



FROM PROTEST TO POWER: STRATEGIC SHIFTS AND ELECTORAL SUCCESS OF THE TELANGANA RASHTRA SAMITHI IN MAINSTREAM POLITICS

Peddamma Ramesh

*Research Scholar, Dept of Political Science,
Osmania University, Hyderabad, TG-India, 500007*

Abstract : This study explores the political transformation of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) from a regional protest-driven movement into a dominant electoral force within the mainstream political landscape of India. Founded in 2001 with the sole objective of achieving a separate Telangana state, the TRS employed a combination of symbolic protest, grassroots mobilization, and strategic electoral participation to advance its cause. Through a critical analysis of its strategic shifts including alliances, resignations, by-elections, and civil society engagement this article examines how the TRS navigated the complex political environment of united Andhra Pradesh and later emerged as the ruling party of newly formed Telangana in 2014.

The study highlights the party's ability to blend mass agitation with electoral pragmatism, transforming regional grievances into political capital. The role of student organizations, cultural collectives, and the Telangana Joint Action Committee (TJAC) is also examined to understand the broader mobilization supporting TRS's rise. Despite internal criticisms and fluctuating electoral performances, the TRS succeeded in asserting regional identity and securing political legitimacy. This article contributes to the discourse on regional politics, federalism, and identity-based movements in India.

Keywords: *Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS), Telangana movement, Democratic mobilization, political transformation.*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The formation of Telangana as India's 29th state in 2014 marked the culmination of one of the most sustained and emotionally resonant regional movements in post-independence India (Reddy, 2014). At the forefront of this struggle stood the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS), a political entity that transformed itself from a regional pressure group into the dominant force behind the creation of the new state. Established in 2001 by K. Chandrashekar Rao (KCR), the TRS emerged in response to deep-rooted grievances related to socio-economic deprivation, cultural marginalization, and political underrepresentation in the unified state of Andhra Pradesh (Haragopal, 2010). The TRS's journey from a protest-driven organization to a ruling political party reflects a carefully calibrated strategy that combined grassroots mobilization, electoral alliances, symbolic resignations, and issue-based agitation (Kodandaram, 2011). Unlike earlier political formations such as the Telangana Praja Samithi, which dissolved after temporary electoral success, the TRS maintained its distinct identity and continuously adapted its tactics to changing political contexts (Rao, 2012). Over time, it successfully leveraged both public sentiment and institutional mechanisms to achieve its central goal statehood for Telangana.

This article critically examines the political evolution of the TRS by analyzing its strategic shifts, electoral performances, and alliances from 2001 to 2014 and beyond. It evaluates how the party balanced its ideological commitment to Telangana statehood with practical political calculations, navigating between protest and power. Furthermore, it situates the TRS's role within the broader discourse on sub-regionalism, democratic representation, and state reorganization in India (Srinivasulu, 2013). The study also considers how the TRS's transition into governance impacted its legitimacy, leadership structure, and expansionist ambitions in national politics. By tracing the trajectory of TRS from a movement-based outfit to a mainstream political actor, the article sheds light on the dynamics of electoral transformation, regional identity assertion, and political adaptation in contemporary India.

1.1 Objective of the Study

The core objective of this study is to critically examine the political evolution of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) from a regional protest movement to a dominant electoral force within mainstream Indian politics. The research aims to explore the strategic shifts adopted by the TRS such as symbolic resignations, strategic alliances, grassroots mobilization, and electoral realignments that enabled it to successfully transform public agitation into political legitimacy. By analyzing its performance across elections and its role in state formation, this study seeks to offer insights into the dynamics of sub-regional political assertion and party-building in a federal democracy.

1.2 Importance of the Study

The formation of Telangana as a separate state in 2014 marked a watershed moment in India's political and federal history, not only because it redefined geographical boundaries but also because it exemplified the power of sustained sub-regional political mobilization. In this context, the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) played a pivotal role not merely as a participant in electoral politics, but as the political engine behind the statehood movement. Understanding how TRS transitioned from a protest-oriented outfit to the ruling party in a new state offers valuable lessons in the study of political strategy, movement-based politics, and regional identity assertion.

This study is important for several reasons. First, it sheds light on how regional parties can leverage democratic mechanisms to transform protest into governance, thereby influencing national policy and administrative structures. Second, it highlights the interplay between symbolic political acts such as resignations, hunger strikes, and cultural mobilization and their translation into electoral capital. Third, it provides a critical analysis of the TRS's shifting strategies and the broader implications of such shifts on the political landscape of Andhra Pradesh and, eventually, Telangana. Additionally, this study contributes to the discourse on the role of identity, federalism, and electoral pragmatism in Indian democracy. By closely examining the TRS's strategic decisions and political adaptations, this research not only documents the historical trajectory of one party but also enriches our understanding of how regional movements gain mainstream traction in a diverse and complex polity like India.

1.3 Material and Methods

This study employed an integrated descriptive research design, combining qualitative methods and secondary data analysis to examine the political evolution and strategic trajectory of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) from a protest-oriented organization to a mainstream electoral force. The primary objective was to understand the party's ideological transformation, mobilization strategies, and electoral consolidation that culminated in the creation of the Telangana state in 2014.

The study relied primarily on **secondary data sources** such as official documents, party manifestos, public speeches, press statements, election results, and archival media coverage. Government reports especially the *Sri Krishna Committee Report* (2010) and documents from the Election Commission of India served as foundational material for tracking key events and electoral trends. To capture the political narrative and social mobilization aspects of the movement, we examined scholarly works by leading academics. Additional data was drawn from peer-reviewed journals like and various regional and national newspapers. Qualitative data was organized thematically and analyzed using content analysis techniques. The speeches of K. Chandrashekar Rao and other senior TRS leaders were critically reviewed to identify patterns of political messaging, shifts in strategy, and public engagement methods. The role of mass mobilizations such as the *Sakala Janula Samme*, *Million March*, and the formation of the Telangana Joint Action Committee (TJAC) were examined through a lens of participatory political culture.

Case-based comparisons were made between the TRS and earlier regional parties like the Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) to contextualize the uniqueness of TRS's persistence and success. Electoral performance data from 2004, 2009, and 2014 was used descriptively to trace voter behavior, strategic alliances, and public trust indicators. By integrating documentary analysis, thematic review, and historical interpretation, this methodological framework allowed for a nuanced understanding of the TRS's role in the Telangana movement. It also provided insight into the broader democratic processes through which sub-regional identity movements can transition into successful political institutions.

2.0 POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE TELANGANA STATEHOOD MOVEMENT

The political trajectory of the Telangana statehood movement reveals a complex interplay between mass public sentiment and strategic party politics. It underscores how political parties shaped the movement's direction through calculated electoral engagement and mobilization strategies. The demand for a separate Telangana state predates the merger of the Telangana region with Andhra and Rayalaseema to form a unified Andhra Pradesh in 1956 (Reddy, 2014). Over time, the Telangana issue periodically re-emerged, often reignited by political actors and civil society organizations (Haragopal, 2010; Srinivasulu, 2013). Throughout this prolonged struggle, a vast section of the Telangana population consistently advocated for statehood, expressing their dissatisfaction with political and economic marginalization within the unified state. Recognizing the strength of this regional sentiment, several political parties aligned themselves with the Telangana cause, although not always with genuine commitment. In many instances, the issue was strategically employed to gain electoral leverage (Revathi, 2010). However, not all political forces supported the demand. Notably, the Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M) maintained their opposition to the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh, guided by ideological commitments to national integrity and skepticism toward sub-regionalism (Kodandaram, 2011; CPI(M), 2010).

2.1 The Formation of Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) – 1969

In 1969, the Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) was formed to lead the burgeoning statehood agitation. While Madan Mohan served as its first president, it was Marri Chenna Reddy, a former Congress leader, who emerged as the driving force behind the party's activities (Satyanarayana, 2012). Under his leadership, the TPS organized mass demonstrations, strikes, and rallies that energized

government employees, students, and rural communities across Telangana. The party's strong showing in the 1971 Parliamentary elections winning 11 out of 14 seats demonstrated the depth of public support for the cause (Rao, 2012). However, political compromise followed when the TPS was merged back into the Congress, and many of its leaders, including Chenna Reddy, were offered ministerial and gubernatorial positions. This episode led to widespread disillusionment and underscored the challenges of sustaining a grassroots movement within mainstream party structures (Srinivasulu, 2013).

2.2 The Rise of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS)

Despite the suppression of the 1969 movement, the demand for Telangana statehood persisted. Intellectuals, civil servants, student groups, and political activists continued to highlight systemic neglect and regional disparities (Haragopal, 2010; Revathi & Lalitha, 2011). Several forums such as the Telangana Mahasabha, Telangana Janasabha, Telangana Teachers Forum, Telangana Intellectuals Forum, Telangana Information Centre, and Telangana Study Forum played an important role in keeping the issue alive (Kodandaram, 2011).

These organizations raised concerns about broken promises like the Gentlemen's Agreement, the Six-Point Formula, and unequal distribution of resources such as irrigation water and education infrastructure. Under the rule of the Telugu Desam Party in the 1980s and 1990s, regional grievances intensified due to increasing centralization and perceived discrimination (Hanumantha Rao, 2012). Amidst this growing unrest, the **Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS)** was launched in 2001 with the explicit objective of achieving separate statehood, marking a new phase in the political movement.

2.2.1 Emergence of the TRS in 2001

On 27 April 2001, K. Chandrashekar Rao (KCR), a former Deputy Speaker and TDP leader, founded the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS). The party aimed to achieve statehood for Telangana with Hyderabad as its capital. Under KCR's leadership, the TRS transformed the statehood demand into a coherent political program, positioning itself as the primary representative of the Telangana people (Reddy, 2014; Satyanarayana, 2012).

• The TRS Party Base

The TRS drew its support from a broad social spectrum, including rural unemployed youth, middle-class professionals, self-employed urban workers, and government employees. Many of the party's early leaders came from diverse political backgrounds TDP, Congress, and Left parties reflecting the widespread appeal of the Telangana cause (Srinivasulu, 2013). Artisan communities, educators, and student leaders also actively aligned with TRS, attracted by its uncompromising commitment to statehood. The student wing, Telangana Rashtra Samithi Vidyarthi Vibhagam (TRSV), played a pivotal role in mobilizing support across educational institutions through protests, awareness campaigns, and rallies (Kodandaram, 2011). Students from Osmania and Kakatiya Universities, in particular, became the backbone of TRS-led mass mobilization during crucial phases of the movement. Prominent activist Narasimha Swamy articulated the essence of the movement as a quest not for separatism, but for dignity, rights, and self-determination anchored in the principles of equitable access to water, education, jobs, and political representation (Revathi, 2010). The TRS came to symbolize the legitimate aspirations of the Telangana people and emerged as the torchbearer that eventually guided the movement to success in 2014.

2.2.2 Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) – Key Developments and Political Mobilization

The Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS), founded in 2001, played a transformative role in institutionalizing the demand for Telangana statehood through a combination of grassroots activism, strategic political mobilization, and electoral participation. The formation of the TRS marked a critical departure from earlier, short-lived efforts, positioning the movement within mainstream political discourse (Melkote & Revathi, 2009; Kodandaram, 2010).

K. Chandrashekar Rao (KCR) launched the party on April 27, 2001, following his resignation from the Telugu Desam Party and his legislative roles. The launch event at Jaladrushyam in Hyderabad symbolized a decisive shift towards a focused political strategy for separate statehood (Haragopal, 2010). Soon after its inception, TRS expanded its organizational footprint by appointing Mandal and district-level convenors and initiating extensive outreach campaigns. Large-scale public meetings in Mahabubnagar, Nalgonda, and Warangal districts amplified its presence (Revathi & Hanumantha Rao, 2009). In the 2001 local body elections, the TRS performed remarkably well, securing 100 Mandal Parishad Presidents (MPPs), 85 Zilla Parishad Territorial Constituencies (ZPTCs), 2 Zilla Parishads, over 3,000 Sarpanch posts, and 12,000 ward member positions establishing a strong rural base (Kodandaram, 2010). The TRS was formally registered on August 18, 2001. KCR's electoral victory in the Siddipet by-election further bolstered the party's legitimacy. Mass gatherings like the "Khammam Praja Garjana" and the "Shankaravam" meeting in Vikarabad became symbolic of the movement's growing momentum (Haragopal, 2011). By 2002–2003, the TRS diversified its methods through symbolic protests, social outreach, and statewide awareness campaigns. These included the "Palle Bata" (Village March), "Jalasadhana" for water equity, and advocacy for G.O. 610 implementation concerning employment rights for Telangana locals (Srinivasulu, 2011). The party also engaged in cultural outreach, financial relief activities, and alliance-building, most notably with the Telangana Sadhana Samithi (TSS), which merged with TRS in 2002.

Between 2003 and 2004, mega rallies such as the "Telangana Garjana" and "Warangal Jaitra Yatra" attracted tens of thousands of participants and prominent national figures like H.D. Deve Gowda and Ajit Singh demonstrating TRS's national reach (Revathi, 2009). KCR's 100-km cycle rally from Siddipet to Warangal and padayatras across districts strengthened the movement's grassroots connect. In the 2004 general elections, the TRS allied with the Indian National Congress. This alliance led to the party winning 25 Assembly seats and 5 Lok Sabha seats, gaining entry into both the state and central governments. KCR and A. Narendra became Union Ministers, and the Telangana issue was officially included in the UPA's National Common Minimum Programme (Reddy, 2010). The TRS also joined the Andhra Pradesh cabinet under Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy with six ministerial posts.

Despite success, the TRS faced internal and public scrutiny. Cultural groups like Telangana Vidyavanta Vedita (TVV), Dhoom-Dham, and others emerged to ensure the movement's ideological purity, fearing that the party was drifting toward political

compromise (Hanumantha Rao, 2009). To reassert its credibility, TRS MLAs and MPs resigned in 2006 and 2008 to seek re-election, interpreting their victories as public referenda on Telangana (Sathyanarayana, 2012). The leadership of KCR was central to the party's narrative. He redefined the Telangana movement from one of grievance to one of dignity, justice, and ownership of resources. As Professor G. Haragopal noted, the TRS revived a suppressed cultural identity of Telangana amidst broader neoliberal exclusions (Haragopal, 2010). The student wing, Telangana Rashtra Samithi Vidyarthi Vibhagam (TRSV), played a crucial role in youth mobilization and extending the party's ideological framework. Ultimately, the TRS succeeded where its predecessors like the Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) had failed by maintaining a consistent ideological focus, building electoral legitimacy, and transforming the regional aspiration for Telangana into a national political movement (Melkote & Revathi, 2009).

2.3 Formation of the Telangana Joint Action Committee (TJAC)

In early 2010, a significant organizational development occurred with the establishment of the Telangana Political Joint Action Committee (TJAC), a broad coalition comprising TRS, employee unions, student bodies, cultural groups, and various civil society organizations. Under the leadership of Prof. M. Kodandaram, the TJAC organized landmark events such as the *Million March* and the *Sakala Janula Samme* (general strike), which mobilized broad-based participation and sustained the momentum of the statehood movement (Kodandaram, 2011;). The TJAC's decentralized model fostered mass involvement while maintaining a non-violent democratic character. It portrayed the Telangana cause as a people-centric movement rather than one driven solely by the TRS or other political entities (Haragopal, 2013). This broader representation helped escalate the movement into a national conversation on regional autonomy and identity.

2.3.1 The Role of Youth, Employees, and Civil Society

Youth played an instrumental role, particularly university students from Osmania and Kakatiya Universities, who revived the spirit of the 1969 agitation with renewed energy and political vocabulary (Melkote & Revathi, 2011). Government employees, under the Telangana Employees Joint Action Committee, launched sustained strikes, including the *Sakala Janula Samme* in September 2011, which lasted over 40 days and brought public administration in Telangana to a virtual standstill. Cultural mobilization also became a powerful vehicle of protest. Folk singers, poets, and artists used regional idioms and art forms to express the aspirations of Telangana. These cultural interventions, often held in rural areas, promoted regional identity, strengthened solidarity, and added emotional depth to the movement (Kodandaram, 2011; Haragopal, 2013).

2.4 The TRS and Its Evolution Through Electoral Politics

The Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS), established on 27th April 2001 by K. Chandrashekar Rao (KCR), emerged with a singular aim realizing a separate Telangana state. Initially, the TRS framed electoral politics as a subsidiary tool, emphasizing advocacy, lobbying, and public mobilization over electoral gain. However, over time, the party adopted a dual strategy, simultaneously engaging in electoral contests and mass movements to expand its influence and pressurize mainstream political actors (Kodandaram, 2010). Learning from earlier efforts, such as the Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) of 1971 founded by Marri Chenna Reddy but later merged into the Congress in return for political concessions the TRS avoided early dissolution and maintained a distinct political identity. It actively participated in panchayat, municipal, and legislative elections while forming alliances, notably with the Congress in 2004. This collaboration allowed TRS members, including KCR and Ale Narendra, to enter the Union Cabinet and the Andhra Pradesh state cabinet under Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy. However, this coalition drew criticism from segments of the Telangana population who feared a dilution of the party's founding objective. The TRS's move was perceived as political pragmatism bordering on compromise. Disenchantment among supporters gave rise to independent cultural and civil society platforms, such as Dhoom-Dham, Telangana Vidyavanta Vedita (TVV), and Telangana Rachayitala Vedita, which rekindled grassroots enthusiasm (Haragopal, 2012). To rebuild public trust, KCR resigned from his Karimnagar parliamentary seat in 2006 and reclaimed it in a by-election with a massive majority, interpreting the result as a referendum in favor of Telangana. In 2008, TRS legislators resigned en masse and re-contested to reinforce public endorsement for statehood. According to economist C.H. Hanumantha Rao, this strategy clarified the people's preference for separation over unified development narratives. However, TRS's alliance with the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) in the 2009 general elections was widely seen as opportunistic and ideologically inconsistent, causing electoral setbacks. The TRS secured only 2 MP and 10 MLA seats, underlining public rejection of perceived compromises (Srinivasulu, 2011).

2.4.1 TRS and Strategic Mobilization Through By-elections

Following the 2009 setback, TRS reoriented its approach by intensifying its symbolic and electoral actions. In a pivotal move, KCR launched an indefinite hunger strike in November 2009, mobilizing widespread public support and escalating the demand to national prominence. His deteriorating health and the growing scale of protests forced the central government's hand. On 9th December 2009, Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram announced that steps toward Telangana state formation would begin (Chidambaram, 2009;). This declaration triggered sharp opposition from the Seema-Andhra regions. Leaders resigned en masse from Parliament and State Assembly and instigated counter-mobilizations. This backlash led to a reversal of the Centre's position on 23rd January 2010, deepening regional polarization. Meanwhile, TRS continued to use resignations and by-elections to consolidate its support base. In the 2010 by-elections, TRS won 12 out of 17 Assembly seats, while Congress and TDP candidates lost deposits in many constituencies. The electorate clearly endorsed the TRS as the authentic voice of Telangana aspirations (Srinivasulu, 2011). According to political analyst K. Srinivasulu, the by-election outcomes signaled a shift in regional political dynamics. TRS effectively sidelined traditional parties like the Congress and TDP, both of which adopted ambiguous positions to balance sentiments in both regions of the undivided state.

2.5.0 From Protest to Power: Electoral Consolidation and Leadership Challenges

The electoral strategy of the TRS revolved around highly symbolic gestures such as mass resignations, protest fasts, and alliance shifts to dramatize its commitment to the statehood demand. A notable instance was K. Chandrashekar Rao's (KCR) resignation

from the Karimnagar Lok Sabha seat in 2006, followed by his landslide re-election, which was widely seen as a public endorsement of the Telangana cause (Rao, 2009). However, a decline in his victory margin during the 2008 by-election suggested signs of electoral fatigue and skepticism among voters. In 2010, TRS legislators resigned once more, leading to another round of by-elections. While the party regained a majority, it also faced setbacks, losing several seats to Congress and TDP. Analysts argued that these outcomes revealed the limitations of symbolic politics. According to Sathyanarayana (2013), the party was increasingly criticized for overreliance on elite leadership, particularly from the Velama and Reddy communities, raising concerns about inclusivity and grassroots engagement. Despite such critiques, TRS solidified its political influence by compelling rival parties to adjust their strategies. It emerged as the dominant political force in the state, with leaders such as T. Harish Rao, Etela Rajender, and Naini Narasimha Reddy extending its appeal and strengthening its regional structure (Reddy, 2014).

2.5.1 Performance in General Elections: 2004, 2009, and 2014

TRS's electoral journey was marked by fluctuating fortunes, closely tied to its strategic decisions:

- **2004 General Elections:**

Aligned with Congress; won 5 MP seats and 26 MLA seats. The alliance was viewed positively at the time.

- **2009 General Elections:**

TRS allied with the TDP, a move that alienated its core support base. The party managed to win only 2 MP and 10 MLA seats a sharp decline attributed to ideological compromise (Srinivasulu, 2010).

- **2014 General Elections:**

Following the announcement of Telangana's formation, TRS contested independently and won 63 out of 119 Assembly seats and 11 Lok Sabha seats. This victory marked a turning point, positioning TRS as the ruling party and symbolizing the institutionalization of the Telangana movement through electoral democracy (Government of India, 2010; Reddy, 2014). This performance reinforced the TRS narrative of being both the creator and rightful governor of Telangana. Its success in converting a regional movement into political power marked a historic moment in India's federal democratic evolution.

CONCLUSION

The transformation of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) from a movement-centric organization into a dominant political force represents one of the most significant political evolutions in contemporary Indian regional politics. Rooted in the long-standing grievances of the Telangana people, the TRS emerged as the principal voice articulating demands for statehood, identity, and regional justice. Its ability to navigate the complexities of both protest politics and electoral strategy marks its journey as unique and instructive in the broader context of India's federal democratic framework. Throughout its trajectory, the TRS effectively leveraged symbolic actions resignations, hunger strikes, and mass mobilizations while also engaging strategically in electoral politics. Despite facing setbacks, especially after its alliance with the Telugu Desam Party in 2009, the party demonstrated resilience by recalibrating its approach and reaffirming its commitment to statehood. Its electoral success in 2014, achieved without the support of major national parties, validated its legitimacy and popular mandate as the architect of Telangana.

Moreover, the TRS's political strategy extended beyond electoral gains. It fostered a strong regional identity, mobilized civil society, engaged with marginalized groups, and maintained pressure on national political institutions. This synthesis of protest and power enabled the TRS to shift from the periphery to the center of Telangana's political landscape. While criticisms persist regarding internal leadership dynamics and inclusivity, the TRS undeniably played a historic role in realizing the dream of a separate Telangana state. Its journey underscores the transformative potential of regional political mobilization when aligned with democratic processes. As it continues to evolve now as the Bharat Rashtra Samithi (BRS) the party's legacy remains deeply intertwined with the aspirations and political agency of the people of Telangana.

REFERENCES

- [1] Chidambaram, P. (2009, December 9). *Statement on Telangana by Union Home Minister*. Government of India.
- [2] Government of India. (2010). *Report of the Committee for Consultations on the Situation in Andhra Pradesh (Sri Krishna Committee Report)*. New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.
- [3] Haragopal, G. (2012). *The Telangana Movement: The Politics of Regional Identity in India*. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47(6), 10–13.
- [4] Haragopal, G. (2013). *Telangana: The struggle for statehood*. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 48(2), 33–40.
- [5] Kodandaram, M. (2010). *Civil Society and the Telangana Movement: A People's Agenda*. Hyderabad: Telangana Vidyavantula Vedika.
- [6] Kodandaram, M. (2011). *TJAC and the People's Movement in Telangana*. Hyderabad: Telangana Vidyavantula Vedika.
- [7] Melkote, R. S., & Revathi, E. (2011). *The Telangana Movement: A Study in Popular Politics*. Hyderabad: CESS Policy Paper Series.
- [8] Rao, C. H. H. (2009). *Political economy of regional movements: A study of Telangana*. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(33), 68–72.
- [9] Reddy, G. R. (2014). *From agitation to governance: The trajectory of TRS in Telangana politics*. *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 60(4), 723–736.
- [10] Sathyanarayana, D. (2013). Political transformation and caste composition in Telangana Movement. In *Proceedings of the National Seminar on Statehood Movements in India*. Hyderabad: Osmania University.
- [11] Srinivasulu, K. (2010). *Telangana: Dimensions of a movement*. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 45(6), 27–32.
- [12] Srinivasulu, K. (2011). *Democracy and Regionalism in Andhra Pradesh: Contextualizing the Telangana Movement*. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 34(2), 225–239.