palpable in Delhi's politics since Ms Atishi had to take over as the CM

Another variable influencing the outcome is the impact of welfare schemes including direct cash incentive schemes including the Mahila Samman Yojana by the AAP Govt and the waiver of fares in DTC buses for women , AAP has claimed free treatments from primary to tertiary level of health care and a vast network of Mohalla Clinics along with power subsidies. The BJP has promised the creation of Atal Canteens (Meals for 5rupees) , along with enhancing the direct cash transfer to rs 2500 for women and the introduction of the Aayushman Bharat scheme for the NCT and a rise in old age and widow pensions (The BJP has contended that no existing welfare schemes will be stopped).

Many voters have pointed out the lack of waste management and have demanded the rectification of the same . Delhi generates a waste of more than 3k tonness per day , this has contributed to the creation of three huge garbage dumps , the AAP had claimed negligence of the MCD (Swept to power in 2022) , Delhi did improve in the rankings of the Swacchtha Sarvekshan from 157 to 90 , but the elimination of the garbage dumps remains elusive and the deadline for executing this has been extended to 2028 (Originally 2024). The orders of the NGT (In 2017) to clear the landfills have not been complied with . The AAP govt has contended that the inability to meet the deadlines is due to the absence of Standing Committees (Without this committee , projects worth more than Rs 5 crore can't be approved)

Even in the case of Yamuna , the NGT Panel formed in 2023 (Headed by the L-G) found a lack of compliance , it was highlighted that that the Sewage Plants in the city are not operating at the full capacity and the untreated sewage is flowing to the river and the other problem is the quantum of unauthorised colonies (lack of proper sewage network) as a consequence 250 Million Gallons of waste is being pumped into the river . DDA , MCD , Cabinet and the L-G have not worked in tandem and the Yamuna project is a casualty of the same . Only 2 of the stretch of Yamuna falls in Delhi but the city forms a source of 70 percent of the pollution , the interceptor project to deal with the issue of sewage was not a success

A Public Service, not a Service for the Public

Considerations Towards a Metanarrative of the Politics of Delhi

II was prompted to write this piece after encountering a conflict on the social media platform X (Formerly Twitter) about the affordability of the Delhi Metro. It is true that for indescribably elite individuals like myself, the Delhi Metro is rather cheap. It costs 60 rupees to travel from the Vishwavidyalaya (metro station) to Sikanderpur. The same journey via Uber could easily cost over 500 rupees on a busy day (or night). The former is a reasonable expenditure for someone of my socio-economic strata; the latter would entail fiscal profligacy that I can but rarely afford. The discourse on affordability needs to be adjusted according to the income distribution of our country as a whole, though, rather than a minuscule elite. In India, a monthly income of Rupees 25,000 puts you in the top ten percentile. One should keep this in mind before calling those who raise their voice for making public transport accessible for everybody "parasites", as some people did in the conflict I have mentioned above. Is the public a parasite for demanding that a public service be affordable to every member of the "public"? This lack of perspective, in my view, is the major flaw with the dominant metanarratives that explain the Politics of Delhi via a myopic focus on red herrings. In this article, I aim to propose an alternative metanarrative which transcends such myopia.

A report by the Centre for Science and Environment released in 2019 compared the public transportation systems of three cities: Delhi, Ahmedabad, and Bangalore. It found out that other than the non-AC bus services in Delhi, the lower income group (defined with respect to the state-specified minimum wage) had to spend over 10 per cent of their monthly income on transportation, in case they availed the other (premium) transportation services. 10 per cent is already near the upper limit a family should ideally spend on transportation. Any expenditure has a concomitant opportunity cost, and the compulsion to spend a disproportionately high amount on transportation would lead households to divert resources from equally crucial expenditures: housing, education and healthcare. The unskilled worker would have to spend 22 per cent of their income to use the Delhi Metro for commuting and the corresponding figure is 19 per cent for the skilled worker. Clearly, it is quite reasonable to indict the Delhi Metro for its unaffordability, as long as the demographic you are thinking of is representative of the poverty of our country. Yet, the chief minister of Delhi, Atishi Marlena, recently expressed her elation at how "Delhi is now emerging as a great model of public transport in front of the entire country and the world". She attributed this magnificent development to "the joint venture of RRTS and Delhi Metro of the Central Government and the Delhi Government". This is a most curious convergence, given her melodramatic rise to power. Of course, it is true that administration requires collaboration which transcends political scuffles; political melees should not get in the way of routine developmental projects. Yet, it seems to me that this is indicative of a deeper problem in the political discourse produced and consumed by the elites of this country. This is not a partisan issue; it is intrinsic to the metanarrative of development that structures the way the Middle Class conceives of policy. Policy is inherently political, and the tragedy of (under)development lies in the absence of the conceptualisation of development in a manner that questions the bipartisan presuppositions that have smitten the public sphere of this country; a sphere still conspicuous by virtue of its diminutive proportions.

The urban geographer Asher Ghertner has described such a developmental approach as "rule by aesthetics", where normative notions of what a "world-class city" ought to look like dominate the calculus and legality of planning. Such a goal leads governments to prioritise large-scale and rapid modernisation via the construction of grand projects that are predominantly geared towards the elites. Should the average citizen prefer prestige projects like the Commonwealth Games Village over measures that make their lives easier? I have already contextualised the socio-economic status of our country earlier in this brief piece. One should keep this in mind when talking about "development". A paternal justification for widespread slum demolition (even if they adhere to the Master Plan) is the desire to shift slum-dwellers to better housing. This is indeed an admirable sentiment in a country where some sections of the intelligentsia indulge in "Poverty Fetishism". It is also expedient insofar as it's politically easier to employ the principle of eminent domain against those with less socio-political capital rather than elites, even if the latter happen to technically be living in illegal settlements. One has to ensure that Slum Rehabilitation is carried out at a pace commensurate with our developmental aspirations, as well as the rate of dispossession. If not, aesthetics will be the new De jure basis of urban development, in adherence with Dr Ghertner's indictment of urban development in India. Indians should remember the Talisman of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the modern Indian Nation, who drew upon our Civilisational Heritage in all his teachings:

"I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test. Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man [woman] whom you may have seen, and ask yourself, if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him [her]. Will he [she] gain anything by it? Will it restore him [her] to a control over his [her] own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to swaraj [freedom] for the hungry and spiritually starving millions? Then you will find your doubts and your self melt away."

One should keep this in mind while lampooning "freebies" as well. The Lack of State Capacity was alluded to by Rajiv Gandhi's famous aphorism regarding the trifle that reaches the ground level when the state sanctions any schemes. The Indian State needs to develop the capacity to bring about structural changes which will take a long time.

In the meanwhile, the palpability of "social exclusion", in the sense that Amartya Sen meant, enables political parties to make the delivery of certain goods contingent on their electoral success. In so far as these goods are crucial to "taking part in the life of the community", one should be more sympathetic to them. True, fiscal sustainability is also important, but then, why doesn't our country raise taxes on the "Middle Class"? India's tax rates are rather low even for relatively higher incomes. True, they are unjustifiable in light of the low quality of Public Goods and Services, but the developmental trajectory of every developed country has had a phase where there was a time lag between the appropriation of a higher-than-normal surplus by the state and the fructification of the developmental projects they were invested in. In India, we face the additional problem of a limited State Capacity. One has to keep these issues in mind when juxtaposing "freebies" with "long-term development". Fiscal sustainability is related to the extent to which the "Rich" are taxed at least as much as the "poor" are given freebies. The datum given about the income of the 90th percentile in India should remind people of the relative economic position of the groups which identify as the "Middle Class". Would a lower rate of taxation indicate a "freebie by omission" if not a "freebie by commission"?

Besides lambasting "freebies", there are other areas where expedience fuels the natural propensity of our species to "punch down". What else would explain how some members of the Aam Aadmi Party have cited statements made by some members of the BJP to insinuate that Delhi has been overrun by "Rohingyas"? India is the fifth largest economy in the world today and recently presided over a successful G20 conference where we brought a wide range of countries, often with inimical relations with each other, on board to release a common declaration. At this stage in our history, are our borders really so weak? Official Governmental Data indicates the minuscule population of Rohingyas in our country, who are like a drop in an ocean. Should this really be part of our electoral rhetoric? What this does is to marginalise those groups in Delhi who are perceived as "Rohingyas". Indian cities are still heavily segregated on grounds of Caste and Religion. A disproportionate fear of the "Other" will fuel xenophobia that seeks to authenticate the "Indianness" of everybody. In a city as cosmopolitan as Delhi, the capital of our diverse country, this will promote the logic of homogeneity at the socio-cultural level, thereby eschewing the heterogeneity that exemplifies India. In order to fulfil our developmental ambitions, we have to overcome these divisions while retaining the heterogeneity and diversity of our country. The rhetoric of division only promotes social segmentation instead of creating a common plank on which we can chase our goals.

In any case, I don't want to be too harsh towards the "Middle Class". India is still a poor country on a per capita basis. The political sustainability of any developmental trajectory is contingent on making everybody better off simultaneously rather than treating our economic status as a state of Pareto's Efficiency, where we need to make the Middle Class worse off. They have their fair share of struggles, related to the need to "take part in the life of the community", which I have mentioned earlier. One can disagree with 40 % of the Urban Development Budget being spent on Metros, given their unaffordability for the masses, while still recognise their usefulness for a significant chunk of the population, some of whom could and would perhaps switch to other modes of transport; maybe cars, which would be worse.

To conclude, what then, is this "Metanarrative" that I have alluded to in the title? It's a metanarrative that indicts the structure of politics rather than the content, that is the partisan nature of the government, which is formed by certain parties after all. To recognise this is imperative if we are to actualise our aspirations as a society. It doesn't seem to me, based on my judgment of these elections, that we are anywhere near reckoning with this issue. One can only hope that we have better luck in this regard in the future.

Pushkar Pandey

The Ground report

-Juveriya Fatima

1.Hesitancy in Expression
- Many people were reluctant to speak openly about political matters.
- They hesitated to talk on camera or reveal their identities, fearing repercussions.
- Notes and audio recordings were taken in some cases instead, as some were uncomfortable with being recorded on video.

2. Suspicion regarding the intentions of the ground reporters
- Several people initially viewed the ground reporters with suspicion, questioning their intent.
- Some assumed they were working for a political party and even asked who had sent them and how much they had been paid to gather information.
- In another instance, a reporter was mistaken for a government official conducting census work.

3. Hostility and public frustration
- Some people, frustrated with politicians, responded angrily, stating that leaders only appeared during elections and then disappeared.
- In a few instances, reporters faced verbal hostility, reflecting public resentment towards the system.

4. Lack of political awareness
- In some areas, people were unaware of who their MLA was or who was contesting from their constituency.
- Many simply stated they would vote for "Kejriwal" or "Modi", not knowing the actual candidates in their area.

5. Sense of apathy and disillusionment
- A common sentiment was that politicians only showed up during elections and vanished afterwards.
- People felt their concerns were ignored once votes were secured.

6. Perception of the electoral contest
- Most people believed that the fight was only between AAP and BJP, with Congress having no real chance.

7. Public opinion on freebies
- A large section of people opposed the culture of freebies, stating that the government should focus on employment rather than distributing freebies.
- Even among the uneducated and illiterate, there was an understanding that freebies were not beneficial in the long run.

8. Hopes from ground reporters
- Despite their initial hesitation, many eventually opened up and shared their struggles.
- They showed their homes, pointed out issues like bad roads and sewage problems, and spoke at length.

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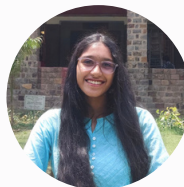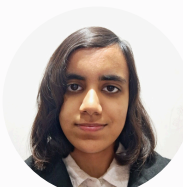
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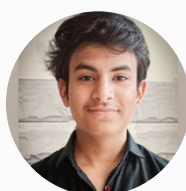
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OBJECTIVE OF THE REPORT

With the intent of having compiled a report that could effectively and accurately inform the public , the team's culminated efforts have been directed in a singular direction and that is to keep it non-partisan, independent and unbiased.

With absolutely no political leaning, the pieces have been framed from an almost apolitical standpoint , only quantifying the given datasets at hand and from the most reliable and verified sources only.

With the help of this booklet, the first time voters, or regular voters both- could benefit from the one-stop-solution ; wherein from the analysis's of manifestos to the parallel comparison between parties' past performances could provide the voter with an informed option to choose and pick the one that seems to best serve them if elected into power.

Above all, as young leaders , this attempt from student body organisations aims to increase electoral awareness and to play a small share in contributing to the informed public opinion in whatever so way possible!

Thank You

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