Chapter 6

Conclusion
Chapter 6

Conclusion

The question of parliamentary representation and composition is a fundamental and perennial problem of political importance. Basically political representation determines the functional character of the polity and in that sense becomes one of the central issues of the political processes in the country.

Central to the political system in India is the Parliament especially the Lok Sabha which heralds the real political power configuration of the country. Since the first elections to the Lok Sabha in 1951-52, the Indian Parliament has become the cornerstone of the political processes reflecting both the continuance and change taking place in the Indian body polity. Nothing is more symptomatic of this process than the Lok Sabha elections since 1967. These elections testify to the vibrancy of the parliamentary institutions and the political processes in the country. They also raise a host of questions.

What pattern of leadership and representation is emerging out of this coalescence of tradition and change in such a fluid situation? Who are the people being elected by the Indian electorate to preside over their destinies? Have successive elections brought about any significant change in the representation pattern, or are the same class of people being thrown up after every election? What social background do they come from and more important, what are the groups they are associated with and whose interests do they articulate? Have fifty seven years of modernization brought about any change in the socio-economic base of the new leadership? What values and ideologies does it propagate and above all, how well is it equipped to fulfill the challenging tasks set before it?

The success of any institution depends on the quality of leader who man it. The nature of leadership is greatly determined by the factors of age, education, occupation, political career, party affiliation etc. of its members. All these factors
do not only help in the formulation of attitudes and perceptions but also influence the behaviour-pattern of the members which is very important in the functioning of a Legislature. A study in profile of parliamentarians helps in understanding whether power is scattered through a wide variety of social groups, representing cross-sections of a society or a single group or class of people is monopolizing the leadership. It would also be helpful to know the proportion of representation of minority, downtrodden and economically backward groups in the national leadership.

**Main Findings of the Study:**

- The people of Haryana regions had played an important role in the uprising of 1857 due to which they were punished by the Raj while keeping them deprived of government service, education, health, irrigation and rural welfare etc. for a pretty long time and thus led the economy in bad shape, with no cultural development. The people of this region were reduced to the status of hewers of wood and drawers of waters. Nobody shake on their behalf and this period was called as period of passive development.

- As a part of composite Punjab, it got step-motherly treatment at the hands of state government and again the sectors like agriculture and irrigation, education and health and welfare were totally ignored.

- After coming into being on November 1, 1966, the state has developed on a very fast rate and has the distinction of being number two in India.

- Its growth rate is 11.4% and per capita income at constant prices of 1999-2000 is Rs. 35779 in 2006-07.

- Politically, it has 10 Lok Sabha seats and 90 Vidhan Sabha seats. Administratively, it has 4 divisions, 21 districts, 47 sub-divisions, 67 tehsils, 45 sub-tehsils, 116 blocks, 106 towns and 6955 villages.
The political scene was entirely dominated by the Unionist Party from 1926 to 1945 when the party formed the government with Sir Chhotu Ram as one of its ministers. However, thereafter the Congress came on the scene during the composite Punjab and even after the formation of Haryana as an independent state.

Interesting, no prominent leader except Devi Lal and Sher Singh was interested in the formation of Haryana as a separate state. Rather few of them entered into a secret understanding with the Party High Command with all favours for Punjab only.

B.D. Sharma, the first Chief Minister was much instrumental in grooming the 'politics of caste' started by P.S. Kairon during the composite Punjab.

So far as the Lok Sabha elections are concerned, the first Lok Sabha elections in Haryana have been held in 1967. In total 11 such elections have been held till now. However, unlike the Vidhan Sabha elections, the Congress lost the battle in 1977, 1980, 1989, 1996, 1998, 1999 Lok Sabha elections, when the opposition parties emerged on the scene.

- The number of electors has increased from 4386711 in 1967 to 12320557 in 2004 Lok Sabha elections.
- Most of the Lok Sabha elections have been contested on national issues rather than the regional ones and hence the factor of caste has been negated in many of the elections under study.

Selection of Candidates by different political parties

coalition era started from 1996. However, there were no ticket takers in the Congress party in 1977, 1980 and 1987 elections.

- The number of nominations has increased from 86 in 1967 to 231 in 2004 elections. It was highest-480 in 1989 and lowest-86 in 1967. However, no other party except the Congress, the Janata party, the Janta Dal and the INLD contested all the seats. The Congress contested 9 in 1977 and 7 in 1980 when there was an opposition wave in the country including Haryana. But majority of those who could not win over the party favour, fought as Independents in all elections under study.

- In 1967 and 1979 elections the Congress won 7 of 9 seats leaving the remaining 2 for BJS and other parties. All other party candidates lost their security deposits.

- In 1971 after the split of Congress in 1969, the party stood in favour of strong-Centre and garibi hatao, whereas the tilt of BJP was in favour of agriculture community.

- In 1977, all the 10 seats were fetched by the Janata party while keeping the Congress empty handed. In 1980 also, the Janatta (S) won 7 seats leaving 3 for others. Interestingly the Congress again got all the 10 seats in 1984 elections. However, in 1987, the Janata Dal won 6 seats leaving 4 for the Congress. But in 1991 the Congress got 9 leaving one for the Janata Party. But in 1996 the BJP got maximum 4 seats followed by the HVP-3 and the Congress-2 and Independents-1. In 1998 it was again fragmented with 4 in the pocket of the HLD(R), the Congress-3 and one each for the BJP, the HVP and the BSP. However in 1999 the INLD and the BJP alliance won all the 10 seats. However, in 2004 election the Congress won 9 seats leaving one for the BJP.

Thus, the Lok Sabha elections in Haryana since 1967 have been an affair of the Congress, the Lok Dal, the Janata Part and the BJP.
• The Independents could not open their accounts except 1967, 1980, 1996 elections.

• The electoral base of the Congress started to erode from 1977 and 1980 Lok Sabha elections when it could get only 17.62% and 19.9% votes in comparison 51.25% in 1971. However, it got the highest-53.98% in 1989 and 37.22% in 1991 and 32.64% in 1996, 26.02% in 1998. But, it gained an increase to 34.93% in 1999 and to 42.13% in 2004.

• The mass-base of the BJS/BJP remained thin and mainly urban centered. But wherever it selected the candidates having rural background, their success rate has increased.

• The CPI and CPI(M) could not get even 2% votes in successive Lok Sabha elections in Haryana.

All other political parties/splinter groups could not make any dent in the electoral base during the elections under study.

Social Structure of Parliamentarians

So far as the social structure of parliamentarians is concerned, the major findings are:

• The age-pattern of members mainly belong to middle age group followed by the aged ones. Similarly all political parties except the Lok Dal, have highest number of members in middle age-group.

• The maximum members have graduation in professional courses like law, MBA and BDS. On the whole 79.61% members have university degree. Similarly almost all political parties have majority of members with university degrees. However, the Lok Dal ranks first in this category followed by the Janata Party, the BJP and the HVP.

• Occupationally, maximum members belong to legal profession followed by the agriculture and social and political works. Likewise, most of the
political parties have maximum members in legal profession except the VHP and the BJP.

- More than ¾ members have prior experience of party organization and so the political parties barring the VHP and the BSP.

- The representation of freedom fighters is less than 20%. However, the Congress has the maximum members in this category.

- More than 70% members have rural background. Among the political parties, the BJP and Janata Party have more than 90% members in this category followed by the Congress the Lok Dal. However, the maximum Independents belong to the urban areas.

- More than 90% members are married and so in the case of political parties.

- More than 94% members are males and most of the political parties have restricted the entry of females in the process of political recruitment.

- More than 50% members have more than 2 children have a little regard from two child norms. Interestingly the members belonging to reserved and backward classes have more children than those belonging to general category. However, the Lok Dal has more than ¾ members with two children followed by the HVP and the Congress. The VHP ranks first with 3-4 children, the Janata Dal with 5-6 children and Janata Party with 7-8 children.

- About 85% members have Hindi as their mother tongue. Interestingly nobody has adopted the English as his mother tongue. On party lines, it is the Congress and the BJS/BJP who have a few members with Punjabi or Urdu as their mother tongue.

- The number of new entrants in the Lok Sabha is about 35% and majority of members have been elected twice or more than twice.
• On caste lines, the Jats constitute the first largest group in the Lok Sabhas under study followed by scheduled castes, Brahmins, Bishnois and Ahirs.

However, the Congress has represented nearly 50% Jats in the successive Lok Sabhas under study followed by the Lok Dal, the HVP and the Janata Party. Similarly it has represented the maximum Brahmins, Bishnois, Banias and scheduled castes apart from many other backward classes.

**Individual Lok Sabha : Findings**

• An analysis of age pattern of individual Lok Sabha members in Haryana since 1967 shows that the highest number of members are in middle age group followed by the aged and so in the case of members elected in 1971, 1977 and 1980. However, in 1984, the highest number of members belongs to aged followed by the middle age group but in 1989 the middle age group is in majority followed by the younger members. The things are revised in 1991 and 1996, when the members in the middle age group are on a par with the aged group. In 1998 the younger group followed the middle age group and got parity with it in 1997 and again followed it in 2004.

On party basis, it is the BJS with cent percent members in middle age group followed by the Congress in 1967. Likewise in 1971, the BJS and the HVP have cent percent members in the middle age group followed by the Congress-71.40%. Likewise, the Janata Party has its maximum members in this group. Again in 1980, the Janata Party and the Congress and the Janata Party (S) have maximum members in this group and so in the case with the Congress in 1984. But the Congress has the highest number of members in the aged group in 1989 and 1991 whereas the members in younger age group and middle age group are equally represented by it in 1996. However, the BJP has maximum members in aged group whereas the HVP in middle age group. Almost all political parties represent maximum members in the middle age group in 1998. In 1999 the
Congress has majority of members in middle age group whereas the Lok Dal in the younger age group. Again the Congress has maximum members in middle age group in 2004.

- Educationally, the graduates and professional degree holders are dominant in 1967 and 1971. Interestingly all members possess post-graduation or professional degrees in 1977 whereas the later are in majority in 1980. Again more than 70% members have university degree in 1984 followed by 50% in 1989 and 2004. Likewise a combination of post-graduates and professionals constituted the largest group in 1991, 1996, 1998 and 1999.

A party wise analysis shows that the BJS has maximum members as post-graduates whereas the Congress represents the professionals in 1967. However, the BJS and Congress represent the highest professionals, whereas the VHP-the graduates in 1971. Interestingly 90% members of the Janata Party have post-graduate or professional degrees in 1966. Similarly the Janata Party, the Congress have a majority of professional in 1980 whereas 80% of the Congress members have university degree in 1984. The Janata Party represents a higher number of university degree holders than the Congress in 1989 and 1991. However, the Congress represents cent per cent members with post-graduate or professional degrees in 1996 and so is in the case of the BJP and the HVP. More than 65% members of the Congress and the Lok Dal are professionals in 1998 whereas the BJP represents the undergraduates. Again in 1991, there is majority of post graduates or professionals in the BJP and the Lok Dal in 1999 and of graduates or professional in the Congress and BJP in 2004.

In the case of representation of different political parties, the Congress represents several occupations in 1967, having the majority of farmers in 1971 and so the VHP, the Janata Party and the Janata Party (S) in 1980, 1984. However, the Janata Dal represents higher number of agriculturists in 1989 whereas the advocates by the Congress. The representation of agriculturists in the Congress reduces to 11% in 1991, whereas it is 25% in the BJP in 1996. The advocates are in majority in the HVP, the BSP and the Congress in 1996 and 1998 and BJP in 1999. The Congress represents the maximum businessmen in 2004 whereas the BJP-agriculturists.

- The issue of prior experience of party organization is given much weight in 1967 and 1971, when more than 66% member possess it and the percentage of such members increased to 90 in 1977 and 1980. However, the members with prior experience of local bodies aggregate to 90% in 1984 but members with experience of party organization restore to 70% in 1989 and 80% in 1991 and 1996, 70% in 1998, 60% in 1999 and again 90% in 2004.

The factor of prior experience of party organization is visible more in the Congress and that of local bodies in the BJS in 1967 and of party organization in both these parties along with the VHP in 1971. 90% members of the Janata Party possess the experience of party organization in 1977 and so the Congress, the Janata Party (S) in 1980, the Congress in 1984, the Janata Dal and the Congress in 1989, the BJP and the Congress in 1991, the Congress, the BJP and the HVP in 1996, the Congress, the BJP and the Lok Dal in 1998, the BJP and the Lok Dal (R) in 1999 and again the Congress and the BJP in 2004.

- Since place of birth is taken into consideration for deciding the rural-urban background of the members, the ruralites form a majority in different Lok Sabhas under study.
Similarly, the Congress has represented the maximum members with rural background from 1967 to 1991. In 1998 its representatives reduces to 33% but restores to 100% in 1999 and again reduces to 33% in 2004.


Similarly the Janata Party represents its 90% members from rural areas in 1977, 1989 and so the Janata Party (S), a splinter group of Janata Party and Janata Dal/Lok Dal after the Lok Sabha elections, 1987.


- Only 1/3 members observe the two-child norms in 1967 and 1971. The percentage decreases to 10% in 1977 and 1980 but increases to 20% in 1984. Again it decreases to 10% in 1989 but registers a steep increase to 40% in 1991 and 1996 and to 50% in 1998 and 1999 as well as in 2004.

Thus, majority of members in various Lok Sabhas have more than two children.

A party wise examination reveals that the Congress represented its maximum members with 3 to 8 children in 1967 and 1971 and so the BJS and the VHP. Similar is the case with the Janata Party in 1977 and the Congress and
Janata Party (S) in 1980, the Congress in 1984 and 1989 and so the Janata Dal. Again the Congress and the HVP have higher number of members with more than 2 children in 1991. However, all the members of the Congress in 1996 and so the majority of the HVP members, but all the members of the BJP have more than 2 children. Again the Congress 2/3 of its members with 2 children and so the 3/4 members of the Lok Dal in 1998, 80% of the Lok Dal members have 2 children in 1999 and the Congress-55% in 2004. Therefore, the majority of political parties have maximum members with more than 2 children.

- More than 3/4 members have Hindi as their mother tongue in 1967 and their number increased to 100% in 1977, 1980. However, it decreases to 60% in 1984, but again increases to 80% in 1989 and 1991, to 90% in 1996, decreases to 80% in 1998 but increases to 90% in 1999 and 2004.

On party lines, it is the BJS/BJP who represents its cent percent members with Hindi as their mother tongue in 1967, 1971 and 2004, but their number decreases to 75% in 1996 and nil in 1998, but increases to 90% in 1999. Similarly, more than 83% members of the Congress in 1967 and 71% in 1971 have Hindi as their mother tongue which increases to 100% in 1980 but decreased to 60% in 1984, increases to 75% in 1989 and 1991 and with a slight increase to 88% in 2004. All the members of the VHP and the HVP have Hindi as their mother tongue in 1971, 1996 and 1998 and so is the case of the Janata Party in 1977 and 1980. However, about 83% members of the Janata Dal are in this category.

- Much against their numerical strength or more than 35% in the state only 22% Jats are represented in 1967 and 1971 which increases to 40% in 1977 but decreases to 30% in 1980. Their representation again increases to 40% in 1984 but decreases steeply to 20% in 1989, again increases to 40% in 1991 and decreases to 30% in 1996, again increases to 40% in 1999 and decreases to 30% in 2004. Thus, the Jats are represented within the range of 22 to 40% during the period under study.
The Congress represents the maximum Jats in 1967 whereas the BJS in 1971 and 2004 the Janata Party represents hardly 40% Jats in 1977 and Janata Party (S) 50% in 1980 whereas their representation in the Congress decreases to 20%. However, the Congress represents maximum Jats in 1984. Interestingly the Janata Dal just represents 16% Jats in 1989 much against its party set up whereas their representation in the Congress is 25%. The HVP represents highest number of members belonging to Jats community whereas the BJP represents Brahmins, Ahirs and Panjabis. The Lok Dal, a branded party of Jats represents 50% in 1998 and 60% in 1999 whereas 33% in 1998 and 20% in 1999 and so the Congress in 2004.

Recruitment of Women

The recruitment pattern of women draws the following:

- On an average, the share of women in parliamentary elections in India is about 2.7 to 6.6%. However, their winning ratio has been very encouraging.

- Almost all national political parties claiming to be well wishers of women have been very restrictive while nominating women in parliamentary election. The Congress party has nominated only 6 women followed by the BJP-5, the Lok Dal-3, the Janata Party-3 and Janata-2. Thus the party candidates in this category aggregate to 28 since 1967. The electoral base of women candidate has remained very poor when only few party candidates could get a meaningful percentage of votes i.e. 55% got less than 1% and 13% less than 5%.

Interestingly only one woman contested the 1967 Lok Sabha election whereas no women is nominated by any political parties in 1971. In 1977 the Congress and the Janata Party nominate their sole candidate respectively. In 1980.
no other party except the Janata Party who nominate only two candidates. However, three Independents also contest.

Again, no other political party except the BJP who nominate two candidates in 1984. But the number of Independents increases to 8, whereas in 1989 the BJP was the sole party to nominate one candidate. Apart from it, there are two Independents. However, in 1991 the Congress was the only party to nominate one candidate. Moreover, two Independents also file their nominations. However, in 1996, the Congress, the AIIC(T), the SAP, the JSTP nominate one candidate each apart from 4 Independents. More or so, the INLD, the Samata Party, and the BJP nominated their sole candidate in 1999. However, no Independent contested the election. In 2004, the Congress, the FCI, the INLD, the BSP, the HVP, the BRPP and the BJP fielded their sole candidates apart from one Independent.

Thus the political parties have been much reluctant in nominating the female candidates in the Lok Sabha elections despite their promises made in their respective manifestoes from time to time.

- Their representation in Lok Sabha since 1952 is within the range of 3.49 to 8.83% in India.
- Their representation in different state legislatures has not crossed 10% including Haryana so far.
- An analysis of age-structure of women members reveals that 79% of them belong to young age group followed by the middle age group.
- Educationally, almost all members are highly qualified and so is the case of different political parties.
- A majority of members have been social and political workers. However, all the members of Lok Dal are agriculturists whereas that of the Janata Party as lawyers and the Congress the social and political workers.
• More than 70% members have the prior experience of party organization. Likewise, almost all political parties have their maximum members with experience of party organization.

• More than 70% members belong to urban areas despite Haryana being a state of ruralites. Much against their set up, the BJP represents maximum members from rural areas and the Lok Dal from the urban areas.

• Much against the pattern of males only 57.14% women members are married. However, the Congress members are unmarried.

• Nearly 42% members are single and another 42% have 1 to 2 children having regard for two child norms.

• Cent-percent members including almost all political parties have Hindi as their mother tongue.

• Despite the Jat-dominated electoral politics, only 14.28% belong to this caste whereas 43% represents the backwards and scheduled castes. It is noted that except the Janata party, all others represent non-Jats.