Chapter 1

Introduction

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.

In accepted parlance, representation means popular representation and historically speaking the entire theory of representation has been linked with the basic ideas of self-government of every man’s right to have a say in what happens to him. The growth of the representative system of government testifies to an extent this will towards self-governance although many parts of the world have political systems not based on representative institution as we understand them.

There are, however, many critics of the representative theory arguing that no government really represents that a truly representative government and generally it does not exist. Even so, it has been broadly accepted that despite all its inadequacies the representative system is the best institutional mode of a democratic system available today.

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 over the past fifty seven years 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?

R.B. Jain\(^2\) reveals that social background of political elite is detrimental in shaping their attitude and performance. Other studies of legislative elite have also highlighted the importance of social, cultural variables in shaping their personality. Swarankar\(^3\) opines that by studying the social traits of legislative elite it can be judged whether the feudal elements still dominates or the opportunities have been thrown open to the exploited and oppressed sections of society. This is important because political decisions and policies of government are closely related to the interests represented by the legislative elite and such interests are partly governed and moulded by social traits of legislative elite. Ambedkar\(^4\) in his study emphasizes that the socio-economic set up is crucial in characterizing the social life as well as the behaviour of an individual. It also affects the pattern of interaction in the society and helpful in examining the correlation between the political elite and environment. Ambedkar finds that power has concentrated in the hands of elite belonging to high socio-economic strata. N.K. Singh has pointed out that in a developing society like India where forces of caste and

kingship influence the social social-life and suffers from acute disparity in standard of living and existence of sub-culture among various groups and regions, an analysis of social background of legislative elite is to be considered of vital significance. Eugene Lewis\(^5\) finds that a small integrated group of wealthy and socially influential persons controls the policy decisions. Shashi Lata Puri\(^6\) examines that to what extent the political elite are capable of doing what the public expects from them. How they are equipped to discharge the responsibilities devolved upon them by the electorate. G. Parry\(^7\) believes that social upbringing of decision makers influences their attitude and performance, Jean Blondel\(^8\) finds that the higher social classes and status groups dominate the political elite as well as civil servant in England. A.B. Moore\(^9\) is of the view that land owning upper classes have a dominating place in the elite structure of society. D.R. Singh\(^10\) opines that social background decides the descriptive status, style of life and class position and in India it matters the most. Jorgen Rasmussen\(^11\) observes that opportunities for political participation differ from system to system but the better of and high income group with prestigious occupations are found more active. Daya Dhar Jha\(^12\) thinks that politician's values and personal convictions are heavily influenced by the environment around them and socio-economic stratification determines the structure of political power.

In the organization of the Legislature a member is the primary unit. He has various types of deliberative, electoral and legislative obligations. He is expected

---

\(^7\) G. Parry, Political Elite, London, 1969, p. 93.
\(^8\) Jean Blondel, Voters, Parties and Leaders, Penguin, 1964, 10.
\(^12\) Daya Dhar Jha, State Legislatures in India : A Study of Bihar, Delhi : Abhinav, 1977, p. 32.
to perform a number of functions and thus he is taken as a vehicle of the party. He functions as a broker between the government and the voters.\textsuperscript{13}

C.M. Jain says that members of a Legislature differ in their educational attainments, age-groups, occupational status and legislative-cum-local bodies experience. These differences have a cumulative bearing on the working of the Legislature and its qualitative and quantitative output.\textsuperscript{14} According to Seligman, exploration and examination of the socio-economic background of political elite also help to understand the value system, the basis of social structure, and change in political roles.\textsuperscript{15}

**Importance of the Study**

In a democratic system, legislatures are the key elite of the society. The legislature is a barometer that measures the likes and dislikes of the public at large. In addition, legislatures may be treated as one of the pillars of the regime, Without this institution, a constitutional order may be no longer said to exist.

The institution of Legislative Assembly bridges up the gap between the rulers and the masses. This is accomplished through the legislators because the latter are both the articulators and representatives of the public aspirations, mood and feelings.

Moreover, a legislature plays an important role in political and socio-economic affairs of the nation. It formulates policies and implements them. Legislature also serves as a training ground for future political leadership and strengthens consensual institutional continuity. It removes the government which has lost the confidence of the people and offers an opportunity to the leader of the majority to form the same. Thus, a legislature represents the responsible government in an embryonic form, a hope that must be cherished and nourished.

\textsuperscript{14} C.M. Jain, State Legislatures in India, New Delhi : S. Chand and Co., 1972, pp. 31-32.
The legislature provides a check against the otherwise unlimited authority of the executive branch. It acts as a sounding platform for ideas that otherwise will not be exposed elsewhere. It opposes or supports criticisms or hails the policies of the government and gives various suggestions. This all is achieved through the members of the legislature.

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.

Literary Review

Very limited research work has been done on the political elite in India, although a large number of studies and legislative research, both national and sub-national, have appeared in the west during the last few years, where more and more scholars have been increasingly attracted to the study of the legislature as an important policy making institution and as a structure within which to test specific theoretical propositions regarding important aspects of political behaviour.16

Legislatures and legislative behaviour is a popular theme of political science research in India. But it lacks the comparative perspective to a great extent. It deals mainly with the organization and functioning of the Parliament

16 Some of the chapters in Herbert Hirsch and M. Donald Hancock (ed.) : op. cit and Dwaine Marvick : op. cit., bear out the rapidly growing interest in the field. For an overview see Norman Meller : Legislative Behaviour Research in Michael Hass and Henry S. Kariel : op. cit., pp. 239-267.
and State Assemblies in a historical setting or in a constitutional and legal setting. A general survey of some important studies on the Indian legislatures will indicate that there is a large gap in this field which remains to be filled. The gap ranges from the most pioneering studies of A.B. Lal and Morris Jones which are still the basic text books on Indian Parliament, to the most recent work of N.N. Mallya. However, these studies have been conducted on the traditional lines.


Second chambers of the Parliament and state legislatures too have aroused interest of researchers like P.N. Malhotra\(^20\), Bhawani Singh\(^21\), D.N. Dixit\(^22\) and Bimla Nagia\(^23\) who have probed the role of the Rajya Sabha and Legislative Councils.

R.K Bhardwaj in his study, Parliamentary Democracy and Legislators, New Delhi: National, 1983, deals with some aspects of Haryana legislators’ under the caption: ‘The Haryana Government’s Guidelines for Legislators, Public Servants’ for establishment of harmonious relationship and participation in developmental works and redressal of public grievances. The study further says that the legislators are expected to educate the public about the government’s policies and programmes and help in enlisting cooperation of the people in their implementation. So, it serves only as a compendium of guidelines to the legislators.

Among the earliest studies on pattern of representation in Lok Sabha, W.H. Morris Jones’ Parliament in India, studies the sociological background of the members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha as they stood in 1952.\(^24\) In the case of the Rajya Sabha the survey of background traits and political affiliations has been extended by Bhawani Singh up to 1962.\(^25\)

In 1953 Venkatarangaiya published a study of the background characteristic of the candidates for the state and Union Legislatures during the 1952 general election.\(^26\) In 1962 S.P. Verma made a study of the social

---

\(^{26}\) Venkatarangaiya: The General Election in Bombay City, Bombay, 1953.
background of the members of Indian Parliament (1952-62) which was mainly based on Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha Who’s Who. 27 S. Suri’s study of third Lok Sabha members is also useful. 28 Ratna Dutta’s The Party Representatives in the Lok Sabha in the context of fourth Lok Sabha and Satish K. Arora’s The Social background of the fifth Lok Sabha 29 provides meaningful insights into the structure of the legislative elite at the national level in India. 30 As if to complete the series, Nandni Upreti has recently delineated the socio-economic background of the members of Provisional Parliament in her Ph.D. dissertation. 31 Though these writings related to the national level, we have still benefited from them as indirectly they did go to enrich our perspective from theoretical and comparative angles. One of the serious limitations of quite a few of these writings, however, is that they are either based on the data available in Who’s Who’ or obtained from very limited and select interviewing.

One can also turn for a while to have a bird’s eye-view of the research work done at the state level. To begin with there are some books on state politics. The few studies that have so far been made on this subject are mostly general in nature, limited in scope and are either based on secondary data or on select group interviews. But they still throw significant light on the political processes at the state level, besides sometimes providing fleeting glimpses of the structure, recruitment, circulation, attitudes, values, behaviour and performance of the legislators. The more important works in this category are two edited books on state policies by Iqbal Narain et al. 32 and Myron Weiner 33 and multi-dimensional


Secondly, there are studies of state legislatures with some data on profiles of their members or full length studies of political leadership which also include legislative leadership or direct studies of the legislators themselves. Among these one would like to note briefly the studies, which are treated as of direct relevance to the present research work. The more important of these are:

45 An important contribution to the field is that of Saraswati Srivastava: The Pattern of Political Leadership in Emerging Areas: A Case Study of Uttar Pradesh (Mimeographed Ph.D. Thesis) Banaras Hindu University, 1969.
46 There are three full length studies in this category:
(ii) Richard Sisson and Lawrence L. Shasha: Legislative Recruitment and Political Integration: Pattern of Political Linkage in an Indian State, Berkeley, California, 1972 and
(i) Saraswati Srivastava's thesis\(^{47}\) embodies an exhaustive and critical review of the recruitment, circulation and behaviour pattern of state legislators and their role and interaction with the political system as part and parcel of a study of political leadership in U.P. The use of sociological concepts and structures and depth interviews have deepened the empirical content of her research work, among others her more important findings are: (i) Legislators tend to be drawn from higher socio-economic group in society as reckoned in terms of caste, occupation and education; (ii) they as political leaders mediate between the citizen and the government and some times between citizen and citizen also (iii) proficiency in the act of ruling is hardly a consideration in sponsoring the candidature of legislators; (iv) there is a generation gap between legislators who had participated in the national movement and those who followed them; (v) the gap between the promises and performance of legislators weakens the legitimacy of the political system etc.

(ii) Dayadhar Jha's study of fourth Bihar Legislative Assembly is of still greater relevance for its congruence with the theme of the present research work.\(^{48}\) He has examined the political, social and cultural environment of the legislators, their motivations and the situations that led them to political activity and the political apprenticeship that they underwent. The attitude of the members towards social and economic issues and the extent to which the legislators had internalized the rules of the game in the specific context of political defection has also been brought out. Methodologically the study is based on personal interviews from a prepared schedule which included both closed and open ended questions. The finding of the study shows that the upper castes have major share of seats in the legislature. Economically the legislators belong to upper and upper-middle class. Educationally, the House is dominated by matriculates and under-graduate members. Occupationally, the House has fair representation of cultivators, businessmen and lawyers. The number of professional politicians has registered a

\(^{47}\) Saraswati Srivastava: op. cit.
\(^{48}\) Dayadhar Jha: op. cit.
marked increase in this assembly. The legislator has had varied political experiences of rural, urban and party politics before coming to the legislature.

As regards the role perception, most of the legislators considered themselves as representatives of the people, while law making functions and policy formulation was considered only as secondary. The individual legislators regard themselves as a trustee of the area that they represent and not of the whole state.

Moreover, there is Richard Sisson’s and Lawrence L. Sharader’s study of the third Legislative Assembly in Rajasthan.49 They have covered the socio-economic, educational and political background of the legislators, the legislative elite mass gap, the pattern of constituency linkages, within and between the parties, the factions within the ruling party (Congress) in Rajasthan against the overall perspective of recruitment and political integration. The study empirically bears out the fact of linkages and their integrative systemic role.


49 Richard Sisson and Lawrence L. Shrader; op. cit.
Thus a large number of studies have been conducted on various aspects of legislative bodies in the states but they have applied historical, legal, institutional and narrative descriptive approaches. Research on Government and Politics of Haryana in general and profile of Lok Sabha members in particular remains to be undertaken.

Studies in Haryana

The main works on legislative leadership in Haryana are: B.B. Sinha’s Haryana Vidhan Sabha “General Elections, 1967. Though the focus of the study is on electoral politics but the social background of the legislator’s is also undertaken,\(^{50}\) J.R. Siwach’s Elections and Caste Politics in Haryana, gives a comparative account of electoral politics, role of caste in selection of candidates from different constituencies and representation of various castes\(^{51}\) in different Haryana Assemblies from 1967 to 1972. Partap Singh’s Social Background of Haryana MLAs : An Empirical Study\(^{52}\), P.D. Sharma’s Emerging Pattern of State leadership in Haryana\(^{53}\), Iqbal Narain’s State Politics in India\(^{54}\), Ranbir Singh’s Legislative Elite in Haryana : Representation of Agriculturist Castes” Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 40, No. 4, December, 1979, deals with the leadership pattern among different castes in various Haryana Legislative Assemblies (1967 to 1982). It concludes that the agriculturist castes have the

\(^{50}\) B.B. Sinha, The Fourth General Elections in Haryana, Political Science Review, 1967-68.


\(^{54}\) It has a full-fledged chapter on Social Dynamics and Politics of Defection. See Iqbal Narain, State Politics in India, Meerut, Meenakshi, 1976, pp. 88-111.
predominant position during the successive Assemblies in Haryana. They have
43.75, 45.45, 64, 56.25, 53.53, 56 and 55 per cent representation during the First,
Second, the Third, the Fourth, the Fifth, the Sixth and the Seventh Ministries
respectively. He has also undertaken a study on Social Structure and Political
Recruitment in Haryana.

A specific study is undertaken by P.D. Sharma covering the ecological and
Political aspects of the state including the recruitment of elite. He brings out the
geographical, demographical and physical dimensions of the state. The study also
examines the socio-economic background of the legislators of the Second and the
Third Haryana Legislative Assemblies. It examines legislators' attitude towards
some public policies, their role orientation within and without the Assembly and
resume of party politics of the state. However, the study does not touch upon the
inner-functioning and day to day proceedings of the Assembly during its sessions
and sittings. Moreover, R.K. Bhardwaj's Parliamentary Democracy and
Legislators, an important study in this field is published in 1986 while covering
the profile of Haryana legislators of the Fourth, Firth and Sixth Assemblies. The
middle aged, agriculturist, local bodies experience holders and members from
higher castes continued to dominate these assemblies. S.S. Chahar undertook a
wider perspective in his study on the working of Haryana Legislature. He threw
light on socio-economic and political aspects of the state, working of legislature
besides contributing a full-fledged chapter on socio-economic profile of
legislator's of the first, second, third, fourth and fifth Legislative Assemblies.

55 Ranbir Singh, Social Structure and Political Recruitment in Developing Society, Kurukshetra
56 Ranbir Singh, Legislative Elite in Haryana : Representation of Agriculturist Castes, Indian
57 P.D. Sharma, Legislative Elite in Haryana : A Study of Political Socialization, Kurukshetra,
Vishal, 1984.
58 S.P. Varma, Profile of Legislative Elite in Haryana in T.R. Sharma (ed) New Challenges of
M.D. University, Rohtak.
Again S.S. Chahar\(^{60}\) provides a comprehensive view of socio-economic background of Haryana legislators from 1966 to 1982. P.D. Sharma and Ramesh Kumar\(^{61}\) prepared a write up on social profile of legislators of the seventh and eighth assemblies, 1987-1991. The assemblies were dominated by the Congressmen, Hindus, males, Jats and ruralites. Shashi Kala\(^{62}\) in her work “Values Orientation of Legislative Elite: A Case Study of Haryana, 1977-86”, dealt with the socio-economic profile of legislators of the Fifth and Sixth Assemblies as well as their value orientation. The process of political socialization of legislators has also been discussed at length. S.S. Chahar\(^{63}\) has also discussed the socio-economic profile of Presiding Officers of Haryana legislature.

S.S. Chahar’s \(^{64}\) Profile of legislators in Haryana pertaining to eighth and ninth Assemblies (1996-2003). For this purpose total nine indicators are discussed in this paper like, age, education, occupation, prior experience, rural-urban background, marital status, sex ratio, family size, caste composition etc. These indicators highlight that the dominant age group among legislators of both the assemblies as well as among the main political parties is 41-50 years, they are better educated than general public, higher percentage represents the farming community, those with prior experience of local bodies and public undertakings, two-third of them have rural background, almost all are married, women representation is very low, majority of legislators have three to four children etc.

---


S.S. Chahar's, 65 Pattern of Legislative Leadership in India: A Study, provides a comprehensively analysis of socio-economic profile of legislators in Haryana from 1967 to 2000 apart from the socio-political conditions prevailing in the state. The broad inferences drawn by him include that – the middle aged legislators have maximum representation in the assembly and this applies to almost all major political parties, more than 50% legislators are graduates though their number declined from 6th to 10th assembly, the legislators belonging to agriculture sector constituted the single largest group but still under-represented against their population of 65% in the state, less than 50% members have prior experience of party organization or local bodies, declining or rather vanishing representation of freedom fighters, ¼ members belong to rural areas, all are married, representation of women is abnormally low to 6% against their population of 46% in the state, against the two child norms, majority of legislators have 3-4 children, under-representation of Jats etc. Moreover, the representation of Jats, scheduled castes and women has been discussed in separate chapters.

S.S. Chahar's Dynamics of Electoral Politics in Haryana 66 (2 Vols.) traces the origin and formation of Haryana state as well as its political process. However, a comprehensive picture of assembly elections held since 1967 as well as the major political developments occurred during this period, is presented. How the game of Aya Ram and Gaya Ram started despite the clear majority of the Congress party led by B.D. Sharma and the formation of United Front government led by Rao Birendra Singh. It also traces the legality of President's rule imposed on the majority government of Birendra Singh only after a period of 8 months. The mid-term election 1968 witnesses the emergence of Bansi Lal as the Chief Minister who became very popular on the plank of development of the state. By the time of 1972 elections, he became a undisputed leader of the Congress in Haryana and won the election with huge majority and sworn in as the Chief Minister again. Rather it was a straight contest between the Congress (I)

and the Congress (O). With the collapse of syndicate after a few months left no significant opposition to Bansi Lal in the assembly but he remained in controversy because of Riwas incident, kidnapping of opposition MLAs and dissidents etc. Moreover, he lost two seats in a by-election of three assembly segments. However, at this time he was elevated as the Defence Minister of India and B.D. Gupta was sworn in as the Chief Minister of state in 1975.

Vol. II casts a comprehensive light on the Assembly elections held in 1977, 1982, 1987, 1991, 1996 and 2000 as well as the major political developments took place in the state during this period. Because of misdeeds and excesses of emergency imposed in June 1975 by Indira regime, one decade of the Congress rule in Haryana was swept when the Janata Party secured 75 of the 90 seats. However, despite such a huge majority, the government led by Devi Lal could not last long and it fell down on June 25, 1979, under its own pulls and pressures, when Bhajan Lal manipulated the majority through Bharat darshan style of drama. Apart from the fight between the two sons of the Chief Minister, frequent interference of the party high command also play havoc in bringing down the government. Interestingly Bhajan Lal defected to Congress (I) with his entire council of ministers just after the Lok Sabha polls, 1980. In 1982 elections, the electors did not give a decisive mandate to any party and the then Governor G.D. Tapase played a dubious role by first inviting Devi Lal to form the Lok Dal – BJP alliance government but at the same time invited Bhajan Lal in Haryana Bhavan (New Delhi) and sworn in as the Chief Minister hurriedly which led to great political drama in the state. Again despite the sweep victory of Congress (I) in Lok Sabha polls 1984, Bhajan Lal was replaced by Bansi Lal in 1986, just a year before the ensuing assembly elections in 1987. However, the Lok Dal – BJP alliance captured 77 seats and Devi Lal became the Chief Minister and he continued till he was elevated as the Deputy Prime Minister of India in December 1989. Thereafter, Chief Ministership changed hands frequently because of alleged violence in Meham by-elections, faction fighting the ruling party etc., which
created political instability in the state. In 1991 elections, the Congress captured
power by bagging 51 seats and Bhajan Lal formed the government. Despite the
BKU agitation, flood devastation in 1995, he continued till 1996. But because of
firing on villagers at Brahi, BKU agitation, hike in power tariff, strong emergence
of HVP, corruption, fall out of Yamuna accord, the ruling Congress lost to HVP–
BJP alliance and Bansi Lal formed the government. Unfortunately, bickering
started in the ruling alliance just after a few months on the issues of mishandling
of farmers agitation leading to several deaths, police action against the BJP
workers/legislators in 1998, emergence of crime and corruption because of weak
implementation of prohibition etc. compelled the BJP to withdraw its support
after 37 months. In spite of temporary support of the Congress, the government
could not survive and fell down and O.P. Chautala formed the government on
July 24, 1999 and continued till 2000. The INLD-BJP alliance captured power in
these elections. However, the incident of firing on farmers in Jind in 2002, over
looking the farmers interest, snapping the ties with the BJP, poor law and order,
HVP merger with the Congress etc weakened the electoral base of the ruling
INLD which lost to the Congress in 2005 Assembly elections.

Apart from it, the study provides a broad view of participation of women
in electoral politics since 1967, where it is merely 2.92% and only 16.02% of the
contestants could make it to the Assembly.

However, an overview of the available literature shows that no
comprehensive study pertaining to socio political background of Haryana
parliamentarians has been undertaken so far. Hence, Social Structure of Political
Elite : A Study of Parliamentarians from Haryana.

OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of the study are:

• To study the socio, political and economic settings of Haryana.
• To have a brief view of electoral process of Lok Sabha in the state since 1967.

• To examine socio-economic composition of parliamentarian of Haryana.

• To study of pattern of power-structure among the scheduled caste members.

• To study the socio-economic and political composition of women's elite.

HYPOTHESES

The major hypotheses of the study are:

• Recruitment of parliamentarian really represents the socio-economic composition of population of the state.

• The higher castes still dominate in the recruitment process.

• The younger generation is given due representation.

• The uneducated are under represented.

• The rich section of the society has a majority of Lok Sabha members.

• The representation of women is nominal.

METHODOLOGY

The study pertains to the socio-economic profile of 108 members of Lok Sabha including the scheduled caste and women elected from Haryana state since 1967. For this purpose the variables of age, education, occupation, religion, caste, experience, martial status etc. are taken into consideration. In order to collect the relevant data, the help of primary as well as secondary sources is taken. In the former an interview schedule is constructed to elicit the factual information from the members. However, the secondary sources included the main documents, Lok Sabha's Who's Who, nomination forms of the candidates and other reference
material i.e. books, articles etc. But the universe of the study is confined to the Haryana state only.

CHAPTERIZATION

The study has been divided into five chapters:

- First chapter introduces the research frame of the study.
- Second chapter explains the socio-political conditions prevailing in the state of Haryana.
- Third chapter describes the Lok Sabha elections held in Haryana since 1967.
- Fourth chapter highlights the social structure of parliamentarians in Haryana.
- The last chapter points out the major observations of the study and suggestions thereon.

---------- 0 ----------