Chapter 4

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ESTIMATES COMMITTEE OF PUNJAB

The Success of any institution largely depends on the quality of leader who controls it. The behaviour of the leaders at any level can fully be explained by making a close investigation of the environment in which they grow and develop.\(^1\) The Socio-economic conditions play an important role in characterizing the social life and behaviour of an individual. The socio-economic status of an individual affects the patterns of interaction in the society.\(^2\) It is generally believed that a legislature’s values and personal convictions are heavily influenced by his behaviour.\(^3\) Political leaders play a crucial role in day to day lives of the citizen of the country.\(^4\) The socio-economic political background of a person shapes his personality and the members of Estimates Committee composed of different personalities. Lewis J. Edinger and Donald D. Searing have rightly pointed out, “Elite attitude are related to their social background variables. The linkages are

said to be due to socialization experience through which leaders are inducted into political process from childhood onwards."\(^5\)

The socio-economic environment influences to a great extent the attitudes, values and patterns of behaviour of the leaders at any level of leadership. Now-a-days more and more studies are being done on the socio-economic profile of the leadership of various segments of society. Leaders may keep in mind that the team members prefer involvement, guidance, good inter personal relationship as important factor for success. Leadership is prevalent in every field of social life. All groups and organizations within society require leaders for their survival and growth. In a traditional society, leadership plays a key role in changing value structure of the society. In such a case, leadership develops, elaborates and transforms the existing social structure and thus enables it to follow the path of development and modernization.\(^6\) Without leadership, no organization or society can flourish. It is an important aspect of managing and it can be said that management works when the manager lives up to his role as a leader.\(^7\) Leadership can be an important modifier of behaviour of people working in the organization. Effective leadership is necessary for inspiring the people to work for the accomplishment of given objectives. It is

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also essential for efficient direction of human efforts towards the predetermined goals.

The fact that a leader can have an immense effect on the performance of those under him has been noted for centuries that while some officers receive only grudging obedience, others are able to inspire their men to do the seemingly impossible and do it willingly. The same phenomenon has been noted in other organizations, including business organisations. It is not surprising, therefore, that the businessman would like to discover some way of selecting better leaders, while the power of good leadership to produce extraordinary results is a fact, it is difficult to produce facts about what is actually consists of. Leadership is an important factor for making any type of organisation successful. The difference between the success and failure, whether in a political movement, a business, or a team, can be attributed largely to leadership. Hodge and Johnson described that “Leadership is basically the ability to shape the attitudes and behaviour of others, whether in formal or informal conditions.” It is a process of interpersonal influence exercised in a situation and directed through communication process towards the attainment of a specific goal. Peter G. Northouse, pointed out that “it is not a trait or

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10 Bill, J. Hodge and Herbert J. Johnson, Management and Organizations Behaviour, John Willey and Sons Inc., USA, 1970, p.250.
characteristic that resides in the leader, but is a transactional event that occurs between the leader and his followers. Process implies that a leader affects and is affected by followers. It emphasizes that leadership is not a linear, one way but rather an interactive event.”

Leadership will depend on the prevailing situation in a group, the desires or purposes and the qualifications of the leaders. It may be exercised in a particular situation, at a given point of time, and under specific set of circumstances. It implies that leadership styles may be different under different situations. It is the process to direct and coordinate the activities of members of an organisation towards the achievements of goals, honestly and efficiently. There is no substitute for excellence, tolerance of mediocrity and no compromise with integrity. Leadership is not just Charisma, not public relations, rather it is performance, consistent behaviour and trust worthiness. It proves helpful in understanding the behaviour of the leaders. A successful leader is one who has the quality to keep the members of an organization with him. Such leader perform his duties in such a way that individual interests do not come into conflict with the greater interests of

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an organisation.\textsuperscript{14} Leaders may keep in mind that the team members prefer involvement, guidance, good interpersonal relationship as important factor for success.

The nature of leadership is greatly determined by the age, caste, sex composition, education, occupation, religion and rural-urban background etc. All these factors not only help in the formulation of attitudes and perception, but also influence the behaviour pattern of the member.\textsuperscript{15} These variables besides giving us an insight into their personality make up, also enable us to look into their social bases in terms of the dominant class and caste to which they belong. The socio-economic, educational background of the legislators would also enable us to anticipate as to what they are capable of doing, what we should expect from them and how well they are equipped to discharge the responsibilities developed upon them by the electorate.\textsuperscript{16}

The responsibilities of the leaders are highly influenced by the socio-economic environment. The behaviour, manner, values and the norms of the leaders are deeply shaped by the environment. So, it becomes necessary to understand the socio-

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economic background of the members of the Estimates Committee.

In this part of the chapter an attempt has been undertaken to examine the socio-economic background of the members of the Estimates Committee of Punjab from 1992-2007. The effectiveness of the committee depends on the skill, knowledge, attitude, of the members which is determined by the socio-economic background of its members for understanding the role and nature of leadership, the researcher has taken into consideration the variables of sex composition, caste, occupation, religion, education, rural urban background and age of the members of Estimates Committee of Punjab 1992-2007.

In order to find out the facts about the socio-economic background of Estimates Committee of Punjab on the basis of education, caste, occupation, leadership etc.; a questionnaire was prepared and 70 members have been interviewed for this work to know the relative importance of the legislative experience, educational qualification, leadership caste, age and rural urban background etc. for getting the membership of Estimates Committee of Punjab. Out of 70 respondents, 35 were of the view that leadership, education, legislative experience plays an important role. 12 members replies only legislative experience count, 10 members were of the opinion that these factors do not count and 8 members says that leadership plays an active role and 5 felt that education do
count in the selection of the members of Estimates Committee of Punjab Vidhan Sabha.

Educational Qualification

A good legislator must have a sound knowledge and good educational qualification. There are no two views about the desirability of educated persons being returned to legislature because educational level is not only a major indicator of One’s personality but also includes the performance of members of the Estimates Committee. No qualifications were prescribed for election of members to the Legislative Assembly. Education has been documented as a very important index of modernization in a number of studies. The educated people are more innovative and receptive to new ideas. The level of education is considered as an important variable in shaking the leadership pattern. The effectiveness of the leader depends on the level of education. Educated members have various qualities like knowledge, skill, confidence, understanding and many other ways to prove a good leader. Bhatt accorded importance to education and observed that illiteracy restricts one’s capacity to give thoughtful judgement on important issues. Education facilitates the development of a progressive

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attitude in individuals towards social and economic problem.\textsuperscript{21} Education is a pivot around which the gradual development of country revolves. Educational qualification has a great impact on the behaviour pattern of the members of Estimates Committee. It helps in social and occupational mobility for member in social hierarchy. It is assumed that education moulds a person into an elegant, efficient and highly perceptive being. It is also helpful in problem solving. Therefore, it is believed that the educated people are more conscious of the problems of the society and they are likely to seek possible solutions. With the spread of education, more and more people have started realising the importance of education in the life of man.

The analysis of educational background in respect of the study from 1992 to 2007 shows that most of members do not have good educational background. There is a steady and constant increase in the proportion of the legislators with college and University education. The analysis also throws light on the trends of professionally qualified persons joining active politics and finding seats in the Estimate Committee. For the present analysis, the educational qualification of the members has been classified into seven categories, i.e., (i) Under-matric, (ii) Matric, (iii) Under-graduates, (iv) Graduate, (v) Post-graduate, (vi) Doctors, and (vii) Engineers.

### Table 4.1

**Break-up of the Members of Estimates Committee of Punjab According to Educational Qualification from 1992-2007**

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<td>Matric</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>Engineers</td>
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<td>195</td>
<td>100</td>
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</table>


*Personal interview through questionnaire.*
The above Table 4.1 clearly demonstrates that with the passage of time, the level of education of the members of the Estimates Committee is on the higher side. As is evident from the table there are no under metrics from 2001 to 2007, whereas the qualification upto metric level has not changed the pattern. The maximum members of the Estimates Committee belonged to graduate level. It becomes clear that out of 195 members, 95 members are covered under the graduate category which comes to 48.72%. The minute study also shows that Under Matric from year 1992-93 to 2006-07 doesn’t increase from 4.10%. The number of Matriculates for the very period comes to 32 (16.41%) similarly the qualification upto undergraduates is also the same as of matriculates i.e. 32 (16.41%). With the passing of time, post graduates, doctors and engineers are on the positive side. The percentage of the post graduate come to 23 (11.80%), with 3 (1.54%) doctors and 2 (0.2%) engineers. Thus, it can be concluded that professional too are getting involved in the politics over the coming years. So education enables one to get more respect and better reception in society than those without education. The Constitution of India does not lay down any educational criteria regarding members of Estimates Committee. Education profoundly affects the behaviour patterns of a person as well as the understanding and knowledge he brings to bear upon public affairs. It is surprising to note that in Estimates Committee, no member
possess to have qualification regarding financial matters i.e. Accounts or Audit.

Previous Experience

The previous experience makes qualitative difference in the thinking, perceptions and attitudes of the members of the committee. The experience in any field is directly proportional to the discharge of duties and responsibilities in an effective manner. The previous experience of the members has qualitative differences as compared to new members. Old and experienced members of the committee are, thus, returned again and again as they are already conversant with rules of the game. They acquire influence and power in the process. The experience, which the leaders have had in different bodies of government and party organization during the course of their political career, constitutes an important dimension.\textsuperscript{22} The experienced data is tabulated as under.

Table 4.2

Break-up of the Members of Estimates Committee of Punjab According to any Previous Experience from 1992-2007

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<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>54.87</td>
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<tr>
<td>One year</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>26.15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Two years</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10.25</td>
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<td>Three years</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>5.12</td>
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<td>Four years</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.05</td>
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<td>Five years</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>195</td>
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</table>

* Personal interview through questionnaire.
The Table 4.2 regarding the number of terms of members envisages that the members of the Estimates Committee have served year wise during the span ranging from 1992-93 to 2006-07. It has been noticed that the new entrance were maximum in the year 1992-93 i.e. all the members were new. The total number of 107 (54.87%) out of 195 members were new one from 1992-2007. The members having one year experience is 51 (26.15%), 2 year experience members are 20 (10.25%), 10 members (5.12%) were having 3 year experience in the past. There are 4 members (2.05%) having experience of 4 years and 3 members (1.53%) having an experience of 5 years. It is surprising that the nature of committee work is technical but people with technical qualification do not prefer to come into politics. Now it will be analysed as to why the number of newly elected members were more in the first five years i.e. 1992-97. It is essential to go back to the previous days before the general election was held in 1992. The state was under the president rule from 1987 to 1992 and thus no election could be held. To be more precise the period from 1987 to 1992 was the darkest period for the State and stability was nominal. The other major point was the boycott of the major political party including Shiromani Akali Dal in the election. That is the only reasons as to why the newly elected members were elected to the first Estimates Committee come into existence after the turmoil in the state.
During the interview period, 70 members were enquired, whether experience should be the main criteria of appointment of members of Estimates Committee? 35 members were of the view that experience should be made the main criteria of the appointment of members and some new members should also appointed to give them a chance to learn. Whereas 35 members were not in favour of experience, they are against the idea of making experience as a criteria of selection of the members. These members were further asked as to what should be the ratio of new members and experience holders. As many as 25 members were of the view that 50% should be experienced and 50% should be new members, where as 20 members opined that there is no rule in this respect and 15 members were of the view that it depends on the discretion of the Speaker of the House and 10 members said that $\frac{3}{4}$ members should be old and $\frac{1}{4}$ members should be new.

Profession

Occupation constitutes an important element of the socio-economic status. Occupation is an index of a person’s social standing although this is not identical with the class, it is closely related to the class. Occupation is an important variable affecting rural leadership. It is through their occupation that the contestant come into touch with and influence the voters. In the present arena the society has been divided into various

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occupational groups. It also influences the behaviour, thinking and nature of decision making process. It is not uncommon for a person to be in various occupations at different stages of his life or to be engaged in several of them even at the same time.\textsuperscript{24} So, a person may be a lawyer, a journalist, a social and political people, while at the same time claiming to be a land owner and a holder of several other businesses.\textsuperscript{25}

The living standard of people in any country largely depends upon the national income of the country. National income depends upon the per capita income and per capita income is the result of occupation. The members of the Estimates Committee ranging from 1992-2007 in respect of profession one holds, has positive impact on the working of behaviour of the committee. It influences the thinking attitudes towards the various problems that the committee faces. In Punjab almost 90\% people directly or indirectly have a deep relation with agriculture. Agriculture being the major occupation in rural areas, agriculturists are obviously in majority among the leaders. However the agriculturists include a wide range of peasant groups from rich land owners to small farmers. A substantial number of the legislators under study own enough land and draw surplus from their farm produce. The predominance of landed interest in state politics has had

\textsuperscript{24} Op. cit., n 2, p.80.
wider implications, particularly in the case of implementation of land reforms.26

To classify the members of Estimates Committee according to their occupation was not an easy task because many member had more than one occupation but they just stated agriculture, business or politics as their main profession. Out of the fear of divulging their real income they did not tell any thing about their multifarious business activities. There is always a possibility that some of these agriculturists have other source of income like shellers, brick-kilins, dairy farming, etc.

The scrutiny of the Table 4.3 is shown in the next page.

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Table 4.3
Break-up of the Members of Estimates Committee of Punjab According to Main Profession from 1992-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Profession</th>
<th>Number of Persons in the Given Session</th>
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<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics/Social work</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture cum business</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other services</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
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* Personal interview through questionnaire.
* Other services – Supdt., Professor
The study of the Table 4.3 indicates that Punjab is rural dominated area and near about 70% of the population depends upon agriculture. The total number of members of the Estimates Committee who adopted upon agriculture as their profession comes to 91 (46.67%) from the period 1992-2007, 35 (12.52%) persons belonged to business community and 25 (12.82%) members belonged to agriculture cum business community, 24 (13.31%) members belong to the political and social work, where as 10 (5.13%) members belong to Advocate profession and 8 (4.10%) belong to medico profession. There are only two members who are involved in services like professor and superintendent.

Age

Age was a significant factor not only in case of career advancement but the benefit of experience comes from personal experience only.\textsuperscript{27} The age structure is significant in terms of experience, maturity of judgement, actual opportunity in relation to the range of opportunities Lipset emphasised that:

"Different ages imply variations in life experiences and affect left or right political behaviour in two ways through generational differences and through differences in the typical patterns of social experience associated with different age groups."\textsuperscript{28}


It is commonly believed that the old people are more mature, able to understand the problems better than the younger ones. Age is the major factor through which a person can take decision effectively. Age is a significant variable in the Indian trading of leadership. It has symbolized experience and maturity of mind. There has always been a competition between the young one and aged section of the society. In this battle, the aged have always been regarded as the symbol of maturity. Traditionally, it has been the privilege of elders to occupy an important position in all spheres of life. With the coming of education and outside employment, middle aged educated people are being given opportunities by the older people to represent them in the committee and society. Consequently, persons in the younger age groups are taking interest in politics.\textsuperscript{29}

Since ancient times in India, importance has been given to the age factor.\textsuperscript{30} The age factor of members are more pronounced in the formation of Estimates Committee. The maturity of thought and mind comes with the higher age factor. The aged member has most vulnerable experience as compared to young folk.\textsuperscript{31} Though the younger are robust, Zelous and intent to rush to the decision, where as old people are

\textsuperscript{29} R. Indira and Deepak Kumar Behera, \textit{Gender and Society in India, Rural and Tribal Studies}, Manak Publications, 1999.
considered to be the think tank of the committee. The age factor gives us an idea of the kind of age groups that find representation in the Estimates Committee. If members are young, it shows that they had no previous experience of the old phase of politics. Generational experience is not an exclusive determinant of political behaviour because there is nothing common among members of the same age group unless they also share the same social and cultural background. The depth study of the Table 4.4 of the age group is discussed in the next page.
Table 4.4
Break-up of the Members of Estimates Committee of Punjab According to the Age Group (in Years)
from 1992-2007

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<td>57</td>
<td>29.23</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>29.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-65</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>24.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 yrs. onwards</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Personal interview through questionnaire.
The above Table 4.4 shows that the majority of the members of the Estimate Committee fall in age group of 36-45 and 46-55 (29.23%). The next age group comes closer to the earlier one is of 56-65 years as it shares (24.10%). The leaders of this age group are neither too old nor too young and combine the virtues of the youth and age. The age group of 66 and above is represented by 9.23%. The least number of members of the Estimates Committee is from the age group of 25-35 years. In this category only 16 (8.21%) members belonged to this group. It is commonly believed that the members belonging to higher age groups are more mature to understand the problems and needs of the people than the younger person.

Urban-Rural Background

Terrain etymologically the word terrain refers to the earth and is generally used to mean area. The word may be used to denote the background of the habitat to which the respondents belong. Those having a relation with agricultural habitats are rural and others connected with commercial and industrial habitats are characterized as urban.32 The rural-urban background influences the style of life, personality and various aspects of life. The process of socialization tends to be different in rural and urban setting due to diverse cultural milieu.33

India is a country of rural dominated population. Leadership with rural background dominates at every level in

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the country. The urban setting is characterized by a large population, high literacy rates, quick and diverse means of communications etc. The rural setting on the other hand is characterized by smallness, dis-ineffectiveness, homogeneity and other factors etc.\textsuperscript{34} As far as rural-urban background is concerned, there is a visible shrinkage in the rural background. Most of the members of the Estimates Committee who were residing in the rural areas are shifting their residences to the urban areas, keeping their individual interest in mind, such as children’s education, modern infrastructure, diversified occupations, means of transport, social mobility etc. It is a fact that people residing in urban areas are better informed and have easier access to the governmental and political centre than those residing in rural areas.

Table 4.5

Break-up of the Members of Estimates Committee of Punjab According to Urban/Rural Background from 1992-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>52.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>47.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Personal interview through questionnaire.*
The break-up of the members of Estimates Committee of Punjab as shown in Table 4.5 from urban area and rural area go neck by neck. There are 103 (52.83%) members of Estimates Committee in Punjab from urban belt and 92 (47.17%) comes from the rural belt. This rural-urban divide not only represents cultural and material differences but also sharp disparities in power and development.

Gender

The Constitution of India provides right to equality to all citizen without any discrimination on the basis of gender. The dominance of the males in the society may be due to the traditional attitude of the people who believe that Politics and Public life are the domain of males and not of females.\textsuperscript{35} Politics is said to be a domain of male sex. All over the world, men outnumber women in political arena, they dominate the political scene while the representation of women is almost negligible. The male dominated society\textsuperscript{36} of Punjab is no exception to this trend. In Indian Society the position of a woman has been traditionally that of a ‘dependent’ first on parents and then on husbands and later on the sons. Here too, men outnumber women in the legislative assembly and politics is considered a male dominated society. It is a fact that women are either not


encouraged or they feel shy of entering into the political arena. Moreover, the women are neglected at various levels from participating into political activities because of rigid social system in which they are not provided facilities of education, liberty of performing tasks outside the four walls of their houses and in the rural area when a woman enters into politics she is taken as an exception. Women have always been its integral and inseparable part, irrespective of the nature and form in the society. Women who constitute half of the humanity for centuries have been suppressed and treated as subordinates not equal to men in various field of activities. Women’s ability to participate in the political activities is influenced by her own educational level and educational level of the family as well as her husband. So, education is a powerful factor in social change, though its influence is seen more on men than on women. The table very clearly shows that the representation of women is very marginal. The data given in the Table 4.6 from 1992 to 2007 is as under:
Table 4.6

Gender-wise Composition of the Members of Estimates Committee of Punjab from 1992-2007

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Table 4.6 indicates that the total number of male members from 1992 to 2007 comes to 181 (92.82%) members, whereas female strength for the same period comes to 14 (7.18%). The total number of male and female for the first five years 1992-93 to 1996-97 is 60 and 5 respectively. For the next 5 year 1997-98 to 2001-02 is 63 and 2 respectively and for the last 5 years, i.e., 2002-03 to 2006-07 is 58 and 7 respectively. The under-representation of women in the Estimates Committee reveals that existing structural and psychological barriers to their entry are still overwhelming. The traditions in India, restricts their role primarily to the household.

In Indian society, women are believed to be non-political. Women’s participation in political activities are comparatively very limited. The number of female members elected to the House has been very small, i.e. the small members were to be given representation in the Estimates Committee. Keeping this in view, the members of Estimates Committee during the course of interview, were enquired, whether in their opinion do women get fair representation in the committee? As many as 35 members felt that they get fully representation in the committee. Whereas 25 members opined that women get representation according to the proportion of the house and 5 members were of the view that they were not duly represented and 5 members were of the view that there is no fixed representation for women is any of the Committee. The
members of Estimates Committee were further enquired that what are your suggestions to improve the representation of women in the committee. Out of 70 members, 55 members were in favour of rights should be given to every women and 15 members were of the view that women reservation bill should be implemented.

Religion

India is a multi religious and multi lingual country having great cultural diversities. The major religious groups in the population are Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians. The Preamble of Constitution declares India to be a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic and Republic. It is country which is well known not only for religious diversity but also for religious tolerance. In ancient India, it was considered to be the foremost duty of the state to uphold dharma which implied justice, morality and righteousness. In India religion plays an important role in determining the leadership position. Religion in one form or the other is found in almost every civilization. The presence of religion in every society means the presence of some sort of relationship between religion and state. In traditional society, religion plays an important role in determining the leadership positions. Machiavelli was the first eminent scholar who tried to separate ethics from politics. But from Plato to Machiavelli, more importance had been given to religion. Punjab is inhabited by two principal communities the
Sikhs and the Hindus. As Sikh population in state mainly dominates the rural life.

Religious background affects day-to-day activities and attitudes of people. The religion of a person is neither a qualification nor a disqualification to get membership in the Estimates Committee. Religion has been as essential part of every society. Its importance both in individual and society has been universally recognized. For thousand of years religion has had a strong hold over the lives of human being. Religion has continued to be central part of human experience, influencing how one perceive and react to the environment in which one lives.\footnote{Surya Narayan Misra, Subas Chandra Hazary and Amreshwar Misra, \textit{Constitution and Constitutionalism in India}, APH publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 1991, p.83.}

India has not identified itself with any particular religion but respect all faiths and religions equally.\footnote{S. Radhakrishan, \textit{Recovery of Faith}, Hind Pocket Books, Delhi, 1955, p.202.} The state of Punjab is mostly Sikh dominated state and the role of religion cannot be ignored. The data relating to religious background of the members of Estimates Committee is given in Table 4.7 as under:
### Table 4.7


|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|       |      |
| Sikh     | 9         | 6         | 8         | 6         | 7         | 11        | 10        | 10        | 11        | 11        | 10        | 10        | 9         | 10        | 11        | 139    | 71.29 |
| Hindu    | 4         | 6         | 5         | 7         | 6         | 2         | 3         | 3         | 2         | 2         | 3         | 2         | 4         | 3         | 2         | 54     | 27.69 |
| Muslim   | -         | 1         | -         | -         | -         | -         | -         | -         | -         | 1         | -         | -         | -         | -         | -         | 2      | 1.02  |
| Total    | 13        | 13        | 13        | 13        | 13        | 13        | 13        | 13        | 13        | 13        | 13        | 13        | 13        | 13        | 13       | 195    | 100   |


*Personal interview through questionnaire.*
Religion wise break-up of the members of the Estimates Committee as shown in Table 4.7 is as under. The members of the Sikh religion dominate the picture which is followed by Hindus. The member belonging to the minority community is very negligible from the period 1992-97, the members belonging to the Sikh religion comes to 36, from the period 1997-2002, the members of the Sikh community is 53 and 50 member belong to this community from the period 2002-07. Thus 139 members (71.29%) of the total number of 195 belong to Sikh religion from the period 1992-2007. The members belonging to Hindus community from 1992-97 comes to 28, from the period 1997-2002 i.e. 12 and from the period 2002-2007 comes to 14, thus comprising 54 members (27.69%) from the period 1992-2007. The members belonging to Muslim community is 2 (1.02%) for the whole period i.e. 1992 to 2007.

Caste

Caste may be defined as a small group of persons characterized by hereditary membership and a specific style of life, which sometimes includes the pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and was usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchical status.\textsuperscript{39} There is a feeling that in determining rural leadership caste plays an important role in state politics. Thus caste has been playing a vital role in politics but it has not come in the way of committee unity and the functioning of the Estimates Committee. Politics

\textsuperscript{39} Andre Biteille, \textit{Caste, Class and Power}, University of California Press, 1971, p.46
is largely guided and controlled by caste affiliations. Religion and caste, not only in Punjab but also in other parts of the country are generally go together. Caste is the most important determinant in patterns of political life.\textsuperscript{40}

Caste in India is an age-old system which can undoubtedly be regarded as one of the most pervasive social institutions of Indian society. However, the use of caste in politics and in other group processes in publicly criticized by almost every body but the fact remain, as Srinivas notes that,

Caste is so tacitly and so completely accepted by all, including those most vocal in condemning it, that it is everywhere the unit of social action.\textsuperscript{41}

Caste plays a significant role in determining the behaviour of the leader. The position of leaders is graded on the basis of caste system. The social structure of India is to a large extent based on caste identities. In the past, the caste system was determined on the basis of occupation and a person belonging to a particular caste had to follow the ancestral profession.\textsuperscript{42} Caste is a source of placement in the social and political setup and also mean of indentity.\textsuperscript{43} The influence of caste in the society is not withering away with modernization. On the

\textsuperscript{42} Harinder Chabra and W.T. Jones, \textit{State Politics in India (A Study of Centre State Relations)}, Surjeet Publications, Delhi, 1980, p.177.
contrary not only this aspect of social infrastructure persists but also interacts with and influences the political process. In Punjab, Caste factor is very significant, it manifests occasionally inactive at times in latent ways. K.D. Gangrade observed that the dominant caste continuous to fill the strategic position both in the traditional as well as modern structure of power.\textsuperscript{44} Though the leaders in India desires to establish a casteless society and make India a Secular State, they are halting in their effort of achieve it, as they are aware of its vote catching power.\textsuperscript{45}

Caste is a key around which the whole leadership revolves. It is deeply entrenched in the rural community. It is generally observed that higher and dominant caste always hold key positions in the society. Beteille has pointed out that most important cleavages and alignments in India are generally embedded in the matrix of caste.\textsuperscript{46} Another scholar observed that the dominant caste continuous to fill the strategic positions both in the traditional as well as in the modern structure of power. Reddy holds the view that the members of the Estimates Committee who come from rural areas do not have high qualification but belong to dominant superior castes.\textsuperscript{47} It was true that the people lost the caste complex to a

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{44} Op. cit., n 30, p.242.
\end{flushright}
certain extent when they were in an industrial area, but the moment they went back, they accepted it in all its rights. In India there are evidences in the literature that vote preferences are made on caste lines, parties select members on the basis of caste dominance in the assembly.48 The caste background of the members of Estimates Committee is discussed in Table 4.8 in the next page.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Number of Persons in the Given Session</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Jat</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bania</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatri</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saini</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC/BC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Personal interview through questionnaire.
* Others – Kamboj, Rajput, Dogra.
If we analyze the membership of Estimate Committee on the basis of caste, it becomes clear that the Jatt Sikhs have emerged as a dominant group. The Jat community have 100 (51.28%) members in the Estimate Committee forms the large chunk of member, which is followed by 39 (20%) members of SC/BC and is placed at the second position. The Khatri’s have 25 members (12.83%) participation. Then comes to Bania, Brahmin and Saini have equal participation with 4.10% each, followed by others (like Kamboj, Rajput and Dogra’s have 2.56% participation. Muslims have 2 members with (1.03%) in the Estimate Committee.

On the perusal of data collected and tabulated for the years 1992 to 2007 regarding the socio-economic profile of the members of the Estimates Committee makes a very interesting study. While going through the data given in the tables, it is very much clear that Punjab being a rural dominated state and the maximum population have adopted agriculture as their profession. There are 3 categories who have adopted agriculture as profession viz. landlords, medium landlords and small farmers. The members with high holdings do not depend upon the agricultural income only. Actually they do not make it public the other professions they have adopted such as shellers, brick kilns, transport, dairy, farming etc. The inferior design of these big landlords, who are the members of the Estimates Committee is to hide the actual income from the eyes of the department concerned. The economy of the Punjab is
farm dominated and the character of the economy of the state is pre dominantly agrarian. In every passing year there is a change in the qualification of the members of Estimates Committee of Punjab. The highest qualification level was found to be the graduation. As the time passes, more and more professionals are being attracted in the political arenas. The professionals belong to the categories of legal cell as well as medico side, but no member possessed qualification concerned with Audit or the Finance. In the field of gender equality, the female representation in the Estimate committee of Punjab has been most negligible and dominated by males, because of the fact that the number of elected male members as compared to the other sect is much more. Thus the members elected to the Estimates Committee from the men folk will be more as compared to the female members. The very table speaks that the representation to the women was more during the congress govt. as compared to the Government run by Akali BJP combined. In the field of the previous experience of the members of Estimate committee, the new members have outnumbered the experienced ones. The new members dominated in Estimates Committee. The very reason behind this is that Punjab state was placed under President Rule from 1985 to 1992, and thus no elections were held. The elections in 1992 was just a drama on the face of democratic set up. There were two main political parties Viz, Indian National congress and Shiromani Akali Dal. The Shiromani Akali Dal boycotted the
elections, thus the field was kept open for the Indian National Congress and some Minor parties like CPI, BJP, BSP etc. In these elections, some members secured 4 to 5% votes of the total member of voters. Some members secured some 12 to 15% votes of the total voters. The average come to near about 12%.

There is a majority of middle age group ranging from 36-55. The shift from elder leaders to younger and middle aged is it self a significant trend in the process of change. Despite the emergence of younger and middle aged leadership, people did not reject the old aged people totally. The members associated old age with wisdom, experience and superior knowledge and therefore accorded respect and status. So the middle age group has its dominance over the Estimates Committee and the youth element is still behind. The permanent residences of the members of the Estimates Committee is in the rural belt because of the facts, many members of Committee were residing in the rural belt are coming to urban area while keeping their self interest in mind. The data clearly shows that the members of the Estimates Community are overpowered by Sikh religion. The numbers of Sikh Community members are on the higher sides as compared to others. Even in a secular state like India, religion has a dominant role. Although India is a multi religious, multi cultural country, yet in the present study the majority of the respondents are Sikhs. In our democratic system, religion has a wider role, as this major factor can not
be ignored while analyzing the membership of a member of Estimates Committee.

The Sikh community enjoy a major share in Estimates Committee. The second major religion in Punjab is Hindu. The Muslims have little participation with 2 (1.02%) in the membership of Estimate Committee. As far as politics in India is concerned, caste has played an important role in it. It is a phenomenon which is present all over India. Various political scientist and sociologist have realized the importance of caste in Indian politics. The Jat Sikh community has much upper hand which is clear from the fact that 100 members (51.28%) are from this community scheduled castes formed the second major caste in Estimates Committee. The economic status of Jat Sikhs has been enhanced by the benefits of the green revolution and this led to the politicization of their caste affiliations. Khatri’s formed the third major caste in Estimates Committee. All the members of the Estimates Committee are very much caste conscious and proud of their caste.