CHAPTER 3
SOCIO - ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE LEGISLATORS OF PUNJAB

In one of its important senses the prevalent culture and practice of politics is nothing but a contest for power as the contemporary political process is oriented towards only those activities that are directed and conditioned by the drive for the acquisition or retention of power. In order to understand the dynamics of power one has to identify the key variables which play their part in the manipulation of power politics in a given society.¹ Paul R. Brass, in his study of Punjab focuses on the ways in which various dimensions of the social, cultural and linguistic identities of the electorate have affected the strategies of political parties as well as the role perception of legislators in the legislature. Similarly Marguerite Ross Barnett, in her study on DMK² in Tamil Nadu, concentrates on the ways in which a political party and its members (legislators) have affected the voting behavior of the electorate through the notions of social identity it propagated. Comparatively higher rates of economic growth and expanding education and employment have provided more opportunities for social mobility in the Punjab as compared to other states of India. The three main parties in the state, the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD)³ a party having its basis in Sikh⁴ religious ideology, Bhartiya Janta party ⁵, (a

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². Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (lit. "Dravidian Progress Federation") (founded 1949, Madras Presidency, India), a former member of the United Progressive Alliance is a state political party in the states of Tamil Nadu and Puducherry, India It is a Dravidian party founded by C. N. Annadurai as a breakaway faction from the Dravidar Kazhagam (known as Justice Party till 1944), the prior Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. consideredhispoliticalheir.Kazhagamhttp://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dravida_Munnetra_Kazhagam#Histoy
³. The Shiromani Akali Dal (Akali Dal, Punjabi ਸ੍ਰੀਮੱਗੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ, pronunciation Supreme Akali Party) is a Sikhism -centric political party in India. Akali Dal was formed on December 20, 1920 as a task force of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, the Sikh religious body. The Akali Dal considers itself the principal representative of Sikhs. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shiromani_Akali_Dal.
⁴. Who is a Sikh? The literal meaning of the word Sikh is a 'disciple.' A Sikh is one who is a disciple of the Satguru. To be a disciple of the Satguru, one must completely surrender one's will and wisdom to the Will and Wisdom of the Satguru. Only then, the Satguru admits one is in his fold as a 'Sikh' and blesses him. Sikhs took its birth towards the end of the 15th century and its founder, Guru Nanak (1469-1539) A particular form of Sikh ethnic identity was codified by the 10th Sikh Guru, Gobind Singh, on Baishaki Day in April 1699.. Jugdeep Singh Cheema, *The Sikh Separatist Insurgency in India: Political Leadership and Ethonationalist Movement*, Saga Publications, New Delhi,2010,p 22.
⁵. The Bharatiya Janata Party (pronunciation (help-info), translation: *Indian People's Party*; abbreviated BJP) is the smaller of the two major parties in the Indian political system, the other being the Indian National Congress. Established in 1980, it is India's second largest political party in terms of representation in the parliament and in the various state assemblies. The Bharatiya Janata Party designates its official ideology and central philosophy to be "integral humanism", based upon a 1965 book by Deendayal Upadhyaya. The party is labelled as Hindu nationalist” and advocates social conservatism, self-reliance as outlined by the Swadeshi movement, and a foreign policy centred around key nationalist principles. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bharatiya_Janata_Party.
party with a pronounced Hindu religious ideology) and Congress\(^6\) (which professes secularism and aims to appeal to both the main communities of the Punjab) have all regularly made strategic adjustments in the nature and intensity of their appeal both to suit the mood of changing electorate and as a response to the political and social positioning of their rivals.\(^7\) An adequate explanation of the collective behavior of legislative leadership can be obtained by making a close study of the environment in which their public personalities have evolved. The background and context of political behavior has gained considerable importance in recent years. David Truman, for example writes: “The political legislator is not equivalent to the steel ball in pin ball game, bumping passively from post to post down an inclined plane. He is a human being involved in a variety of relationships that define him as a person”\(^8\) In fact, the truth is that an individual’s values and personal convictions are heavily influenced by his environment. Knowledge of man’s early life, group membership and identifications are some of the factors which are essential for a full and comprehensive understanding of his behavior. Moreover, socio-economic characteristics of legislators can be fruitfully utilized to ascertain and establish their position in a given society’s system of social stratification. At the same time continuous transitions in social identities influence the organizational form and nature of political life. Conversely political organizations on their part too attempt to determine the shape and forms of social identifications.

Examination of socio-political background of the legislators, who as members of the society are engaged in various walks of life, has assumed considerable importance in the recent studies on Indian polity which subsumes various levels of governance including the national and local governments. Behind this is a premise that these types of studies will help in revealing the mechanisms behind the construction of power. Some argue that political power is concentrated in the hands of the elite possessing a high level socio-economic status. Others have concluded that power is pluralistic in its distribution and that there are many other sources from which the political classes emerge other than the socio-economic elite. Those in favour of a pluralistic model argue that political power

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\(^{6}\) The Indian National Congress (abbreviated INC, and commonly known as the Congress) is one of the two major political parties in India, the other being the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). It is the largest and one of the oldest democratically-operating political parties in the world. The party's modern liberal platform is largely considered centre-left wing in the Indian political spectrum as contrasted to the right-wing socio-religious ultra-nationalist-based Bharatiya Janata Party. It was founded in 1885. The Indian National Congress became a pivotal participant in the Indian Independence Movement, with over 15 million members and over 70 million participants in its struggle against British colonial rule in India. After independence in 1947, it became the nation's dominant political party, led by the Nehru-Gandhi family for the most part. [www.aicc.org.in](http://www.aicc.org.in)


is a function of widely spread and diffusely distributed resources like political parties, electoral offices, bureaucrats and interest groups as well as the general public which wield varying amounts of potential power in reference to specific areas of polity. On the other hand those propounding an elitist model argue that a small, integrated group of wealthy and socially powerful individuals control the policy process. This view supports the proposition that socio-economic stratification determines the structure of political power. Leadership cannot be understood to be absolute and abstract. The nature of leadership is generally determined by variables such as, age, caste, sex, religion, income, occupation, education, family size, land holding etc. These variables besides giving us an insight into the personality make up of the leaders, also enable us to look into their social base in terms of economic, educational and political background. Such an analysis would also enable us to anticipate as to what these leaders are capable of doing, what we should expect from them and how well they are equipped to discharge the responsibilities entrusted to them by the electorate.

As Geraint Perry observes, “it is a wide spread assumption of political sociology that social background and upbringing of a decision–maker will influence his attitudes and policies.” Socio-economic life and influences under which the future leaders have grown are essential to understand their behavior in public life. Socio-economic traits of the legislators can be used to ascertain their place in social stratification and, at the same time, serve as an index to the changes in the distribution of power within a society. This chapter proposes to carry out a systematic study of legislative leadership in Punjab. The theoretical objective is to examine the socio-economic background of the legislators elected to the State Assemblies since 1997. The variables of analysis include factors like occupational background, post legislative experience and education etc. Much of the what follows is based on information available in the who's who of the legislative assemblies and data collected through personal interviews with some (50 percent) individuals, supplemented by information gathered from various other sources. It may be relevant to point out that the four state assemblies under study were constituted during the assembly elections of 1997, 2002, 2007 and 2012 respectively. SAD and BJP, coalition

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government ruled in the state from 1997 to 2012 with 92 (74+18 respectively) assembly seats. After it in 2002 the Congress party came to power with a majority of 61 seats and the coalition parties had to sit on the opposition benches during the five year term from 2002 to 2007. In 2007 SAD and BJP alliance secured a majority in the state assembly with 69 (50+19 respectively) seats. In the assembly elections of 2012 SAD and BJP alliance once again returned to power with 68 (56+12 respectively) seats. These facts pertaining to successive governments from 1997 onwards reveal that three parties i.e. SAD, Congress and BJP have been the leading protagonists in the assembly elections in the state of Punjab. Sources such as newspapers, periodicals, SAD, Congress and BJP Office (Chandigarh) records and information collected informally from people with intimate knowledge of the political leadership have been used as resources in order to compile a comprehensive account of the socio-economic background of the leaders. The data presented here may be broken down into following parts:

1. **Background Information:** Sex, age, caste, religion, education, occupation family occupation, income, marital status, children, size of family, etc.

2. **Reading Habits:** The extent of exposure to newspapers, radio, magazines, media and other sources of news, information and knowledge.

These variables, besides giving us an insight into the personality make up of the leaders, would also enable us to look into their social antecedents in terms of the class and caste to which they belong. A study of the socio-economic educational and political background of the legislators would also enable us to anticipate their potential for political and social action, the expectations that can be held with regard to their performance and their capability to discharge the responsibilities given to them by the electorate.12 Similarly, demographic variables give some insight into the social and economic background of the legislative leadership. An effort has been made in the following pages to carry out a study of some of these variables.

**Rural Urban Background of Legislators:**

Many studies have clearly documented variance in the electoral behavior of the urban and rural voters indicating that urban rural cleavage is also an important variable to be taken into consideration. An important assumption behind such a belief is that the locale of the child’s early years plays a decisive role in determining his social as well as

his political outlook. According to conventional wisdom the likelihood of active participation in politics among urban people is greater than among rural people. In the American context, Key found the cleavage between metropolitan residents and rural and small town dwellers as a very significant foundation for dual system of state politics. The rural-urban background influences the style of life, personality and various other aspects of social life. The process of socialization tends to be different in rural and urban settings due to diverse cultural milieu. Although the difference in rural and urban communities is usually described as a matter of relative degree, in reality, they constitute two separate and distinct social realities. Urban centers have larger populace and density of population which bring forth greater degree of heterogeneity, social differentiation, social stratification and social interaction. People in urban areas enjoy better access to different facilities such as facilities for higher education, diversified occupations commercialized economy, means of transport and communication, social mobility and class organization pattern of society. All these factors produce a distinct “way of life” defined as urbanism which is characterized by a high degree of individualization, impersonalisation, secularization, cosmopolitanism and modernization. In Punjab, where industrialization began relatively late, rural background assumes a major significance. Persons, who have a few acres of land as an insurance against starvation, may feel economically more secure than their urban counterparts whose only means to earning a living is to secure and retain a job in an incipient industrial economy. This circumstance is likely to affect their role-perception. On the other hand, rural society is characterized by primary group control and personalization of relationship, dominance of traditional mores and conservatism, lesser but rigid social organization based on caste kinship obligation, mechanical solidarity and high group cohesiveness, lesser social change and mobility, agriculture and allied activities as the basis of economy.

However, the textual differences between urban and rural socio-cultural milieu cannot be understood to be fixed. The development of rapid means of transport and increasing possibilities of contact with urban centers has greatly affected the community.

life of almost all rural areas. One of the perspectives held by political leadership towards this change is to cultivate a mood of loss and ruefulness. One of the popular and common responses to the gradual transformation of rural life is that of lament that this may have an adverse effect on rural community life. The political leadership sometimes attempts to cultivate a sentiment that local communication which was formally a prominent part of village life is gradually eroding with the passing of years. Or that formerly the people of rural areas were more interested in common activities carried on for village welfare. The villagers used to look towards the community for their social life and psychological security. However, an important fact is that with increasing contact with urban centers the rural population begins to turn away from the village to the city. One of the important consequences of growing urban aspirations of rural population is migration to urban centers and the consequent shift from rural to urban constituencies.

As for the rural and urban background of the legislators of Punjab the statistics show that there is a consistent rise in the strength of urban groups and furthermore that the bases of different parties i.e. SAD, INC and BJP are shrinking in rural areas. Legislative leadership was dominated by leaders with rural background in 1997 but the trend faced reversals in 2002, 2007 and 2012. It is evident that there is consolidation of political leadership in urban areas. On the other hand, semi-urban areas witnessed an initial increase in 2002 followed by a decrease in 2007 and 2012 because of a consistent shift to urban areas. Table 3.1 below gives details of the rural/urban background of legislative leadership.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background</th>
<th>1997 119 (117+2*)</th>
<th>2002 120 (117+3)</th>
<th>2007 122 (117+5)</th>
<th>2012 118 (117+1)</th>
<th>Total 479 (468+11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>56.3 (67)</td>
<td>48 (57)</td>
<td>35.2 (43)</td>
<td>29.9 (35)</td>
<td>42.2 (202)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>26 (31)</td>
<td>28 (33)</td>
<td>41 (50)</td>
<td>50.4 (59)</td>
<td>36.1 (173)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi Urban</td>
<td>18 (21)</td>
<td>25 (30)</td>
<td>24 (29)</td>
<td>20.3 (24)</td>
<td>21.7 (104)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Data collected through personal interview with legislators.

**Note:** Figures in bracket denotes the actual number of the legislators.

* Members who join assembly after winning the by elections.
The above table 3.1 demonstrates that in all the four legislative assemblies taken together 42.2 percent legislators belonged to rural areas while 36.1 percent were from urban areas and 21.7 percent from Semi-urban areas. 56.3 percent, 48 percent, 35.2 percent and 29.9 percent respondents were from rural constituencies in the four legislative assemblies from 1997 to 2012 chronologically. On the other hand in the four legislative assemblies taken in a chronological order from 1997 to 2012, 26 percent, 28 percent 41 percent and 50.4 percent respondents belonged to urban areas. These urban leaders represented rural constituencies. Only 18 percent 25 percent 24 percent and 20.3 percent legislators belonged to semi urban constituencies respectively from 1997 to 2012. Taken party wise SAD/Congress legislators had a majority of legislators from rural/semi rural constituencies while a larger number of BJP legislators were from urban/semi urban areas. The data on the rural urban background also reveals that majority of the legislators in Punjab were of rural origin even if they were living in urban and semi urban areas. That is, however, not indicative of the fact that people with rural origin are over represented in the political workforce because it is a well known fact that more than three fourth of India’s population is rural. Furthermore, the data given below shows that majority of the legislators can be said to be considerably urbanized because of their prolonged residence in urban areas spanning from ten or more years. It is plausible to expect that the longer one’s residence in a particular locality, the more is his likelihood of participating in political activities.

**Male Female Ratio:**

Sex differences in political life are documented in many studies of political behavior. Women, in general, have been found to be more conservative politically and are usually less involved in politics as compared to men. A traditional and conservative country like India is certainly no exception to this general rule. Politics has traditionally been the domain of men throughout the world. As far as the Indian society is concerned the position of the women has been traditionally that of dependents. They remain

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16 Rural Areas includes, Typical Indian Villages.
17 Urban Areas includes developed cities i.e. Chandigarh, Ludhiana, Bathinda, Jalandhar, Amritsar, Patiala etc.,
18 Semi Urban includes all those areas which are neither villages nor developed cities i.e., Anandpur Sahib, Nangal, Ropar, Khanna, Fategarh Sahib, Sirhind etc.,
dependent first on parents, and then on husband and later on their sons. Though increasing access to educational and occupational opportunities is providing women with new roles outside the home, their social position within the family remains largely unchanged because the system of arranged marriage confirms the authority of caste norms, and the obligation of conformity to the traditional image of women as wife and mother. As a home maker, woman is a 24 hour multipurpose worker. Mahatma Gandhi has stated that “Women by nature are intended to be soft, tender-hearted, sympathetic mothers to their children.” He also cautioned women that domestic work output should not take the whole of their time, suggesting that they should take part in other activities.

One of the most significant events in the movement for women’s political rights in India was the demand for equal political rights made by a delegation of distinguished women led by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to the British Parliament in 1917. This demand paved the way for a series of consciousness raising movements by women in India and by 1937, women had acquired not only limited franchise rights but they could also contest the elections to the legislature. Furthermore, a policy of reservation of seats for women guaranteed for the first time the election of a sizeable number of women to different legislatures in 1937. In the elections of 1937, 41 women were elected against seats reserved for them. There were another five women who were nominated to provincial councils. Across different provinces their representation varied from one to four percent. The relatively slow progress in the activity and participation of women in politics results mainly from the non political roles assigned to them in the society. Their proper place is considered to be within their houses and their main responsibility is to perform household chores. Thus it is not surprising that in the domain of legislative leadership the situation appears to be heavily weighted with males. Though women constituted about half the population of Punjab, they were virtually underrepresented according to one of the samples, forming just 7.09 percent of the total members. This confirms the general belief that in a traditional society like ours women are neither preferred in a dominantly patriarchal social order nor encouraged by their families to take up politics.

Even though India has had a female president in the recent past and there are many female members in the parliament and state legislatures, the fact cannot be disputed

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that their presence has not had a conspicuous or revolutionary impact on the roles and position of women at the grass root level of the society. Precisely for this reason, even the small number of female leaders in our sample must be subjected to an incisive scrutiny as an index some subtle changes in Punjab as well as in India with regard to the status of women in the social, cultural and political spheres.\(^{22}\) Although constitutionally women enjoy equal political status with men, in reality women have not had many elected positions proportionate to their number in society: they comprise fifty percent of the total population yet their representation in the legislature and parliament was not more than five percent.\(^{23}\) The reason for fewer women coming forward to contest elections appears to be biological makeup of the women on the one hand and traditional and conservative outlook and general backwardness among the masses on the other. In the electoral process the percentage of participation of women has been gradually increasing over the years after the introduction of universal adult franchise although it is still not as much as that of men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>1997 (117+2*)</th>
<th>2002 (117+3)</th>
<th>2007 (117+5)</th>
<th>2012 (117+1)</th>
<th>Total (468+11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>94.8 (111)</td>
<td>92.5 (111)</td>
<td>93.4 (114)</td>
<td>88.9 (105)</td>
<td>92.0 (441)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7.2 (8)</td>
<td>7.5 (9)</td>
<td>6.55 (8)</td>
<td>11.1 (13)</td>
<td>(38) 7.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: Figures: is bracket shows actual number of respondents.

*Members who join assembly after winning the by-elections.

The above Table 3.2 reveals that a total member in the four assemblies was 479. Out of total 479 members males comprised 92.06 percent (441) and females 7.09 percent (38) in all the four respective assemblies. In 1997 legislative assembly males were 94.8 and females were 7.2 percent. In 2002 assembly males were 92.5 and females 7.5 percent. In 2007 legislative assembly, males were 93.4 percent and females were 6.55 percent. In 2012 assembly males were 88.9 and females were 11.1 percent. The table


\(^{23}\) S Nagendra Ambedkar, *op.cit.*, p.16.
shows that the percentage of male members has always been higher as compared to the female members. Moreover in the case of these few women also their social status has been largely responsible for their induction into the assembly. In most of the cases the entry of the female members was facilitated through the political influence of a male relative existing prior to their induction. In the case of some the position of the father, as a legislator or freedom fighter played a significant role. In the case of others their husbands had either been ministers or legislators. In still other cases, parents as well as in-laws were politically well known and prominent. The analysis also brings out that there was a tendency to nominate the same women candidates again and again. In other words it can be said that although the strength of women legislators was consistently increasing in the four respective legislative assemblies but in comparison with men their strength has always been negligible. In addition to this, the entry of women legislators cannot be understood to be symbolic of and commensurate with the increasing consciousness of rights among women in the society as a whole as the few women members who got an entry into the state assembly came from privileged social classes.

**Age of Legislators**

The age factor gives us an idea of the kind of age groups that find representation in the legislative bodies. It is one of the important determinant factor in emergence of leadership. There is cry for young and better leadership in the Indian polity over years shows that age of the legislators is an important variable in the consciousness of the electorate. The debate on the comparative advantages of different age groups for achieving desired results in a polity like India has always been alive. If members are young, they are perceived to be inexperienced and felt to suffer from the disadvantage of not possessing a historical consciousness. They are not seen as a part of the emerging historical processes and phases like the struggle for freedom in the history of a nation. In a country like India participation in the freedom movement was a major precondition for gaining legislative positions for a long time after independence. The generational gap can also account for the behavior and political orientation of the legislators. It was a widespread belief for years that aged people would dominate in acquiring leadership roles in a traditional society like India. However, there were studies by Iqubal Narian in 1964, Dr. Mrs. Rajinder Kaur Bhathal was the members in all the four legislative assemblies, Bibi Mohinder Kaur Josh, Satwant Kaur Sandhu, Laxmikanta Chawla, Razia Sultana, Aruna Choudhary, Harchand Kaur, were the members of two respective legislative assemblies. Bibi Jagir Kaur, Upinderjit Kaur, Mohinder Kaur Joshi, were the members of three legislative assemblies, Daljit Kaur, Roop Rani, Rajwinder Kaur Bhullar, F. Nisara Khaton Farzana Alam, Harpreet Kaur, Sukhjinder Kaur, Harbans Kaur, Gurkanwal Kaur, Charnjit Kaur were the members of individual in one legislative assembly.
M.V. Mathur in 1966, K. Rangarao in 1968, which found that young people were also emerging as leaders and gaining acceptance in the changing leadership pattern. Age has been an important factor in the Indian tradition of leadership. It has symbolized experience, maturity, and equanimity of mind.  

In an emerging society, new avenues of recruitment of the leadership cadre were no doubt opened but the established avenues would still continue. The patterns of conflict and accommodation between the old and the new leadership had an important bearing on the programme of induced change. The rejection of much of the older leadership may well be taken to mean the disapproval of old and outdated ideas and the acceptance of modern values. It also reflects a mood of disillusionment and disaffection because of the failures of leadership of the first order to fulfill the aspirations of an emerging democratic order. It can also be understood to be a vote against static leadership; conservative, rigid, social, and political attitudes. Studies on the relationship between age and politics reveal that as a person grows older in age, his perceptions and values also undergo a change. It has been demonstrated again and again that one tends to become more conservative, politically more active and partisan with the increase in age.

Viewing the impact of age on politics from another angle, noted sociologist Karl Mannheim makes an important intervention by saying that common experiences during the late adolescence might create a common frame to reference from which individuals of the same age group would tend to view their subsequent political experience. Age distribution of 1997, 2002, 2007 and 2012 legislative assemblies suggests that age is not a single most important factor in determining leadership. The data clearly brings out that the leadership is not controlled by either young or old, but is rather evenly distributed among all age groups. Most of the leaders above 50 years essentially are ceremonial leaders and they are leaders by virtue of the respect for their seniority and genealogical position in the lineage. They have the authority of the 'Gray Hair' and extensive experience of life. The age structure is significant in terms of experience, maturity of judgment, actual opportunities in relation to the range of opportunities. Lipset also emphasizes the fact that different ages imply variations in life experiences associated with different age groups.

All over the world constitutions ensure the attainment of a certain minimum age by the prospective representatives as a prerequisite formal qualification and eligibility condition for entry into legislative politics. This is considered to be necessary for the discharge of legislative duties which are not likely to be possessed by minors. India is no exception. Here the qualifying age for entry into state legislature as well as in the Lok Sabha has been fixed at twenty five by the Indian Constitution. It was assumed by the constitution makers, that a person acquires competence for an active participation in the politics at this age. No upper age limit, however, has been laid down and anybody can contest elections and enter the legislature at the state as well as National level till he is physically fit and alert and till he enjoys the trust of the people. It becomes clear from the table given below that the age of the legislators of the four assemblies covering the period from 1997 to 2012 ranged from 25 to 85 years, the average being 60 years. For the purpose of analysis and categorization, the data has been grouped into five broad categories. Those who were up to 25 to 40 years of age were termed “very young” those between 41 to 55 years were placed in "young” categories and those who were of 56-70 years were placed in “middle age” group and 71 to 85 years were placed in “old age”, and above 85 were deemed to be members of an even “older” category. The analysis given in Table 3.3 illustrates the position in proper perspective.

**Table 3.3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>1997 119 (117+2*)</th>
<th>2002 120 (117+3)</th>
<th>2007 122 (117+5)</th>
<th>2012 118 (117+1)</th>
<th>Total 479 (468+11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25-40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.9 (6)</td>
<td>4.27 (5)</td>
<td>2.30 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-55</td>
<td>16.8 (20)</td>
<td>28.3 (34)</td>
<td>35.2 (43)</td>
<td>27.3 (32)</td>
<td>26.9 (129)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-70</td>
<td>43.6 (52)</td>
<td>50.1 (60)</td>
<td>45.0 (55)</td>
<td>50.4 (59)</td>
<td>47.2 (226)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71-85</td>
<td>30.2 (36)</td>
<td>18.3 (22)</td>
<td>13.9 (17)</td>
<td>16.9 (20)</td>
<td>19.8 (95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 85</td>
<td>9.24 (11)</td>
<td>3.3 (4)</td>
<td>0.81 (1)</td>
<td>1.70 (2)</td>
<td>3.7 (18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*Note: Figures in Brackets show the total number of Legislators in each four legislative assemblies

*Members who join Assembly after winning the by elections.
The Table 3.3 clearly demonstrates that in all the four assemblies from 1997 to 2012, a majority of 47.2 percent legislators were from 56 to 70 age group (middle) and 26.9 percent respondents were from 41-55 that is middle age group. Respondents who were in (old) 71-85 age group were 19.8 percent. Apart from this 3.7 percent legislators were in more than 85 (older) age group. Only 2.3 percent legislators were from the age group categorized as very young in 2007 and 2012 legislative assembly. Taken year wise, 4.9 percent and 4.27 percent legislators were found to be in the 25-40 (very young) age groups in 2007 and 2012 respectively. In the four state assemblies taken chronologically 16.8 percent, 28.3 percent, 35.2 percent and 27.3 percent legislators quoted that their age was in 41-55 (young) age group. 56-70 age groups (middle) was occupied by 43.6 percent, 50.1 percent, 45 percent and 50.4 percent legislators respectively. On the other hand, 30.2 percent 18.3 percent, 13.9 percent and 16.9 percent legislators respectively fell in the 71-85 (old) age group. Only 9.24 percent 3.3 percent, 0.81 percent and 1.70 percent legislators acknowledged to be in the oldest age group (more than 85). It is evident from the statics given above that majority of legislators came from old age group (56-70) which is quite significant in the context of Punjab State where old age has clearly been given precedence as far as political representation was concerned. The preference for an age group that consists of people in the 56 to 70 year age group clearly indicates that determination of leadership is no longer based on seniority alone but also on other factors like one’s capacity to deliver services.

**Age of the Legislators at the Time of Their First Entry into the Assembly:**

The age distribution of leaders also suggests that age is not predominantly important in determining leadership. The data does not establish control of either young or old. It will be more appropriate to say that leadership is every distributed among all age groups. In terms of the socio-economic and political background most of the MLA’s in the State of Punjab falling in the young age group have come from relatively prestigious and privileged sections having considerable standing in the state and local level politics. Factually speaking many youngsters are members of well known state or local level political families, being blood relations of existing MLA’s and ministers. In economic terms also most of them come from relatively better off families. Table 3.4 below demonstrates the exact age of legislators at the time of their entry into politics. The table clearly establishes majority of younger leadership at the entry level in the assembly.
As elections to the state assembly require hectic election campaigning and soliciting of votes from across the social spectrum, it is a job which is more in line with the energetic youth.

Table 3.4
Age of the Legislators at the Time of Their First Entry into the Legislative Assembly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>1997 119 (117+2*s)</th>
<th>2002 120 (117+3)</th>
<th>2007 122 (117+3)</th>
<th>2012 118 (117+1)</th>
<th>Total 479 (468+11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25-40</td>
<td>36.9 (44)</td>
<td>40 (48)</td>
<td>35.2 (43)</td>
<td>12.8 (15)</td>
<td>31.3 (150)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-55</td>
<td>41.1 (49)</td>
<td>44.1 (53)</td>
<td>50 (61)</td>
<td>62.3 (73)</td>
<td>49.3 (236)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-70</td>
<td>20.1 (24)</td>
<td>15.8 (19)</td>
<td>13.9 (17)</td>
<td>25.4 (30)</td>
<td>18.7 (90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71-85</td>
<td>1.6 (2)</td>
<td>NIL</td>
<td>0.8 (01)</td>
<td>NIL</td>
<td>0.6 (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal Interview.
Note: Figures in the brackets shows the actual number of the legislators in each of four respective assemblies
*Members who join legislature after winning the by-elections.

The analysis points out that the age group of 41-55 (young) is predominant in all the assemblies. In all the four assemblies taken together 49.3 percent legislators were from this age group. The second major age group is the one between 25-40 (very young) with 31.3 percent followed by 18.7 percent from 56-70 (middle) age group. Merely 0.6 percent first time legislators came from 71-85 (old) age groups. The data makes it clear that 25-40 age group comprised 36.9 percent, 40 percent 35.2 percent and 12.8 percent respectively in the four assemblies, while 41.1 percent, 44.1 percent, 50 percent and 62.3 percent respondents were from the 41-55 age group. 20.1 percent, 15.8 percent, 13.9 percent and 25.4 percent legislators were from middle (56-70) age group. The 71-85 (old) age group consisted of only 1.6 percent and 0.8 percent respondents in 1997 and 2007 assemblies. An analysis of the age of legislators at the time of their first entry reflects that majority of legislators in all the four legislative assemblies under our study, entered into the legislature when they were in 'young age' group of 41-55. Age group of 25-40 (very young) comes at the second place, followed by old and older age group.

Caste of Legislators:
Caste and castesism is one from the most important realities of social and political life of India. According to the late Jag Jivan Ram "In Indian society one can give up
everything but he cannot give up his faith in caste.” 30 That is the reason why "no political analysis of Indian Politics that neglects it can be very much right.31 According to A.S. Narang, Caste is a powerful potential and actual weapon in keeping the people divided and weak in the face of any collective social challenge. Many social reformists, politicians and social scientists have expressed their concern about the increasing influence of caste on politics and many other spheres of social life. A number of changes brought by the British rulers in the Indian economy and Indian administration significantly affected the essence or caste system.32 Caste has been a subject of continuous interest to ethnographers, historians and sociologists for the last hundred years. Although the subject of caste and politics was initially of interest to only a handful of social anthropologists, it soon attracted the attention of political scientists and there is now a large literature on it. The legalities of caste are used for mobilization of political support in a number of ways33. According to Rajani Kothari politics is a competitive enterprise, its purpose is the acquisition of power for the realization of certain goals, and its process is one of identifying and manipulating existing and emerging allegiances in order to mobilize and consolidate position. The important thing is organization and articulation of support and where politics is mass based the point is to articulate support through the organization in which is to be found one of the principal organization clusters. Politics must strive to organize itself through a structure along which the bulk of the population is found to live.34

Role of Caste in Politics:

Caste plays a pivotal role in traditional politics, as traditionally dominant castes have played a central role in the performance of traditional political intuitions. Therefore the leadership in traditional political intuitions is generally remained in the hands of elite castes. But due to introduction of statutory intuitions and provisions for reservation of seats for scheduled castes the complexion of political institutions has changed in recent years. Provision for free and direct elections also provides an opportunity to backward

34. Rajani Kothari, Caste and Indian Politics, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 5-6.
castes to emerge as potential leaders. Hence, in the present times, it is generally believed that the leaders come from various castes. However in the case of Punjab, we find that statutory castes play an important role in shaping the leadership.

Clearly, the influence of caste varies greatly at different levels of elections. It has been demonstrated that the, “relevance of caste as a voting determinant keeps on decreasing as we move upwards at the higher levels of politics and vice-versa. Furthermore caste may be an important consideration in voting preference for one group of voters, while it may not be so important for another group.”\textsuperscript{35} There is no doubt that while in the past it worked as a cementing force in a society which was overwhelmingly agrarian, now because of the process of democratization and modernization, the social and political system has undergone a rapid change and so also the role of caste. We definitely cannot say that with increasing democratization and modernization caste ceases to be relevant. In fact, under the changing dynamics of these processes caste has been deeply politicized and even today it plays a very important role in politics. In fact caste has always been a factor to be reckoned with and none of the political parties, including SAD, Congress, BJP and Communists, could afford to ignore it. Moreover some of political parties evolve and organize themselves purely on the logic of caste.

All the major political parties nurture explicit or implicit caste orientation. For example both DMK and AIADMK have come up as anti Brahmin parties. Similarly all the major parties have caste based leanings. To take only a few examples, National Democratic Party (of Nair Community), Socialistic Republican party (of Ezhava community) SAD party (of Sikh community) BJP (of Hindu party) are purely castestis parties. It is not as much the ideological and programmatic differences that divide these parties as their loyalty to a particular caste.\textsuperscript{36} This shows that caste plays an important role in politics even today and the electorates are also divided on caste lines. For example in Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra it is Brahmins vs. Non-Brahmins, in Rajasthan Jats vs. Rajputs, in Haryana Jats vs. Brahmins and in Punjab Jats vs. Hindus. These conflicts are quite prominently etched on the political firmaments of these states.\textsuperscript{37} The importance of caste in politics can be fathomed from the fact that even after the elections; the portfolios are divided on the basis of caste. It is evident that even the legislators of the ruling parties

\textsuperscript{35} D. S. Chaudhary and G. K. Kar, \textit{op. cit}, p.31.
\textsuperscript{36} J.R. Siwach, \textit{op. cit}, p. 705.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.
in Punjab and other states have always been chosen on caste lines. Hence, the details of caste-wise background of legislative leadership can be seen from the following table.

**Table 3.5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>1997</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>119</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(117+2 *)</td>
<td>(117+3)</td>
<td>(117+5)</td>
<td>(117+1)</td>
<td>(468+11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Upper Castes**
  - 1997: 35.2 (42)
  - 2002: 30.8 (37)
  - 2007: 33.6 (41)
  - 2012: 28.8 (34)
  - Total: 32.1 (154)

- **Middle Castes**
  - 1997: 41.1 (49)
  - 2002: 45.8 (55)
  - 2007: 42.6 (52)
  - 2012: 42.7 (50)
  - Total: 43.0 (206)

- **Lower Castes**
  - 1997: 23.5 (28)
  - 2002: 23.3 (28)
  - 2007: 23.7 (29)
  - 2012: 29.0 (34)
  - Total: 24.8 (119)

**Source**: Data Collected through personal Interview with legislators.

**Note**: Figures in Brackets denotes the actual number of legislators.

* Members who join assembly after winning by -elections.

** Upper castes’ denote, Rajputs, Bhaumin, Khatris, etc.

*** ‘Middle castes’ Jats, Aroras, Mehras, Carpenters, Ramgharia, Kamboj, Lohar etc.

**** 'Lower castes' indicates all schedule castes (SC) and schedule Mazbi Sikh, Ramdasia, Bazigar, Ravidasia Tribes (STs)

The data reveals that majority of the leaders come from intermediate castes and that representation from upper and lower castes is approximately equal. It is clear that leadership is concentrated neither in upper nor in lower castes, but is closely related to the proportionate size of the population of various castes in our sample. The data shows that majority of the legislators come from the intermediate castes. This endorses the fact that leadership in Punjab is fairly representative of the caste composition particularly of rural areas. However, our data is not sufficient to affirm that leadership is essentially determined by the caste factor. Caste has been a fundamental institution in India and has played an important role in determining social, economic and political behaviour. In spite of the emergence of many new forces which have been successful in eroding the rigidity of caste to some extent, it is still a potential force in Indian society. As is evident from the table the castes have been classified into three categories, viz. upper castes, middle castes and lower castes. Our data thus indicates that majority of legislators in all the four legislative assemblies were from middle castes with upper castes occupying the second place and lower castes third place. The dominance of middle castes can be explained with

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the help of the fact they are the owners of most of the land in the state and have been rulers of some of the erstwhile princely states and therefore constitute the dominant caste of the state. Their numerical social, economic and political strength places them in the dominant position in comparison with other castes. The predominantly rural character of the economy/polity of state has further contributed to the importance of Jats in the politics of state.\(^{39}\) 41.1 percent, 45.8 percent, 42.6 percent and 42.7 percent of the legislators were from middle castes in all the four assemblies taken together respectively; 35.2 percent, 30.8 percent 33.6 percent and 28.8 percent legislators respectively were from the upper castes. Only 23.5 percent, 23.3 percent 23.7 percent and 29 percent were from lower castes in all the four respective assemblies. From averages given above it can be concluded that traditional caste hierarchy has played no significant role in determining the composition of the leadership in all the four assemblies. On the contrary, the possession of land by middle castes and their pivotal position in the economy enabled them to wrest a dominant position in the legislature.

**Educational Background of Legislators:**

The constitution of India does not lay down any educational criteria for contesting for the membership of legislative assembly. But it has to be conceded that the educational accomplishment, without being equated with political perspicacity is bound to have a great bearing on the manner in which a person conducts himself in public office. More importantly, education profoundly affects the behavior pattern of a person as well as the understanding and knowledge he brings to bear upon public affairs.\(^ {40}\) In a democratic polity education plays a vital role in shaping the leadership pattern as democracy has often been defined as a battle not of bullets but ballots. Education is also essential for the formation of sound public opinion. In local administration it has an important role to play.

Education is the one of the basic indices of socio-economic status and affects the public and political behavior of a person in a significant way. Almond and Verba in their five nation study have found that education has the most pervasive demographic effect on political attitudes.\(^ {41}\) Impact of education on politics could be partially explained by the fact that education equips people with intellectual skill and abilities which are necessary for proper understanding of the political needs of the society. In a study of voting

\(^{40}\) S. Nagendra Ambedkar, *op.cit*, p.73.
behavior in Gujarat, it was found that voters perception became sharper and clearer with the rising standards of education. Educated people are different from the less educated ones not only in terms of political information, but also in the levels of sophistication of perception which enables them to create a sense of order and meaning out of the flood of information which swells around them. Further, the more highly educated are more likely to conform to other parameters of social position. They are likely to have higher incomes, to be in higher status occupations, to be males, to be members of some organizations; and all these characteristics tend in the same direction.\(^{42}\) All these characteristics are indicative of an informed and socially active individual. This helps to establish the fact that levels of education are linked to several other socio-economic indices. The emerging pattern of leadership has accorded greater importance to the educational qualifications of legislators. Literacy promotes one’s capacity to give thoughtful judgment on issues of importance. Education facilitates the development of a progressive attitude in individuals towards social and economic problems.\(^{43}\) In the present society the capacity to comprehend the issues and problems confronting the community and the ability to communicate one’s ideas to others are important qualities of leadership. Education is now considered to be one of the means for acquiring such a capacity. An illiterate leader cannot be expected to successfully grasp all the rules and regulations governing political institutions. Education these days is also regarded as particularly important because it provides ‘the key’ to the understanding of the ‘wide world’ and equips one better to assert one’s rights and claim one’s dues from offices and town people.\(^{44}\) Keeping these things in mind, the analysis of the education of legislators assumes a special significance. The intellectuals have always considered education as an important agent of social mobility and tech-economic growth of society.\(^{45}\) With this brief theoretical background in view, we proceed to analyze the educational status of the respondents. For the present study educational qualification of legislators has been classified into four categories i.e. literates/under matric, undergraduate, graduate, postgraduate including, LLM, Med. etc.

Table 3.6
Educational Background of Legislators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>1997 119 (117+2 *)</th>
<th>2002 120 (117+3)</th>
<th>2007 122 (117+5)</th>
<th>2012 118 (117+1)</th>
<th>Total 479 (468+11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literates/Under matric</td>
<td>6.7 (8)</td>
<td>9.1 (11)</td>
<td>11 (13)</td>
<td>0.8 (01)</td>
<td>6.90 (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matric/Under graduate (JBT)</td>
<td>37 (44)</td>
<td>32 (38)</td>
<td>32 (39)</td>
<td>35.8 (42)</td>
<td>34.1 (163)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate**</td>
<td>43 (51)</td>
<td>43.3 (52)</td>
<td>40.1 (49)</td>
<td>45.2 (53)</td>
<td>42.8 (205)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post graduate***</td>
<td>13.4 (16)</td>
<td>16 (19)</td>
<td>17.2 (21)</td>
<td>18.6 (22)</td>
<td>16.2 (78)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal Interview.

Note: Figures in Brackets denote the total number of legislators in each of the four assemblies.

* Members who join assembly after winning by-elections.

** These figures include professionals like advocate, engineers and teachers having degree of graduate level.

*** These figures include professionals like doctors, professions, M.B.A. MBBS with degree of post graduate level.

Table 3.6 clearly demonstrates that out of the total 479 MLAs' from 1997 to 2012 the largest number of legislators 42.8 percent had education only up to graduate level.\(^{46}\) These graduates include those who possessed graduate degrees in law, engineering, teaching and other such disciplines. A total of 34.1 percent legislators were under graduates.\(^{47}\) 16.2 percent legislators had qualification up to post graduate level.\(^{48}\) Only 6.90 percent legislators were found with under metric level education in all the four respective assemblies. After 2007 the number of under metric legislators drastically decreased in a significant manner and by the time the state assembly of 2012 was elected only one member was under metric. Similarly the number of graduate members continued to rise except for a slight decline in the 2007 assembly. Moreover the number of postgraduate members also increased consistently in all the four legislative assemblies. The assembly wise data in chronological order shows that 43 percent, 43.3 percent, 40.1 percent and 45.2 percent respondents possessed education up to graduation.

\(^{46}\) It includes, B.A. B.Com, B.Sc., B.E., B.Ed. BSc Agriculture, B.A. honours, LLB Ayurvedic Rattan Degree. BAMS Doctors, NDSI degree, LLB (honours), degree in Hospitality and Management etc.

\(^{47}\) 'Under Matric', includes, only those who can read or write Punjabi and upto middle class.

\(^{48}\) Post Graduate includes M.A. (Punjabi, Hindi, English, Political Science, Economics, Sanskrit, History ect., MBBS, NDSI, LLB, Degree in Hospitality and Management.
level whereas 13.4 percent, 16 percent, 17.2 percent and 18.6 percent respectively were postgraduates including those with MBA, MBBS. On the other hand only 6.7 percent, 9.1 percent 11 percent and 0.8 percent respondents in the four assemblies respectively were qualified up to under metric level. Our findings clearly suggest that in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha (legislature) graduates have comprised the dominant category in all the four assemblies under study. They are followed by undergraduates. The data clearly shows that while the number of undergraduates, graduates and postgraduates has consistently risen that of undermatric has gone down. This implies that the overall level of education of the legislators has improved.

Religion of Legislators:

The English word "religion" as a description of India’s cultural affectations, could mean any one of several things. It could be translated as a large religious community such as that of the Muslims. I could also mean the fellowship of those who revere a lineage of spiritual authority. Or again it could mean dharma, customs and codes of social obligations and spiritual behavior such as those entailed by caste or ritual and implied in observing the polarity between pure and impure. There is a marked difference in the perception of religion as practiced in the Punjab and the normative ways of defining it. In the West, for instance, three elements-tradition, church and ethics- fit together in a coherent scheme. However in the Punjab they do not coalesce so predictably. Mark Jurgensmeryer makes an interesting observation when he says that in the Punjab people who claim to be Sikhs may be devoted followers of Muslim saints and regular observers of Hindu Customs as well. Moreover, they see no inconsistency in this, for the three elements of religious identity- qaumik, panthik, and adharmik-function independently. The story of the global dispersion of Indian ideas, culture, and people suggests a number of implications. The most important being that religion is now transnational. There are no hermetic boundaries separating one religion from another because of spatial distance. No longer is "east-east" and 'west west'; Hindus, Muslims,

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49 MBBS., Doctors were, Rattan Singh Ajanala (SAD) and Mrs. Navjot Kaur Sidhu, etc.
50 Two females Bibi Upinderjit Kaur (SAD) and Mrs. Laxmi Kanta Chawla (BJP) had Phd. degree from Punjab University, Chandigarh and GNDU, Amritsar.
Sikhs and Buddhists have become the neighbors of Christians and Jews. Before the partition of India, Punjab was a Muslim majority province. The Muslims were about 53 percent of the total population and Sikhs and others were 15 percent. Hindus accounted for 32 percent out of the total population.

After the partition of Punjab Hindus and Sikhs were the principal religious communities. Hindus were in majority before the reorganization of Punjab. They were 67.37 percent of the total population of state. But after the re-organization of Punjab the Sikhs came into majority. According to the 2001 Census, the population of Punjab consists of 63 percent Sikhs and 34.46 percent Hindus. Both these communities have major difference in terms of class and caste composition which is also reflected in the differential rural urban spread of the two communities.

Although India is a secular country yet religion plays a very important role in its political and social fabric. It is not possible to keep the politics of the country away from religion in the sense in which Lord Buddha used the word 'Dharma' as the middle way that puts one at place with one self and with others. Gandhi ji used the word in the sense of 'Righteous conduct' which can be enabling in the conduct of public life. But organized religion that the population embraces in not strictly speaking a personal belief system from spiritual upliftment. It is in fact a collective practice which overlaps with political practices at multiple levels. In this sense it possesses the capacity to turn into an instrument of domination and an important means in the pursuit of power.

The freedom of religion largely effects the social and political interactions. In some of the Indian states, the interaction between the religious and political system have

53 Arjun Roy, and Y Darshankar, op.cit., p.140.
54 The term 'Hindu' occurs sporadically in some 16th-18th century Bengali Gaudiya Vaishnava texts, including Chaitanya Charitamrita and Chaitanya Bhagavata, usually to contrast Hindus with Yavanas or Mlecchas. It appears in South Indian and Kashmiri texts from at least 1323 CE and increasingly so during British rule. It was only towards the end of the 18th century that the European merchants and colonists referred collectively to the followers of Indian religions as Hindus. Eventually, it came to define a precisely religious identity that includes any person of Indian origin who neither practiced Abrahamic religions nor non-Vedic Indian religions, such as Jainism, Sikhism or Buddhism, thereby encompassing a wide range of religious beliefs and practices related to Sanātana Dharma. As used in the Constitution of India, the word "Hindu" is attributed to all persons professing any Indian religion (i.e. Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism or Sikhism). In common use today, it refers to an adherent of Hinduism. n.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindu
given political orientation to the role of democratic process of the polity. The significance of religion in Indian politics is further evident from the fact that a number of political parties, particularly regional parties, are organized on religious basis. During the later years of India’s struggle for independence a number of parties were formed and almost all of them had a tangible religious basis. Muslim league became the main champion of the political demands of the Muslims. SAD of Punjab rose as the representative of Sikh interests in the emerging nation. SAD emerged mainly as a religious party which aimed to stand for the preservation and promotion of Sikh religion and Punjabi language. BJP came into existence as yet another political party with an ideological objective of the revival of the traditional values of Hindu religious and cultural practices. While Gandhiji’s cultural nationalism was populist in character and thoroughly anti-western with the emergence of Savarkar, the populist notions of cultural nationalism were forced to assume communal, masculine, and aggressively anti-Muslim dimensions. Sarvakar’s cultural nationalism which was one of the main influences on the ideological moorings of the BJP was exclusivist in character. In this conception of culture Christians and Muslims were outside the purview of India as their holy lands were elsewhere. Table 3.7 highlights the importance of religion as a factor in the composition of legislative leadership.

### Table 3.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>119</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(117+2 *)</td>
<td>(117+3)</td>
<td>(117+5)</td>
<td>(117+1)</td>
<td>(468+11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>25.2 (30)</td>
<td>35 (42)</td>
<td>26.2 (32)</td>
<td>28.8 (34)</td>
<td>28.8 (138)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>74 (88)</td>
<td>64.1 (77)</td>
<td>72.9 (89)</td>
<td>70.3 (83)</td>
<td>70.3 (337)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>0.8 (01)</td>
<td>0.8 (01)</td>
<td>0.8 (01)</td>
<td>0.8 (01)</td>
<td>0.8 (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Data collected through personal Interview with legislators.

**Note:** Figures in Brackets denote the total number of legislators in each of the four assemblies.

*Members who join assembly after winning by elections.

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60 K. Mohanasundarm, Religious Nationalism and Politics In India, *Third Concept*, September, 2002, p. 25
On the basis of the above evidence it becomes clear that 70.3 percent of the total legislators were connected with Sikh religion; while 28.8 percent were from Hindu religion and only 0.8 percent from Muslim religion in all the four respective assemblies. 74 percent 64.1 percent 72.9 percent and 70.3 percent legislators belonging to Sikh Religion were elected to the assembly in 1997, 2002, 2007 and 2012 assemblies respectively and 25.2 percent 35 percent, 26.4 percent and 28.8 percent legislators were from Hindu Religion. Only 0.8 percent amounting to one seat (Malerkotla constituency) was the percentage of legislators from the Muslim religion in all the four assemblies. Data indicates that about three fourths of the respondents were from Sikh and about one-fourth from Hindu religion. If these percentages are seen in the context of the religious division of population, it can be concluded that the Sikhs have been over represented and the Hindus underrepresented in the legislative assemblies. The predominance of Sikhs in the leadership in the assembly may be attributed to historical reasons. It appears that Hindus have low organizational mobility as compared to Sikhs in the state of Punjab.

**Knowledge of Language:**

Generally, the mother tongue of a person is correlated with the state of his origin. Language has a deep effect on politics. Nationalism and identities have often drawn sustenance from language. Language is inextricably connected to religion, culture, race, history and nationhood. Considering the significance of language, Stalin remarked "national community is inconceivable without a common language." India as a multilingual society where there are 179 languages and 544 dialects has always defied any homogeneous linguistic basis of its nationalism. Out of the total of 179 languages, 22 languages have been accorded constitutional status. Here it may be noted that through the 92nd Amendment Bogo, Dogri, Maithali, and Scithali were added in the list. On December, 1953, the Central Government appointed a commission under the Chairmanship of Mr. Fazal Ali, to examine the issue of reorganization of states on linguistics basis. The commission was known as the State Reorganization Commission. After thorough consideration of the existing problems, the commission recommended the formation of sixteen states and three centrally administered areas on linguistic basis. As

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a direct consequence of this, Punjab was reorganized on linguistic basis on 1st November 1966. It was the result of the continuous demand of the Akali Dal for the creation of a Punjabi speaking state, rather than a Sikh majority state. While it has already been asserted that India is essentially a multilingual nation, its polyglot reality is further accentuated by the history of colonial experience. Based on this, as far as India is concerned, knowledge of language may be put into two categories, representing two separate prestige symbolic traditions. This adds to and supplements the already existing heterogeneity in linguistic terms. From historical and intellectual point of view proficiency in English represents the modern symbolic tradition and proficiency in Hindi or Punjabi or any other indigenous language represents the traditional symbolic tradition. In turn this places the individual in different intellectual and status groups.63 Therefore we asked legislators to give a detailed account of the languages they could speak, read and write. Hundred percent legislators professed to speak, read and write Punjabi and 62.4 percent of responses favour Hindi language. On the other hand 36.3 percent, percent legislators respectively claimed proficiency in the English language. Only 1.1 percent and 0.4 percent respondents of 2002 and 2007 assemblies could speak other (French, Urdu, Arabian etc.) languages out of all the four assemblies.

Occupational Background of Legislators:

In the present age society has been divided into numerous occupational groups. The standard of living of the people in any country largely depends upon the national income of the country. National income, in turn, largely depends on per capita income and per capita income is the resultant outcome of occupational engagements of the people. In Punjab almost 80 percent of the population, directly or indirectly, have an occupational relation with agriculture. The legislators under study encompass a wide variety of occupational groupings. However in many cases it has been found that the legislators, instead of representing a pure occupational category practice multiple professions simultaneously. As an example those who fall in the category of agriculturists have also taken up other occupations i.e. business, trade, private job, legal practice and multifarious business activities (rice mills, cold storages, cooperative sugar mills, liquor contracts, dairy farms, petrol pumps, etc.). This necessitates the preparation of a table

which accommodates these multiple possibilities. 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 class, it is closely related to it.\textsuperscript{64}

Income, which is the monetary outcome of an occupation, is also one of the important criteria not only to determine the social status of a member but also to enable him to play a useful role as a legislator.\textsuperscript{65} In terms of occupation, the representatives under study encompass mainly the categories of people consisting of agriculturists, industrialists, those in private jobs and trade and different service sectors. Industry trade and business class as a category of occupation occupies a prominent place alongside agriculture whereas those involved in private jobs, law practice and medical practice have also to be accounted for. The fourth category includes service, trade and agriculture. At last the fifth category includes news reporters and those who were not specifically in any category.

Table 3.8
Occupation – Wise Classification of Legislative Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1997 (119) (117+2*)</th>
<th>2002 (120) (117+3)</th>
<th>2007 (122) (117+5)</th>
<th>2012 (118) (117+1)</th>
<th>Total 479 (468+11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and politics</td>
<td>53.7 (64)</td>
<td>47.5 (57)</td>
<td>47.5 (58)</td>
<td>52.2 (62)</td>
<td>50.3 (241)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business, Industry and Trade</td>
<td>27.7 (33)</td>
<td>31.6 (38)</td>
<td>27.8 (34)</td>
<td>33.0 (39)</td>
<td>30.3 (144)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Job, Law and Medical Practioners</td>
<td>16.8 (20)</td>
<td>18.3 (22)</td>
<td>22.1 (27)</td>
<td>11.0 (13)</td>
<td>17.5 (82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any Other**</td>
<td>1.6 (2)</td>
<td>2.5 (3)</td>
<td>2.4 (3)</td>
<td>3.3 (4)</td>
<td>2.5 (12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal Interview and Punjab Vidhan Sabha, who's who.
Note: Digits in Brackets shows the actual number of responses.
*Figure includes those members who joined assembly after by- elections.
**Any other includes those members who were news reporters and those who were not clearly mentioned their profession.

It is clear from the above table that in all the four respective assemblies out of total 50.3 percent legislators stated agriculture and politics as their occupation while
business, industry and trade, had 30.3 percent legislators in all the four assemblies. Private job, law practice, medical practice was the profession of by 17.5 percent legislators in all the four assemblies. Only 2.5 percent legislators were those who went in any other (news reporting) and those who unable to give a proper description. 'Agriculture and politics' were acknowledged by 53.7 percent, 47.5 percent, 47.5 percent and 52.5 percent respondents in all the four assemblies. Business Industry and Trade was acknowledged by and 27.7 percent 31.6 percent, 27.8 percent and 33.0 percent legislators in all the four respective assemblies. The percentage of those who cited involvement in private job, law and medical practice was 16.8 percent, 18.3 percent, 22.6 percent and 11.0 percent respondents in all the four assemblies. Only 1.6 percent, 2.5 percent, 2.4 percent and 3.3 percent legislators in all the four assemblies cited news reporting as their profession in all the four assemblies. Thus from the average score can be concluded that majority of legislators were from the agricultural occupational.

**Family Occupation:**

An important social determinant of opportunities in life is the circumstance into which a person is born. Family’s occupation is a useful index for determining this characteristic. Indian society has been a caste based society and in the traditional Indian social structure caste and occupation were integrally related. As such allocation of occupations was based on caste but being an agrarian society, by and large people were engaged in agricultural and allied activities. The emergence of modern occupations such as salaried jobs, services, trade and commerce and other independent professions is a recent phenomenon resulting from rapid urbanization, industrialization, and expansion of education. It can be said that family’s occupation is an important variable in defining status and prestige in society. Family’s occupation is also significant from the stand point of attitude formation, value crystallization and goal setting of different occupations. Through his early experiences, an individual first comes in contact with a particular kind of occupation and its place in social hierarchy. Living with his family, he is directly or indirectly socialized in the norms and values linked to an occupation and his subjectivity carries traces of this experience in his future life. For the purpose at hand, the occupations of the families of the legislators are arranged into four categories i.e. Agriculture, Law and Medical Practice, Private and Govt. Job, Business Trade and Industry etc., Following Table 3.9 indicates the data regarding family occupation.

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66 "Industry, trade, business" includes; cold storage, kilns, rice shellers, petrol pumps, liquor vends, poultry sor dairy farms, transport, contractors, shops, etc.

Table 3.9

Family Occupation of Legislative Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1997 (119) (117+2*)</th>
<th>2002 (120) (117+3)</th>
<th>2007 (122) (117+5)</th>
<th>2012(118) (117+1)</th>
<th>Total (479) (468+11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>44.5 (53)</td>
<td>48.3 (58)</td>
<td>50.8 (62)</td>
<td>59.3 (70)</td>
<td>50.7 (243)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and Medical Practice Private and Govt. Job.</td>
<td>9.2 (11)</td>
<td>4.16 (5)</td>
<td>4.0 (5)</td>
<td>7.6 (9)</td>
<td>6.2 (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business, Trade, Industry.</td>
<td>46.2 (55)</td>
<td>47.5 (57)</td>
<td>45.0 (55)</td>
<td>33.0 (39)</td>
<td>43.0 (206)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal Interview and Punjab Vidhan Sabha, who's who.
Note: Digits in Brackets shows the actual number of respondents.
*Legislators who join assembly after winning by- elections.

Agriculture being a predominant occupation in rural areas, agriculturists are obviously in a majority among the leaders. The influence of urban life has modified the traditional social pattern based on caste as also the traditional occupation patterns, but rural life still moves on its customary grooves. People in country still followed the same professions their father, grandfathers had. It is true that some castes like Brahmans have decreased their participation in traditional occupations, and taken to new ones in accordance with the needs of the time.68 The above table clearly demonstrates that in all the four assemblies out of total 50.7 percent legislators had agriculture as their family occupation. On the other hand Law and Medical Practice Private and Govt. Job were acknowledged by 6.2 percent respondents in all the four assemblies. Business, Trade and industry were acknowledged to be their family occupation by 43.0 percent respondents of all the four assemblies. We may conclude that "family occupation' of majority of legislators was agricultural, social service and politics in all the four assemblies.

Land Ownership:

In a dominantly agricultural society it is natural to expect that land owners grow up to be respected members of the community. If this is so, the leadership positions must go to such persons. Social scientists have found high levels of coordination in this respect.69 Land legislation, social reforms and introduction of democratic elections of different levels have slowly worked to bring about meaningful organizational adjustment.

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within the fabric of different communities. Land constitutes the basic foundation of agrarian social structure in India. Whereas, it determines the nature of occupational and economic activities and other rewards flowing from them it also serves as a pointer towards status and prestige in society. Dumont reports that power and social dominance result from the possession of land. Land holding is also of fundamental importance to power structure and leadership in rural India. Emphasizing the importance of land in rural societies Dumont observes, "land is the most important possession, the only recognized wealth and is also closely linked with power over men." Desai comments that of all the resources land in rural society is the biggest capital and the lesser the land the poorer is the man. Besides employment land also gives rise to specific production to relations which in turn determine the soul and status of an individual in society. Borale remarks, "Property is essential for human development and even existence." The nature of distribution of land among the population is an indicator of the economic conditions as well as of the economic disparity among the people of a given society. The analysis given in Table 3.10 illustrates the position of legislators in terms of land ownership in a proper perspective.

Table 3.10
Land property of Legislators of Punjab

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property</th>
<th>1997</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>119</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(117+2 *)</td>
<td>(117+3)</td>
<td>(117+5)</td>
<td>(117+1)</td>
<td>(468+11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landless</td>
<td>10.0 (12)</td>
<td>19.1 (23)</td>
<td>22.1 (27)</td>
<td>23.7 (28)</td>
<td>18.7 (90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 10 Acres</td>
<td>21.8 (26)</td>
<td>30.8 (37)</td>
<td>31.9 (39)</td>
<td>27.9 (33)</td>
<td>28.1 (135)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20 Acres</td>
<td>35.2 (42)</td>
<td>24.1 (29)</td>
<td>25.4 (31)</td>
<td>31.3 (37)</td>
<td>29.0 (139)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 20 Acres</td>
<td>32.7 (39)</td>
<td>25.8 (31)</td>
<td>20.4 (25)</td>
<td>16.9 (20)</td>
<td>24.0 (115)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal Interview and from some reliable sources.
Note: Figures in brackets shows the actual number of legislators.
*Legislators who join assembly after winning by-elections.

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70 Harjinder Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 16.
In order to account for the differences in terms of possession of land among the legislators criteria to distinguish between them was evolved ranging from those who were landless to those with more than 20 acres of land. The landless were regarded as belonging to the lower middle class section of the society. Those leaders who possessed below 10 acres were regarded as middle class people while those leaders who possessed between 10-20 acres were placed in the high middle class. Those leaders who possessed more than 20 acres were classified as rich people. The data dealing with landed property demonstrates that in all the four respective assemblies 18.7 percent out of all the legislators in the four assemblies did not have any landed property whereas 28.1 percent legislators were recorded as possessing below 10 acres. 29.0 percent respondents quoted their landed property to be between 10-20 acres, while 24.0 percent were recorded as being owners of 20 acres or more landed property. Taken separately 10.0 percent, 19.1 percent, 22.1 percent and 23.7 percent legislators were without any landed property in all the four assemblies respectively. 21.8 percent, 30.8 percent, 31.9 percent, and 27.9 percent were those who had below 10 acres property in 1997, 2002, 2007, 2012 legislative assemblies respectively. 35.2 percent, 24.1 percent, 25.4 percent and 31.3 percent legislators had landed property which was between 10-20 acres and more than 20 acres was quoted by 32.7 percent, 25.8 percent 20.4 percent and 16.9 percent legislators in all the four respective assemblies.

There are a few more facts pertaining to the ownership of the land holdings which were revealed during investigations. First, most of the larger land holding were owned by Rajputs, the Brahmins and the Jats. Secondly, the landless and the small land holders belonged mostly to the backward classes and schedules castes. The big land holders occupied a prominent position in the society, wielded much influence and felt socially, economically and politically more secure. The status of the owner of large holding was invariably enhanced because of the high value of his property. The value of land depended on the yield per acre. More land with access to irrigation facilities provided an opportunity to grow cash crops. The presence of a well in the fields was also considered to be an asset. The cumulative effect of all these was an increase in the potential for
production. The value of land was calculated on the basis of the information about the above aspects provided by the respondents.

**Annual Income of Legislative Leadership:**

Income is generally taken as an index of social status and influence of a person particularly in a place like India, where social status and influence go hand in hand with the income. Though income is not an exclusive basis of influence but it certainly is an important determinant. The prestige of an occupation is affected by the average income of those who pursue it. Income is one of the chief rewards of an occupation. However, assessment of the real income of each respondent cannot be easily done. Even when a man is employed in regular service and draws a fixed salary, his real income at best remains guesswork as there are many other unrevealed and invisible sources of income. For example, if the land which one owns yields some food grains it may not always be possible to form an accurate estimate of its actual value leading to income. Income remains a rather deceptive indicator of the standard of living, because in many families, there are many other sources of income in addition to the main source.

Furthermore, the influence of wealth on the electorate has been a well acknowledged fact. Power and wealth usually go together. In feudal societies like India the available resource of wealth were monopolized by a small class within the rural population and that class utilized such resources first to attain and then to maintain themselves in power. One of the studies of this phenomenon showed that almost every leader and candidate candidly admitted that without adequate money they could not think of winning elections. Wherever there was a keen contest rival groups restored to wooing the voters by offering money. Either it was given to the caste leader or distributed directly. Drinks too flow liberally in most villages at times of elections. The voters enjoy themselves for about a week’s time in the keenly contested areas because both the rival groups view with each other to please them. Thus six categories have been formed conduct an analysis of the annual income of the legislators. Below 5 lacks, 5 to 10 lacks, 11 to 15 lacks, 16 to 20 lacks, 21 to 25 lacks, more than 25 lacks.

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76 Ibid.
Table 3.11

Annual Income of Legislators of Punjab

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income in Lacks</th>
<th>1997 (34)*</th>
<th>2002 (34)</th>
<th>2007 (34)</th>
<th>2012 (34)</th>
<th>Total (136)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 5 Lack</td>
<td>17.6 (6)</td>
<td>14.7 (5)</td>
<td>26.4 (9)</td>
<td>17.6 (6)</td>
<td>19.1 (26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>26.4 (9)</td>
<td>20.5 (7)</td>
<td>32.3 (11)</td>
<td>23.5 (8)</td>
<td>25.7 (35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 15</td>
<td>14.7 (5)</td>
<td>23.5 (8)</td>
<td>20.5 (7)</td>
<td>23.5 (8)</td>
<td>20.5 (28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>17.6 (6)</td>
<td>17.6 (6)</td>
<td>8.8 (3)</td>
<td>2.9 (1)</td>
<td>11.7 (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>14.7 (5)</td>
<td>14.7 (5)</td>
<td>2.9 (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.0 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.8 (3)</td>
<td>5.8 (2)</td>
<td>11.7 (4)</td>
<td>6.6 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Idea</td>
<td>8.8 (3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>2.9 (1)</td>
<td>20.5 (7)</td>
<td>8.0 (11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal Interview and from some reliable sources.
*Figures in brackets show the actual number of legislators.
Note: Data of annual income was based on the responses (personal interview) of the 136 legislators from 1997 to 2012.

The above table clearly indicates that out of the total legislators 8.0 percent were those who were not sure about their annual income and they did not give any precise answers to the question. 25.7 percent of all the legislators claimed to earn between 5-10 lacks annually. 20.5 percent legislators placed their income between 11-15 lakhs, whereas 19.1 percent MLAs in all the four legislative assemblies had an annual income of below 5 lakhs. 11.7 percent legislators in all had an income between 16-20 lakhs. In all the four legislative assemblies while 6.7 percent respondents had an annual income between 21-25 lakhs there were 8.0 percent who earned more than 25 lacks annually.

Class of Legislators of Punjab

Apart from the area of the land owned and the income from property, the other indices which can be reliable pointers towards the status of a leader could be his possession of conspicuous assets. Number of phones, luxury cars, other belongs, setting of houses, living standards, are all symbols of affluence and only the very well -to -do could own them. Consideration of such material acquisitions can also help determine the economic status of the leaders. The leaders, who possessed more than four luxury cars, maintained high living standards, owned triple storey houses or were living in big cities like Chandigarh could be assumed to be very rich leaders. On the other hand leaders, who
possessed more than two luxury cars, maintained considerably good standards of living, owned reasonably good houses and lived in urban areas, were grouped as leaders belonging to upper middle class. The leaders who possessed simple cars, scooters and motorcycles and lived in simple houses were grouped as middle class leaders. The leaders who did not possess the above articles were regarded as middle class leaders.

**Table 3.12**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1997 119 (117+2*)</th>
<th>2002 120 (117+3)</th>
<th>2007 122 (117+5)</th>
<th>2012 118 (117+1)</th>
<th>Total 479 (478+11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>41.1 (49)</td>
<td>36.6 (44)</td>
<td>34.4 (42)</td>
<td>43.2 (51)</td>
<td>38.8 (186)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper middle class</td>
<td>47.0 (56)</td>
<td>42.5 (51)</td>
<td>40.1 (49)</td>
<td>35.2 (42)</td>
<td>41.3 (198)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>11.7 (14)</td>
<td>20.8 (25)</td>
<td>25.4 (31)</td>
<td>21.1 (25)</td>
<td>19.8 (95)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Personal Interview and from some reliable sources.

*Note:* Figures in brackets shows the actual number of legislators.

*Legislators who join assembly after winning by elections.

The table 3.12 given above clearly indicates that out of the legislators 41.3 percent, 38.8 percent and 19.8 percent legislators belonged to the upper middle, upper and middle class in that order. Class vise distribution was also calculated from the living standard, landed property, and annual income of legislators in all the four assemblies.

**Marital Status:**

Since a majority of the legislators are in the middle age group it is to be expected that they would also be married. The table below corroborates this assumption. As we know, in traditional societies, and more so in the Indian villages, marriage is not a matter of choice but a compulsory imposition. It is customary that girls by the age 20-21 and boys at the age of 25-26 get married in India because of rigid customs attending the institution of marriage. There were however some respondents who going against tradition got married at more than 30 years of age. There was also some incidence of inter-caste marriages (love marriage). The study found that although a small proportion of leaders were not married such cases were limited to legislators belonging to urban areas. In the villages, it was not so. Therefore, it can be argued that the degree of conformity to the institution of marriage is more widely present in villages than in cities.
This could be partly because of the fact that life in the village moves more along traditional lines.\textsuperscript{77}

### Table 3.13
Marital Status of Legislative Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>1997 119 (117+2*)</th>
<th>2002 120 (117+3)</th>
<th>2007 122 (117+5)</th>
<th>2012 118 (117+1)</th>
<th>Total 479 (478+11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>5.8 (7)</td>
<td>7.5 (9)</td>
<td>8.9 (09)</td>
<td>5.1 (6)</td>
<td>6.4 (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>94.1 (112)</td>
<td>92.5 (111)</td>
<td>92.6 (113)</td>
<td>94.9 (112)</td>
<td>93.5 (448)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Personal Interview and from some reliable sources.

**Note:** Figures in brackets shows the actual number of legislators.

*Legislators who join assembly after winning by-elections.

As it is clear from the table 3.13 that out of total 93.5 percent legislators were married while 6.4 percent legislators were unmarried in all the four legislative assemblies. This shows that these legislators are conformist members of the society who abide by the institutional practices of the community in which they live. Such a pattern of social behavior goes a long way in increasing their acceptability in the eyes of the electorate.

### Table 3.14
Children of Legislators of Punjab

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th>1997 119 (117+2*)</th>
<th>2002 120 (117+3)</th>
<th>2007 122 (117+5)</th>
<th>2012 118 (117+1)</th>
<th>Total 479 (468+11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. Child**</td>
<td>5.8 (7)</td>
<td>7.5 (9)</td>
<td>8.1 (10)</td>
<td>5.0 (6)</td>
<td>6.6 (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Child</td>
<td>7.5 (9)</td>
<td>8.3 (10)</td>
<td>8.1 (10)</td>
<td>10.1 (12)</td>
<td>8.5 (41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Children</td>
<td>36.9 (44)</td>
<td>39.1 (47)</td>
<td>42.6 (52)</td>
<td>41.5 (49)</td>
<td>40.1 (192)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Children</td>
<td>24.3 (29)</td>
<td>24.1 (29)</td>
<td>30.3 (37)</td>
<td>27.9 (33)</td>
<td>26.7 (128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Children</td>
<td>14.2 (17)</td>
<td>15 (18)</td>
<td>6.5 (8)</td>
<td>7.6 (9)</td>
<td>10.8 (52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above Four</td>
<td>10.9 (13)</td>
<td>5.8 (7)</td>
<td>4.09 (5)</td>
<td>6.8 (9)</td>
<td>7.0 (34)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Punjab Vidhan Sabha who’s who.

**Note:** Figures in bracket denotes the actual number of legislators.

*Members who join Assembly after winning by-elections.

** It contains multiple answers (unmarried, no child, no answer)

\textsuperscript{77} Parmatma Saran, \textit{op.cit}. pp.58-59.
On the basis of the above table 3.14 it can be said that the largest majority of the legislators 40.1 had two children while 26.7 percent legislators had three children. These largest groups are followed by 10.8 percent with four children, 8.5 percent with a single child and 7.0 percent above five children in all the four assemblies. Only 6.6 percent legislators were unmarried in all the legislative assemblies. From the average score it is concluded that the majority legislators had two children followed by three, single child, four and above four. This family structure with a majority opting for 2-3 children is a clear indication of the legislators’ sagacity in deciding the size of their family. This sagacity can also be linked to their constantly improving educational status over the years making them conscious and responsible citizens.

**Family Type:**

For analytical and pragmatic purpose the family here is being taken to mean only those members who actually live within the family and not the extended family. Sociologically speaking majority of the legislators i.e. nearly 70.0 percent legislators had nuclear families and 30.3 percent legislators lived in joint families. However, in spite of living in nuclear families they have their social origins in joint families and maintain relations with them. An overwhelming majority of respondents belong to nuclear families. On the other hand joint families have not become irrelevant and non-existent. It clears that the institution of joint family is still very strong in India, at least in the villages. Status of the family in Indian Villages is determined by the size of the family, and its past and present achievements. Moreover, majority of the respondents were from high status families. It was asserted in the table dealing with family occupation that the occupational status of the family has a strong bearing on an individual in his formative years. Here it may be added that in the process of attitude formation of every person family happens to be the first and the single most important agent because the individual born in a family is psychologically and emotionally conditioned by it. The family may transmit, deliberately as well as inadvertently political orientations and non-political orientations, beliefs, values and attitudes that may be relevant subsequently when as adult he would come to play roles in the political processes of society.78 These transmissions may include orientations towards political leaders, public policies, political parties and

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political processes. Political discussion in the family may also kindle interest and activities of a child in political arena, and his attitude may be formed accordingly. Thus the family may play a significant role in the process of formation of characteristically enduring attitudes in an individual during his childhood.

**House Ownership:**

As far as the ownership of one’s house is concerned it does not only provide shelter and security against natural hazards but also serves the psychological, economic and status needs in the society. Style of life standard of living, attitudes and values and degree of tolerance are greatly affected by the nature of housing. All the legislators who had nuclear families had their own house ownership while those who lived in joint families resided in houses owned by their father uncle and elder brother etc.

**Reading Habit:**

In an attempt to form an estimate of the reading and media related habits of the legislators, we asked them to specify as to whether they read newspaper, watched T.V. and used computer and for what purpose. Approximately 85 percent legislators watched T.V. for the purpose of news and religious programmness and also read newspapers and magazines for similar reasons. Approximately 35 percent respondents used computer for information and for their typing work. Some of the legislators were those who preferred to watch channels like Discovery for informative programmness and cultural activities. There were some respondent who did evince interest in any of these things because of shortage of time. It reflects that majority of the legislators had media-habits in order to stay informed mainly about information relative to political news and social and cultural developments. This could be a corroboration of the fact that both electronic and print media during the past few decades has gained tremendous significance influencing the attitude of individuals throughout the world. Beginning with newspapers, and radio, and then with television and other more sophisticated delivery systems, modern communications system has thrust itself into almost every corner of the world.\(^79\) Lerner regards the development of the mass media as the key in societies’ march from a state of traditional living to that of modernity.\(^80\) It may be expected that the rise in media would be accompanied by a corresponding impact on the attitudinal pattern of respondents. The


\(^{80}\) *Ibid*. 

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fact that most of the respondents are regular consumers of media items establishes the
fact that legislators are subjects to the all pervasive influence of the media as much as the
common people.

Source of News:

The per capita news paper reading is very high in urban as well as rural areas. A
high per capita percentage of newspaper reading is considered as an indicator of high
literacy and rapid political development. Newspaper reading is regarded as important
from the political point of view also. It provides political maturity to the leaders in taking
decisions. Political parties also run their own newspapers or control some newspapers
from the background in order to promote their ideologies and propaganda. Party
newspapers advocate the ideology of their party and strengthen party position on
particular issues. Reading more than one newspaper is therefore necessary to understand
the different aspects of a problem. Legislators generally showed interest in reading
Punjabi and Hindi newspapers. There were some of the leaders who showed preference
for English newspapers. Apart from newspaper reading there were 36.7 percent
respondents who used computer for the purpose of typing, office work, internet for
information. One legislator of INC in 2012 assembly said that he regularly used
Facebook for social network. In addition to these sources they regularly watch TV for
information, religious discourses and knowledge. Some female legislators watched TV
with the objective of learning to prepare new dishes.

Hobbies of Legislative Leadership:

A hobby is a regularly undertaken activity that is done for pleasure, typically, during
one's leisure time. Hobbies can include the practice of collecting the items and objects,
engaging in creative and artistic pursuits, playing sports, along with many more activities
undertaken for personal satisfaction. By continually participating in a particular hobby,
one can acquire substantial skill and knowledge in that area. Generally speaking, a person
who engages in an activity solely for fun is called an amateur (or hobbyist), as opposed to
a professional who engages in an activity for reward. An amateur may be as skilled as a
professional, the principle difference being that a professional receives compensation
while an amateur does not. In the 13th century, the term "hobby" signified a "small horse
or pony". The term "hobbyhorse" was documented in a 1557 payment confirmation for a
"Hobbyhorse" from Reading, England. The item, originally called a "Tourney Horse",

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was made of a wooden or basketwork frame with an artificial tail and head. Designed to mimic a real horse, the hobbyhorse was used for religious activities and civic occasions. By 1816 the derivative, "hobby", was introduced into the vocabulary of an countless number of English people. Over the course of subsequent centuries, the term came to mean "recreational" or "leisurely pursuit". Hobbies are practiced primarily for interest and enjoyment, rather than financial reward. In the 17th century, the term was used in a pejorative sense due to the childish origins of the term. Referring to the origin of the word, engaging in one's hobby equated to the horse outfit from the term's formulation and was considered a puerile overindulgence that would yield no benefit.\(^8\)

As for the hobbies and interests of legislators, they have been divided into six categories. First category includes those who showed interest in reading and the second those who were interested in social service. In the third category activities like gardening and sports are included while the fourth category covers interest in foreign visits. The fifth and last category includes any other activity including shooting, driving, riding, swimming, interest in wild life etc. There was a visible overlap in the general interests of legislators as many of them instead of expressing interest in a single category claimed to practice multiple hobbies. It is for this reason more than one hobby have been included in some categories to account for the interest of legislators in either one of them or both. Table 3.15 highlights the hobbies and interest of legislative leadership. As for the hobbies and interests of legislators the above table clearly reveals that out of all the legislators taken together 57.3 percent legislators mentioned their hobby to be 'Social Service' and 17.3 percent legislators mentioned reading. 12.3 percent, legislators from all the four assemblies respectively fell in the third category professing interest in gardening and sports. 1.8 percent legislators from all the four assemblies fell in fourth category of foreign visits. 11.8 percent were those who fell in the fifth category with most of these showing interest in wild life and very few in other activities like shooting, driving, riding, swimming etc.

\(^8\) [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hobby](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hobby)
Table 3.15
Hobbies of Legislative Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hobbies</th>
<th>1997</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>119 (117+2*)</td>
<td>120 (117+3)</td>
<td>122 (117+5)</td>
<td>118 (117+1)</td>
<td>479 (468+11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading**</td>
<td>16 (19)</td>
<td>21 (25)</td>
<td>15 (18)</td>
<td>17.9 (21)</td>
<td>17.3 (83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Service***</td>
<td>59 (70)</td>
<td>56 (67)</td>
<td>57.3 (70)</td>
<td>57.2 (67)</td>
<td>57.3 (274)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening/Sports</td>
<td>10 (12)</td>
<td>14.1 (17)</td>
<td>13.1 (16)</td>
<td>11.8 (14)</td>
<td>12.3 (59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign visits</td>
<td>1.6 (02)</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
<td>1.6 (02)</td>
<td>2.5 (3)</td>
<td>1.8 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any Other****</td>
<td>13.4 (16)</td>
<td>7.5 (9)</td>
<td>13.1 (16)</td>
<td>11.1 (13)</td>
<td>11.1 (54)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Punjab Vidhan Sabha 'Who's Who'.

* Figures in brackets denote the actual number of responses.
** Biographic of politicians, related with help of poor, paintings, classical. It concludes, reading books, (Historical, religious, patriotic songs, Music, writing.
*** Social service includes, religion, politics, development, education upliftment of women, 1st position of Punjab in India, Diary farming, social justice, Sikh history, help to poor and needy, help to widows. Information and technology, Theater and history, Tourism developing, International relations, Industrial development, experiment in agriculture, trade cultural activities, New reporting making good friends. Study, social economic cultural and social aspects of world. Uplift the education standard, dairy farming, struggle, against female-feticide, environment properties, rural development, urban, development, debates on legal issues, development of forests.
**** Shooting, it includes, driving, riding, swimming, medical practice, wild life, tracking, landscaping and designing. Debates (instinctual), Irrigation production of electricity, wild life, provides basic facilities to people of Punjab.

On the basis of the above revelations it can be concluded that social service is the preferred activity of an overwhelming majority followed by reading. The rest of the activities like gardening, sports, foreign visits have relatively lesser followers.

Legislators Linkage's With Socio-Political Organizations:

It is a common fact that numerous interest groups and associations are formed in every society with the aim of protecting the interests of their members and for achieving certain common goals. Political parties always capitalize on the support of these groups and associations for gaining access to or remaining in power. They in turn help these organizations get their interests aggregated into public policies. In Punjab, these
associations are built around primordial and professional interests and trade unions. By primordial interests is meant that various associations are formed with the aim of safeguarding the interests of a particular group owing allegiance to a particular form of life defined on the basis of profession or social and cultural identity. Social organization or social institution refers to a group with a distinct and identifiable social position, marked by social relations and performing social roles. Common examples include groups linked to areas of education, economic systems, religion, or any other collective and formalized social activity. It is a major dimension of social life organized to meet some human needs.

Social organizations can take many forms, depending on the social context. For example, in the family context the corresponding social organization is the extended family. In the business context a social organization may be an enterprise, company, corporation, etc. In the educational context, it may be a school, university, etc. In the political context it may be a government, political party, etc. Commonly, experts officially recognize these five major social institutions that have been in evidence in some way in every civilization in history as the basis of organizations and associations. These are government, religion, education, economy, and family.\(^8^2\) If politics is defined broadly as competition for power over people and things, it is also a fact that all societies have some sort of political system. However, there can be a vast difference in what political organizations look like and how they function in different kinds of societies. It is the objective of this section to identify the pattern of linkages between different organizations and the political classes prior to their entry into the legislature in order to understand the pattern of recruitment of the legislators. We asked the legislators to state whether they were members of any religious or socio-economic group, trade union, sports club, youth club, student union etc. before their entry into the legislature. Following table indicates the pre-legislative association of legislators with various organized interests.

\(^8^2\) http://nz.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20100517020422AAY6oZc
Table 3.16
Linkages with Socio- Political Organization’s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bodies</th>
<th>1997 (34)</th>
<th>2002 (34)</th>
<th>2007 (34)</th>
<th>2012 (34)</th>
<th>Total (136)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No of Responses</td>
<td>(42)</td>
<td>(62)</td>
<td>(39)</td>
<td>(50)</td>
<td>(193)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Group</td>
<td>26.1 (11)</td>
<td>50 (31)</td>
<td>30.7 (12)</td>
<td>26 (13)</td>
<td>34.7 (67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Club</td>
<td>9.5 (4)</td>
<td>4.8 (3)</td>
<td>5.1 (2)</td>
<td>24 (12)</td>
<td>10.8 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Economic Group</td>
<td>26.1 (11)</td>
<td>16.1 (10)</td>
<td>28.1 (11)</td>
<td>14 (7)</td>
<td>20.0 (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Union</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.4 (4)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18 (9)</td>
<td>6.7 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Union</td>
<td>7.1 (3)</td>
<td>8.0 (5)</td>
<td>7.6 (03)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.6 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Experience</td>
<td>30.9 (13)</td>
<td>14.5 (9)</td>
<td>28.1 (11)</td>
<td>18 (9)</td>
<td>21.7 (42)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data collected with personal Interview of 136 MLA’s of all the four assemblies.
Note: Figures in brackets shows the actual number of respondents given by legislator.
Multiple Response Table

The majority of legislators from all the four legislative assemblies claimed having been associated with religious, socio-economic groups, trade unions, student unions, youth clubs. At the same time a substantial number said that they had no experience of such bodies. Out of total respondents, 34.7 percent were aligned with religious groups and 20.0 percent were aligned with socio-economic groups. \(^2\) 5.6 percent legislators were aligned with different trade unions and 10.2 legislators were aligned with youth clubs. However legislators’ membership with student unions was very low. It was only in 2002 assembly that 6.4 percent legislators and in 2012 assembly that 18 percent were aligned with student unions. On the other hand 26.1 percent, 50 percent, 30.7 percent 26.0 percent legislators had pre-existing linkages with religious groups in all the four assemblies respectively. On the contrary 26.1 percent, 16.1 percent, 28.1 percent 14 percent legislators in all four assembly had association with socio-economic groups. It will be pertinent to mention that most of these came from high status families. 7.1 percent, 8.0 percent, 7.6 percent, legislators claimed to have relations with trade unions while 9.5 percent, 4.8 percent, 5.1 percent and 24 percent legislators in all the four assemblies were linked with youth groups. Thus the study throws light on the fact that majority of legislators were associated with religious as well as social-economic groups. It also came to light that most of the upper classes legislators were linked with socio-
economic and trade union groups. On the other hand middle class legislators were associated with religious groups as well as youth clubs.

**Sum Up**

The main objective of this chapter was to explore social origin of legislative leadership in Punjab from 1997 to 2012. The data compiled points towards some very significant facts. The first most evident fact is that in terms of a broad and generalized situation the political leadership is in a process of transition. It can be summarized that traditional leadership in Punjab is in the process of yielding way to younger, secular, educated and aspiring leaders even though the process of change is slow and imperceptible. The Indian society is traditionally a male dominated society although with gradual socio-economic progress females are becoming conscious of their rights. The data compiled on the basis of the ratio of males and females indicates that although the number of female members is increasing with every successive assembly, the percentage of female has remained very low in comparison to male members. Age also remains an important factor in deciding the nature of leadership. Though the leadership of youth is frequently broached subject very few leaders in the sample could strictly speaking be described as representatives of youth leadership. In a socio-cultural situation in which age and experience are important criteria of social status, it is not very easy for young members of the society to aspire for entry into formal political leadership. Leadership is almost completely dominated by upper and upper middle castes and groups possessing higher levels of education. The entry of backward classes into the legislative leadership can mainly be linked to both to affirmative and protective policy and to their numerical strength. As we have seen, leadership is not restricted to one single community but is distributed among all the religious communities, such as Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus. These communities are represented by leaders in proportion to their number in the total population. However, it is also a fact that Sikh representation is higher than their proportionate presence in the population of the state. This can be linked to the fact that a majority of legislators have been drawn from agricultural background. It is also true a majority of legislators are in sound economic position and are from the landed gentry. Their economic status is reflected in their living standard and family setting, types of houses, status of family, reputation of family and other such factors. Hobbies of legislators also reveal that most of them are socially conscious citizens with interest in
several domains of human experience. Their social consciousness is also reflected in their linkage with socio-economic and religious groups. The liberal exposure to media in the form of newspapers, news channels and social media is also indicative of the high levels of political and social awareness among legislative leadership. It is also interesting that while most of the legislators are well versed in Punjabi, Hindi and English some of the respondents were familiar with languages like French, Urdu, and Arabic languages. The most important conclusion that can be drawn is that although change is gradual and slow but the process of change in the composition of leadership has set in.