CHAPTER II

ORIGION OF PARLIAMENT

AND

VOTING BEHAVIOUR
CHAPTER II

ORIGI@N OF PARLIAMENT AND VOTING BEHAVIOUR

Voting behaviour is closely related with the Parliament as it determines its form and its genesis. In a democratic nation success of the government depends upon the wishes and interests of the persons who participate in the election programme of the country. The Parliament can take care of the welfare of the people only when it has been constituted by persons who have fair motives and integrity. The vested interests based on caste, creed, religion, regionalism or provincialism always create poisonous political elements in the country. Hence, in modern times in every democratic state efforts are made that in the general elections these elements are avoided because they disturb the thought process and thus the mental equilibrium in political environment can not be stabilised. The voting behaviour in an underdeveloped country is different from that of developing or a developed country. It counts much in a democratic country while giving shape to the Parliament. In India its importance was reduced when limited franchise was given under the British Rule. But it does not mean that Indians were not familiar with the functions of Parliament in the past. General representation was not given to the public by the British to Indians because of administrative reasons of the foreign rule. The public was bound to obey the orders of the ruler and public opinion had no importance.
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE:

In the Mahabharat it has been explained that according to the Varan Vyavashta people were authorised for inclusion in the Parliament. Qualification had been laid down for each class of persons Brahman, Kshatriya Vaishya; and Shudra. It is also mentioned that persons who were purified in their inner and outer lives (Snatak's) belonging to Brahmin community were included in the Parliament. Such Brahmins who were physically and mentally sound were permitted to be included and their number was four allotted in the epic.

Likewise, Eight Kshatriyas who were well-armed and physically strong were to be added in the Parliament of the King and the number for the Vaishyas was fixed as twenty one. The choice depended upon their good behaviour. In the same way three Shudras who were polite and humble and one (Suta) well-versed in the knowledge of the Puranas were qualified for inclusion in the parliament. The prescribed age in the case of the Suta was fifty years. 1

---

1. Arthashastra, Ch.15, Ed. by Jayeswal, p.388
Kautilya's Arthashastra; whose date according to some scholars is the fourth century B.C. and according to others the third century A.D. enunciates the rule "when there is an extraordinary matter; the minister and the Council of Ministers should be called together and informed. There, whatever the majority decides to be done should be done (by the King)."  

This is an important work and has been placed by eminent scholars in the 12th Century A.D. or even later. It embodies the doctrines and traditions of a far more ancient time and contains the injunction; "Without the ministers, matters of State should never be considered by the King; even if he is well versed in all the sciences and in state craft. A wise king must always follow the opinion of the members of the Council of Ministers -- He must never stand on his own opinion. When the Sovereign becomes independent, he plans for ruin, in time he loses the State and loses his subjects."  

The Nitivakyamrta which is considered the work of 10 Century A.D. states that "he is no true King who acts against the advice of his ministers." In the same way during the second Century B.C. in the Mahabharat it is mentioned in a verse clearly that "the King must invest only that minister with jurisdiction who has lawfully earned the confidence of the "Paura Janpada".

1. Arthashastra; Ch.15; Ed. by Jayawal, P. 288  
2. Sukraniti Sastra; II; 2-4 Jayawal - Hindu Polity P.289  
3. Cf. Nitivakyamrta; X.Jayawal Hindu Polity; P.306  
4. Mahabharat Shanti Parvam XXXIII; P. 44-45
During the reign of Ashoka in an eminent Buddhist work 'Divyadāna' one important incident is mentioned. The city of Taxila (in the north) became 'hostile' and on that particular occasion Ashoka directed his son Kural (Kunal) to pacify the people. The citizens while welcoming the prince said "We are not hostile to your highness nor are we hostile to King Ashoka but to the wicked ministers who come and insult us." Further, during the reign of Ashoka the public was authorised to recall or be hostile to their representatives when they failed to satisfy them. There are many terms which are prevalent in the legislative Assemblies and which were also used in the Buddhist literature Sengh. Motions, resolutions, quorum, 'whips', voting by secret ballot, open voting, first, second and third readings, the right of the free discussion', 'tellers', the rule of decision by the majority, the appointment of the Committee to cut short debate and so on, were all well known.

In this way it is quite apparent that in India the Parliament was there but ministers were appointed or nominated by the King; and there was no special say of the public. Thus, in ancient Indian culture there was provision of the parliament for the purpose of administration. It is a different matter that its shape was quite different. As regards voting behaviour and franchise; no doubt it was quite limited.

1. Divyadāna, ed. by Cavell and Neil, Op
but Brahmans who were given first importance were allowed to exercise their vote and their qualifications were clearly mentioned.

PARLIAMENT AND ITS MODERN PATTERN:

The modern parliament emerged when the Parliament of Paris had become a permanent court of justice; having the supreme authority in cases brought before it; and specially in appeals against the sentences of the bailies and seneschals, it retained this name, which was also given to the other Supreme Courts of similar nature, which were modelled after it in the provinces.¹ In view of its meaning the basic and the most precious thing in the concept of Parliament is Government by discussion by argument which might clash no doubt and yet lead to binding conclusions. In a democratic nation it is called a legislative body on the basis of its function and its composition and organisation is given shape by the public on the basis of elections in a democratic way.

BIRTH OF PARLIAMENT IN MODERN INDIA

The history of the development of legislative bodies in India is of course, only a part of the Constitutional History of British Rule in India, and as such it is interwoven with other strands, above all the relations between the home and Indian Governments and with the inter-play of unitary and federal forces. Now follows a sketch of the legislature pointing out the experience inherited by the present Indian Parliament.

¹ Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol.17(1961), P.310
By the end of the 19th Century nationalism gained strength and gradually the demand for independence became more powerful in India. There were Indian political leaders like Tilak, Gokhale, Ranadey and M.K.Gandhi who raised their voice for Indian democracy and very earnestly they devoted themselves to the national cause, against the British power in India. India could get success after a great struggle. Assurances and promises were given by the British Government from time to time but they were not fully authorised to make their government. First Indians were permitted in 1909 to make their partial government in certain provinces. From 1909 to 1947 Indian citizens belonging to different castes and creed, rich and poor, men and women were not permitted to exercise their votes in the making of the governments. Before independence the government and the Parliament that was formed was quite sketchy and voting behaviour was granted on the communal, regional and provincial basis. For making the government the voters who participated in the election the number and their population was quite scanty. The age and qualification were decided by the foreign rulers in India for the citizens. Gradually, changes were made as the Indian national movement progressed.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1909 AND ELECTION SHAPE

The nationalist movement was meanwhile growing in strength under able leaders like Gokhale and Tilak. The year 1906 was another memorable year in that the Muslim League asked the Governor-General for certain safe guards for Muslims by way of proper representation in the legislatures and
services on the ground of their numerical strength and social position. This representation was also sought in the social self governing bodies like the district and municipal boards, and even in the governing bodies of the universities. It was considered "just claims" by Lord Minto and stated, "I am entirely in accord with you." Prior to this it was a good deal more natural in 1892 than it may be now to think of representation in terms of classes and interests rather than individuals in a territorial constituency.2

Lord Morley assured the Viceregal of the British Governments 'cordial concurrence -(in) repudiating the intention of desire to attempt the transplantation of any European from a representative government to Indian Soil. The main standard and test of any proposal of reforms must be whether it gives new confidence and a wider range of knowledge, ideas and sympathies to the holders of executing power.3 There was a proposal of indirect election by Lord Morley with reservation of seats based on numerical strength. Ultimately the Muslim League refused to accept this proposal brought forth.4 The Indian National Congress protested at this feature of the proposed reforms. Under the Act of 1892 the Government could consider a little to give a partial freedom at the provincial level and to implement the same in

framing the rules, the provincial governments had taken care that the persons chosen should be as far as possible not independent men but those who could easily be influenced.¹

**CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION OF PARLIAMENT:**

Many more things were implied in 1892 and were made explicit in the Act of 1909 which embodied in the Morley-Minto Reforms. The Act of 1909 provided for a majority of non-officials, nominated and elected, as far as the provincial councils were concerned though at the Centre it was ensured that the officials commanded the majority. It did not imply a Parliament at the Centre. The Indian member was to be appointed to the Executive Council in each of the provinces and at the Centre. The elected members were to serve for the period of three years.²

**IMPERIAL COUNCIL 1912 AND VOTING METHOD:**

On February, 1909 the Indian Decentralisation Commission provided over by Mr. Hobhouse (afterwards Sir Charles) presented a comprehensive report dealing with the relationship between the Government of India, the provincial Governments and the local authorities. Meanwhile new states of Behar and Orissa were created in place of east Bengal and Assam in both the classes of electorates. There was no change made in the pattern of electorate of Madras, Bombay, U.P., Burma, C.P. etc. but franchise was accepted for newly created provinces and their qualifications for Imperial Council were as follows:

¹ Mrs. A. Besant, How India Wrought for Freedom; P.166.
BENGAL:

GENERAL ELECTORATE - AS IN 1909 COMMUNAL ELECTORATE AS IN 1909

LANDHOLDERS:

Payment of L.R. or Road and P.W. Cess Rs. 10,000/- and Rs. 2,500/- respectively in the case of Presidency and Burdwan Division (ii) and Rs. 5,000/- and Rs. 1250/- respectively in Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divs.

(b) Holders of titles not lower than Raja or Nawab

Commerce & Industry, Chamber of Commerce as before.

BEHAR AND ORISSA:

GENERAL:

Non-officials members of the Council the Lt. Governor every elector had one vote.

COMMUNAL: Ditto as in Bengal

LANDHOLDERS:

(a) Payment of L.R. or Road and P.W. Cess Rs. 2500/-

(b) Title holders above Raja and Nawab

ASSAM:

GENERAL ELECTORATE:

Same as in Behar and in Orissa. No other electorate was created for this.

Besides, this is the year 1915 there were some new amendments made for the purpose of electorate and about them light has been thrown the first chapter of the thesis on page 16 and these amendments were incorporated in 1917 for Imperial Council.
INTENSIFIED DEMAND AND FIRST WORLD WAR:

Before 1st World War was started there was much opposition of the British Government in India specially in Bengal, Punjab and U.P. Riots and Violence spread rapidly. In this way ten years intervened between the Act of 1909 and the government of India Act 1919. The only inference that could be drawn from the Morley-Minto Reforms is that it was no longer acceptable to the Indian opinion.

In 1915 a conference was convened between the All India Congress Committee and the Committee of the Muslim League. It drafted a scheme which provided for communal electorates. In a joint meeting it was resolved that Muslims would be permitted to represent through special electorates. The proportion fixed by the Government for votes in different provinces was far different. It was 15% in Madras and 40% in Punjab.¹

On March 22, 1913 Sir Rahimatoola presided over a meeting of Muslim League held at Lucknow and on this occasion the League changed its constitution and declared its intention to promote national unity, by fostering public spirit among the people of India and by co-operating with other communities for the said purpose.² The Lucknow Congress of 1916 had its own importance and it is popularly known as the Congress-League Lucknow Pact. Meanwhile the First World War broke out and Indians contributed men and material for the success of the British.

1. Ibid p.15.
2. Indian Year Book, 1914, p.476.
Great efforts were made by the Congress for a long time to bring unity among different castes of India. In 1916 it appeared ineradicable to point out that communal unity in 1916 was secured only at the sacrifice of an essential principle of national and democratic life but it was done in the interest of scientific accuracy. The Congress had consistently opposed the creation of separate electorates for the Muslims though it had fully recognised the necessity of providing a fair and adequate representation for them and for other communities where they were in a minority, separate electorates were rightly regarded by the Congressmen as injurious to the national life of the country and were justly condemned as anti-national and anti-democratic. But in 1916, the Congress in order to secure Unity of action agreed to the system of communal representation and the principle of weightage and also of communal veto in legislation. Though this communal representation was not appreciated by the Congress leaders but under the circumstances they were bound to accept it. Moreover, after the end of the First World War in 1919 the communal agreement, ironically became part and parcel of the Act of 1919.

1. Many of the Congressmen were fully conscious of the evil effects of communal electorates. They looked upon them as the price that had to be paid to secure union for winning Swaraj. Unity was indispensable. The British were adopting all manner of means to divide the people. They must not lag behind and should secure unity at all costs. After Swaraj when there is no third party to divide them and spirit of co-operation had fully developed communalism was sure to die a natural death.
A new administrative provision was made under the Act of 1919. There were certain subjects which were 'reserved' and others were 'transferred'. Subjects like the Police, Finance, administration of justice were 'reserved' in the hands of provincial governments. It was a dyarchy system introduced in India for the first time and all important matters of the states were under the possession of the provincial government.

Under the new system of dyarchy 1919 there was a little change in the position of the provinces and with regards to the position of Central Government there was change in view of the administration and superintendence the powers of the Secretary of states were not affected in this new provision. All Imperial interests remained unaffected. In all matters the Governor-General was as powerful as he had been, before this Act in respect of the powers 'safety', tranquility and interest of India.

At the Central level bicameral legislature was established. Thirty-three of the sixty members in the Upper House or Council were to be elected. For the Lower House, called the Legislative Assembly, 106 out of the 146 members were to be elected. The Government of India was still responsible to the British Parliament and could not relax its control over provincial administration and legislation.¹

¹ N.N. Mallya, Indian Parliament, P.17.
FORMATION OF THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE AND VOTING PATTERN

The Central Legislature consisted of two Houses—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. This for the first time brought India in line with Western Countries, where the Legislatures usually consist of two Houses.

The total strength of the Legislative Assembly, when the Simon Commission reported, was 145, out of which 41 were nominated members and in all there were 104 elected. Amongst the nominated members there were 26 officials and the rest were non-officials. In this way it becomes apparent that the majority was consisting of the elected members. The officials were nominated and included in the Assembly to represent the Government in the Legislature. The non-official members were to protect the interests of and represent those who could not be represented through election.

The Governor-General of India was given many important powers. First of all the number of the members for Legislative Assembly was fixed at 130 but actually their total number was 145 as explained previously. The provision was made under the Act 1919 that the number, if required, might be increased by the Governor-General of the legislative Assembly. Now under the rule there was no provision for Governor-General to hold its membership and neither he had the power to be President of the Assembly yet, he was an important figure in the Assembly because of the composition of the executive including the Legislative Assembly, Council of State and Governor-General of India. The following table will show the composition of the Legislative Assembly as to how many members were elected and nominated from different provinces of the country.
TABLE No. 21

COMPOSITION OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSTITUENCY</th>
<th>NOMINATED</th>
<th>Elected</th>
<th>Ind. Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Offi.</td>
<td>Non-</td>
<td>Offi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cials</td>
<td>Mus-</td>
<td>cials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. of India</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar &amp; Orissa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P. &amp; Berar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer-Merwar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.W.F. Province</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Report, Vol. P. 168)

SYSTEM OF ELECTION:

Under the provision of the Act 1909 for the Imperial Legislative Council the indirect system of election was adopted but in 1919 it was changed and in place of indirect system direct system was accepted.

Separate provision was made for Muslims in the Act of 1909 for electorates and in 1919 a new change occurred. Separate electorate was granted for Sikh Community and Europeans. Separate constituencies were created for landlord...
Indian Commerce and Anglo-Indians. The labour class was also given a separate representation in the election. In view of other classes and caste representation it is important to note that depressed classes, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Labour were given representation through nomination. The provinces were allotted seats in the Legislative Assembly in proportion to their importance and population. As regards the qualifications for the citizen of the country in different provinces they were decided by the Government in various ways. In this way there was much dissimilarity in the nation in connection with the allotment of their qualifications on the basis of which they had been permitted to cast their votes.

While prescribing qualifications to the voters special attention was drawn towards economic and property qualifications. Those who were assessed to pay income tax or who paid land revenue or rent, or municipal tax above a fixed minimum had the right to vote. In spite of low property qualifications, the total number of voters for the Assembly in 1934 was 1415, 892 in the whole of British India. It can easily be assessed that there was a very low percentage of voters who were entitled to exercise their vote for the Legislative Assembly.

PROVISION OF COMMUNAL ELECTORATE

Under the dyarchy system with the view of vested interest of the British rulers all possible efforts were made to practically break the unity among Indians. From this

point of view the elections were held on the basis of communalism.

The distribution of the different communities, of which the population was composed, in the various provinces at that time provided the key to the problem south to the Vindhyas. Muslims came later, and everywhere they formed a small minority. In the Central Provinces they form less than 5 percent, in Madras 7 percent, and in Bombay without Sind 9 percent. There was a small Christian population in these provinces but Hindus were in vast majority. In comparison to them the position of Northern India made up of Muslims, 55.5 percent, Hindus 43 percent, and others 1.5 percent. There was the population of Muslims 33 percent in Assam, in Bihar and Orissa 11 percent and in the United Provinces it was nearly 15 percent. In Punjab, however, the Muslims were in majority, with 66 percent; the Hindus and Sikhs were next with 27 percent, and 13 percent respectively.¹ In the Frontier Province and Baluchistan, the Hindus were in minority.

The importance of this analysis is that dyarchy implies the transfer of responsibility in a part of government to a popular executive; the strength and effectiveness in the working of this popular executive has been influenced by these social divisions. Parliament is a place where persons think alike sitting together about the common interest. By these social divisions the Indian communities were divided. The Government was creating germs in the minds of citizens that their interests and benefits would not be similar.

The Government had been making utmost efforts engendering a fear that minority community might not receive fair treatment at the hands of majority. The minority groups have no religions, cultural and any kind of affinity with the majority class was the argument of the Government in order to separate their minds and hearts. It was also illustrated that there was many differences in their social attitude and problems hence, unity and coherence would injure their social interests. It was only Burma, an important part of Indian provinces which was free from those acute religious dissensions which militate against the co-operation of men of different creeds.\(^1\) On this point, it may be mentioned that Burma also could not escape altogether from the difficulties of dyarchy.

**QUALIFICATION OF THE VOTERS:**

Qualifications were fixed for voters in both the houses of the par so called Indian Parliament before independence. The British India Government prescribed higher qualifications on the basis of economic prosperity. In respect of this those who were assessed to pay income tax or paid land revenue or rent, or municipal tax above a fixed minimum had the right to vote. In spite of low property qualifications, the total number of voters for the Assembly in 1934 was 1,415,892 in the whole of British India.\(^2\) It can easily be assessed that there was a very low percentage of voters who were entitled to exercise their vote for the Legislative Assembly in British India. Thus it may be concluded that only about 10% of the total adult population had been permitted the right to vote for the Assembly House and that was the popular House of India.

---

2. R.N. Agarwala, National Movement and Constitutional Development in India, p. 101
In comparison to the Legislative Assembly the qualifications which were decided for the second chamber, i.e. for the Council of States were much higher for the voters and this was less democratic in functions as well as in its composition. Likewise, the qualifications of the voters for the Legislative Assembly there was varied in the various provinces. In the same way for the Council of State qualifications of voters were decided in a different way. In some provinces it was decided for the Council that the voters who had an annual taxable income of Rs. 20,000/- to were allowed to vote in the election. Further, the landlords who were paying revenue of Rs. 2,000/- to the Government were entitled to vote. This proves that the qualifications for this house were also decided on the basis of property and not otherwise. There were the persons who had lesser income and paying lesser tax who too were allowed to vote in some provinces.

ELECTORAL PROVISION UNDER THE ACT OF 1935:

In comparison to the Act of 1919 there was nothing special in the Act 1935 which was on the democratic pattern with regard to elections. Federal Assembly was the popular House but actually it was not representing the people of India because it had limited powers.

COMPOSITION OF THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

The Federal Assembly consisted of 250 members and each province under the administration of British India Government was allotted certain number of seats which were distributed as follows:

MADRAS PROVINCE: There were 37 Seats allotted to Madras Province out of which 4 were general seats of which 4 were reserved for the Scheduled Castes, 8 seats for...
Mohammedans, 1 for the Anglo Indians, one for the Europeans, 2 for the Indian Christians, 2 for the representatives of commerce and Industry, 1 for the land holders, 1 seat for representative of Labour and 2 seats were allotted for the women class.

**BOMBAY PROVINCE:** There were 30 seats allotted to the Bombay Province. For general seats the number was fixed 13, of which 2 two were reserved for the Scheduled Castes 6 for Mohammedans, 1 for the Anglo Indians 1 for the Europeans, 1 for the Indian Christian, 3 for the representatives of Commerce and Industry, 1 for the land holders, 2 for the representatives of labour and 1 seat for women.

**BENGAL PROVINCE:** Of the total 37 seats allotted to the Bengal Province there were 10 general seats of which 3 were reserved for the Scheduled Castes, 17 Mohammedans seats, 1 for the Anglo Indians, 1 for the Europeans, 1 for the Indian Christians, 3 for the representatives of Commerce and Industry, 1 for the landholders, 2 for the representatives of labour and 1 seat for women was allotted.

**UNITED PROVINCES:** For the United Province 37 Seats were allotted out of which there were 19 general seats of which 3 were reserved for Scheduled Castes and for Mohammedans 12 were fixed. There was 1 seat for the Anglo Indians, 1 European, 1 for the Indian Christians, 1 for the Landholders, 1 for the representatives of labour and 1 for women.
PUNJAB: Total number of 30 seats were allotted to the Punjab. There were 6 general seats of which one seat was reserved for the Scheduled Castes, 6 seats for the Sikhs, 14 for Mohammedans, 1 for the Europeans, 1 for the Indian Christians, 1 for the landholders and 1 for the women.

BIHAR: For Bihar Province there was the allotment of 30 seats, 16 were general seats, of which 2 were reserved for the Scheduled Castes, 9 Mohammedans seats, 1 for the Europeans, 1 for the Indian Christians, 1 for the landholders, 1 for the representatives of labour and one for the women.

C.P. & BERAR: The number of allotment was for C.P. & Berar Province 15 and 9 were general seats of which 2 were reserved for the Scheduled Castes, 3 for the Mohammedans, 1 for the landholders, 1 for the representatives of labour and 1 for the women.

NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE: In total there was allotment for 5 seats and out of the same there was only 1 general seat and 4 were allotted to the Mohammedans.

ALLOTMENT FOR ORISSA: Out of the total 5 seats allotted to the Orissa Province 4 were general seats of which 1 was reserved for Scheduled Castes and 1 was for Mohammadan seat.

ALLOTMENT FOR SIND: Out of the total of 5 seats allotment for Sind 1 was as general seat, 3 for the Mohammedans and 1 for the Europeans.

FOR BRITISH BALUCHISTAN: There was only one seat in this province and it was allotted for Mohammedans.
PROVISION FOR DELHI:

There were only two seats in total for Delhi and out of the same 1 was allotted as general seat and 1 for the Mohammadans.

DISTRIBUTION FOR AJMER-MERWARA:

For this province there was allotment for 1 general seat.

FOR COORG:

There was only 1 general seat for Coorg.

NON PROVINCIAL SEAT:

Besides all other seats mentioned above, there was allotment for 4 non-provincial seats of which there were 3 seats for the representatives of Commerce and Industry and 1 seat for the representatives of labour.¹

In respect of the position of the Council of state and its composition it can be stated in-nut-shell that it contained 156 members of the British India.

QUALIFICATION OF VOTERS:

REGISTRATION: First of all it was most essential for the voter that his/her name must be included in the electoral register. For every territorial constituency there was one electoral roll and generally every person whose name is included in the electoral roll was entitled to vote. No person was permitted the right to vote until his/her name was included in the same.² The electoral rolls for the territorial constituency were revised from time to time. They were revised with reference to “a prescribed date” as directed in each case by the Governor exercising his individual power.³

¹. Ibid. pp. 5-6
². Para 1. Schedule VI the Govt. of India Act 1935
³. Para 2
The persons who were entitled to be included in the general constituency had to fulfil the following qualifications:

(a) One should have attained the age of 21 years.
(b) He should have been a British subject or;
(c) He should have been the ruler or a subject of a Federal State or;
(d) He should have been the ruler or subject of any other State if so prescribed and subject to any prescribed conditions.¹

Besides, all the qualifications mentioned above there were certain persons who were not allowed to exercise vote at all if not keeping sound mind if so declared by a competent court.

No one who was not a Sikh, a Mohammadon, Anglo Indian, European or Indian Christian was entitled to be included in a Sikh, Mohammadon, Anglo Indian, European or an Indian Christian constituency respectively. In the same way the Act was passed that no person who was entitled to be included in a Sikh, Mohammadon, Anglo Indian, European or an Indian Christian constituency would be included in the electoral roll for a General constituency in a province also.²

As regards voting pattern and qualifications the rules were framed in such a way that one voter was allowed to be included in order to prevent voting from two different provinces and constituencies at the same time.

INCLUSION OF A PERSON GUILTY OF CORRUPT PRACTICES & OFFENCES:

A person who was involved in corrupt practices and found guilty by the Court in elections as per rule his name was to be struck off the electoral roll and he was not allowed to make use of his vote for the provincial election or for the Federal Assembly. Such a person was not entitled to vote at any election in a territorial constituency.

WOMAN VOTER:

In the Act of 1935 provision was made for women voters in order to make use of their votes for election purposes. There was speciality in this respect that women in certain cases were entitled to be included in the electoral rolls on the basis of the qualifications of their husbands. A woman enfranchised on account of the qualifications for her husband was allowed to continue to be included in the territorial constituency notwithstanding the death of her husband. Apart from it if she had gone for remarriage there were chances for her disqualification on the basis of her husband's disqualifications, if there was something lacking in him. Moreover, in that case she was not entitled to be included in the electoral Rolls. The 1st Chapter of the thesis under the heading of development of Parliament, Act 1935 contains the details on the qualifications of women.

TENURE AND ELECTION METHOD OF THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY:

Under the Act of 1919 the time for the Federal Assembly was fixed for three years. Moreover, the Governor-General was authorized to increase its time or reduce it for its dissolution before completing its time. The time of the said House

1. Para 10(a) Schedule VI, The Govt. of India Act 1935.
was prescribed for three years but under the Act of 1935 for the House of Assembly was increased by two years more. Now the period of 5 years was fixed and according to the Act of 1919 the Governor-General was given power to dissolve it even before completing its term. This period was counted from the date of the first meeting of the Assembly. Further, he was also authorised to extend its period.

**ELECTORAL METHOD:**

Under the Morley-Minto Reforms, for the Imperial Legislative Council (which in a way may be described as the predecessor of the House of Assembly) indirect method of election was introduced. With regard to this it may be mentioned that repeatedly the demand was made by Indian leaders for direct election in place of indirect system of election. However, the Montford Report accepted the justice of the demand and consequently under the Act of 1919 the provision was made for the election of popular House as direct method of election. In the same way for the Council of State also direct system of election was introduced. It was recommended by the Montford Report that in this way Indian citizens could get political education and this system continued in India for about 14 years.

It is quite obvious in the present democratic world that the composition of the Lower House is never made indirectly. But there was speciality and the most typical thing was added in the Act of 1935 that for the said Popular House indirect election would be made. During a long period upto 1935 the direct system of election continued for the Federal Assemb...
and it could not satisfy the British-India Government. The elected representatives who were sent brought nothing but credit for the system. It was the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms that indirect system of election would be apt to both the houses i.e. the Federal Assembly and the Council of State. In favour of the indirect system introduced in India, it was advocated by the Government that the constituencies were so wide and broad that they were unmanageable and hence, it would be better to go for indirect system from the point of view of convenience.

Instead of giving approval to the direct system indirect system was granted with the view that the provinces with their communal majorities and minorities and great emphasis on provincial politics would control the Central politics of the Legislature, and through it, the Federal Ministry. This was a mechanism created by the British India Government on the basis that in this way of election Federal Ministry would be weakened and its formation would be a great problem, on account of the need for reconciliation of provincial interests. In true sense under the new Act of 1935 a confusion was created between the Provinciel and Federal issues. It may be concluded that the communal pattern of election, under the provision of this Act, made Indian statesmen and big Zamindars reactionary. The reason was that since the pattern of election had a communal basis the reactionary elements established close relation with the Government. On this basis it may be

mentioned that there were some Indian Political Parties and leaders causing terror to the Britishers while other imperialists who had been exploiting public for long wanted to hold India as slave. In this way it is clear that the Government lead intentions to divide the nation gradually by creating differences through elections, which was an important tool in their hands. Simultaneously, under the Act of 1935 dyarchy was introduced at the Centre instead of in the provinces as it was done in 1919. It was a "new character of slavery" -- all brakes and no engine as Pt. Nehru has illustrated it. According to him the Federal structure was so envisaged as to make any real advance impossible, reactionary as the structure was, there was not even a seed of self growth. However, in addition to all these factors it is worth noticing that if voting behaviour during British regime were not the basis of communalism, caste and creed as well as of economic disparities

DEMAND OF INDIAN FREEDOM AND SYSTEM OF ELECTION:

From the very beginning, the federal portion of the Act had been opposed by the Congress and Muslim League, each for its own reasons. It has already been pointed out that the princes had been pressing for 'safeguards' of their sovereignty and their financial position. The Congress felt that the constitution was imposed upon them from outside when the popular demand was for a Constituent Assembly, that dyarchy had been introduced at the Centre, and that the commune award, on a joint representation of Muslims, depressed classes, Christians and Anglo Indian in August 1935 was not en agreed.

solution. There was a pressing demand from the side of the Congress regarding non-communal elections. The Muslim League also came forward and opposed the Act on the ground that it was imposed upon them. It further added that the Act did not provide for adequate safeguards for minorities and that Muslims were a separate nation and formation of a federation would reduce them to a permanent minority at the Centre.

Though on 20th August 1917 the British Government had declared its policy that the ultimate aim of the Government in India was to establish the responsible Government gradually and in the Act of 1919 the same thing was repeated,¹ But unfortunately the fact did not come in sight. Hence, Congress declared that the Act of 1919 was most disappointing and unsatisfactory,² and in this way more than two decades passed.

Having observed the conflicting condition between Indians and the British India Government the outbreak of hostilities, Sir Stafford Cripps was sent out to India to find a solution to the Indian constitutional and communal problem. In October 1939, on his return to England, he stated before the House of Commons that "I am convinced that India's salvation remains in a Constituent Assembly."³ This was the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi expressed in 1939 when he agreed to offer seats on the Constituent Assembly to all minorities, including Muslims, irrespective of whether they belonged to the Muslim League or not. For liberation of the country sincere efforts were made by the nationalists of India and after Second World

---

¹ H.H. Dodwell Ec., The Cambridge History of India Delhi, S. Chand & Co. 1958, PP 223-224.
War the Quit-India Movement (1942) was started and along with the same there was a demand for Sovereign Government in India and also for the permission to organise a Constituent Assembly framing the constitution of India, as an independent state.  

In England, after Second World War, under the leadership of Mr. Atli the Labour Party came into power. At the same time Mr. Atli announced in the House of Commons" India having forty crores population, twice has sent her children for the war, now if she wants to decide the fate of herself, what is unjust in it”. 

CABINET MISSION PLAN & FORMATION OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY: 

On 24th March 1946, the Cabinet Mission consisting three persons came to New Delhi. The Mission published its report on 6th May 1946. In this report of the Mission the process as well as the principles to frame the constitution of India were included. It also explained the aim of the Mission to begin with such a scheme through which Indians might frame the constitution for their own country. It was recommended by the Mission that in the provinces representation should be made of the public on the basis of population. Further, it was mentioned by the Mission that on one Lakh population one member should be elected for the constituent Assembly and total members should not exceed more than 385.  

1. Shiv Rao, the Indian Annual Register, 1936, Calcutta, Vol 1st PP 132-35  
2. भारत का राज्य, भारत का निजी समाज और स्वच्छता संघ (१९५२) पू २४४  
3. The speech delivered by the Cabinet Mission on 16th May 1945, Para 15, extracted from Annual Register I, Shiv Rao, P.P. 218-224.  
4. भारत का राज्य, भारत का निजी समाज और स्वच्छता संघ (१९५२) पू २४५
There were 296 Members to participate from British India according to the Cabinet Mission Plan. The elections were held for the said purpose during the months of July-August 1946. The result of the election was that out of the total seats of 296 the Congress Party could secure 208 seats.

In the Assembly there were different leaders, who participated in the election from different parts of India. These leaders were from various communities, professions and trade as regards formation of the Constituent Assembly in Delhi. Eminent ladies of India also participated in the election such as Smt. Sarojini Naidu, Smt. Vijai Laxmi Pandit, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur etc.

It proves that this was the time when ladies were given due place in the election.

India was divided but ultimately the Constituent Assembly was formed, consisting of 324 members. The Assembly completed its function as regards the framing of the Constitution within three years. There were eleven sessions of the Assembly and the entire work was completed within 165 sittings and consequently during this time the Indian Constitution was given a shape.

**GENESIS OF LOK SABHA & ELECTION:**

The architects of the Indian Constitution were familiar with the pattern of British Government hence, framing the New Constitution the Act of 1935 influenced it deeply. The main object of the Indian leaders was to establish the representative government as has already been explained. In this respect it is important to mention that not till the committees set up in 1947 to determine the principles of the constitution at the Centre and in the provinces reported to
the Assembly, did 'the British type of Constitution with which we are familiar' come to be recommended for consideration.¹ During the early period, when Indian National Congress was established, men like Ram Gopal Ghosh and K.B. Pal gave voice for the awakening of the people and the 'educated community' had fascination for the British model of political organisation in India at that time.² Mr. Shankaran Nair while presiding over the Congress in 1897 said 'From our earliest school days the great English writers have been our classics'. He too admitted gladly that the Englishmen had been our professors in the Colleges we live now the life of the English ... ³

COMPOSITION OF LOK SABHA:

The Union Constitution Committee considered the proposals at its meeting held on June 9, 1947, ⁴ and the main points which were emphasized in the course of this meeting regarding its formation were:

1. That the two chambers should be named the Council of States (Rājya Sabha) and the House of the People (Lok Sabha), those were indicating the manner in which each chamber should be constituted

2. The House of the People, consisting 400-500 members would be directly elected by adult franchise from territorial constituencies. But now amendment in the constitution has been made. The member in the House of the People has gone higher ... Besides, this, the Council of states will be consisting of 250 members.

¹. Constituent Assembly Debates Vol. I, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 60, 96, ... Ibid IV, P.P. 579, 580.
The strength of the House of People was to be so fixed as not to exceed 500 members. The units of the Federation, whether provinces, Indian states or groups of Indian States, were to be divided into territorial constituencies in such manner that there would not be less than one representative for every 75,000 of population and not more than for every 500,000. This has been done subject to the provisions of the House of the people. In the Constitution it was made quite obvious that after every ten years Census Report will be prepared by the Government and formation of the constituencies will be made under the supervision of the Chief Election Commissioner of India. The size, length or area of the constituencies will be decided by him. The seats which would be reserved for the scheduled class or tribes in one election may be allotted in the next election as general seat. In the House of People the representation of the members is checked after each Census and when necessary, it is adjusted in accordance with changes in population. Modification in the boundaries of constituencies within the area of State which will be necessary in order to allow for the changes in the State representation and also for readjustment of population with the State shall be undertaken after completion of each Census in the manner laid down by the Parliament.

The total number of seats were allotted for the House of the People for the first General Election were 495 but

2. Indian Constitution Act, 331.
3. V. B. Raju, Commentaries on the Constitution of India 1973, Lucknow: Eastern Book Co. Law Publisher; P. 212
4. The Representation of the People Act, 1950, Section 3 Schedule 1.
gradually with the growth of the population and on the basis of adult franchise lok Sabha elections were held after completing the term of five years barring only one election of 1971.

Out of the total number of seats 525 it was decided that as would be allotted for union territories, but the total strength by 5th Lok Sabha Elections to 524 and for the sixth Lok Sabha Elections which are to be held in the month of March 1977 the number of the members has been fixed 542. Reservation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was provided in the constitution and their number is 77 and 41 respectively.

**TABLE No. 2:1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States/Territories</th>
<th>No. of Sr. States/Territories</th>
<th>No. of Sr. States/Territories</th>
<th>No. of Sr. States/Territories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>12 Meghalaya</td>
<td>02 Arunachal Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13 Mysore(Karnatak)</td>
<td>24 Chandigarh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>14 Nagalund</td>
<td>01 25 Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrat</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15 Orissa</td>
<td>20 26 Dadra &amp; NagarHaveli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>16 Punjab</td>
<td>13 27 Goa,Daman &amp; Diu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>17 Rajasthan</td>
<td>23 28 Laccadiv,Minicoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>18 Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>39 &amp; Amindivi Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19 Tripura</td>
<td>02 Mizoram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>20 Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>85 30 Pondicherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21 West Bengal</td>
<td>40 31 Anglo Indians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>22 Andaman &amp; Nicobar Island</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source** Times of India Directory and Year Book (1973) Bombay: Times of India Press, (pp. 332-5)

After 5th Lok Sabha Election total number of territories and the representation turning from them had been shown in Table No. 2:1 (See Fig. 2:1)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF STATES</th>
<th>NO. OF SEATS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANDHRA PRADESH</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIHAR</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAHARASHTRA</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEGHALA</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W BENGAL</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANDHRA</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAHARASHTRA</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIHAR</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTTAR PRADESH</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIMACHAL PRADESH</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAMMU KASHMIR</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HARIANA</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUNJAB</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSAM</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KERALA</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAGALAND</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAJASTHAN</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUJRAT</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MYSORE</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MADHYAPRADESH</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAMILNADU</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOA, DAMAN &amp; DIU</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAUDHARIA</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARUNACHAL</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. NICOBAR ISLAND</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRIPURA</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEGHALA</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANIPUR</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DELHI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ELECTORAL PATTERN IN FREE INDIA

First of all the thing which received our attention regarding election is its pattern. The franchise was quite limited before India became free. Only 15% of the population eligible to vote. The electorate thus constituted was split into a dozen functional and communal groups and interest with reserved seats for each such before 1951. In all the five general Elections held in India between 1951 to 1971 a drastic step was taken by the Government, Election to the lower or popular legislatures both at the Centre and in the States was to be under adult franchise. Separate or communal electorates were abolished and replaced by joint electorate where all groups or communities could contest for the seats. There was to be reservation of seats for 10 years in the beginning for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

It is important to note that social minorities like Scheduled Castes which heavily suffered from many disabilities and also the Scheduled Tribes which were not fully assimilated into the Indian culture, were given protective Treatment in the matter of representation. Separate electoral districts were reserved for them in proportion to their strength in the total population of the country. In this way under the Representation of the People Act 1951 the provision has been made for allocation of seats for the General and Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

While examining electoral behaviour of the parliament it may be stated that before independence franchise was linked

to property rights, education, class, vocational interest and the electorate was mainly based on profession, communal and institutional considerations. It was that if there was a change to adult franchise it would open the doors to communal forces and the illiterate citizens would be voting without being aware of the significance of what they were doing. The History of General Elections in India so far has belied this fear. Millions of voters went to the polls and showed keen interest in voting is an event unprecedented in world history. From the party point of view, it can also be analysed that it is a country of multiple parties and they have had their various interests.

Besides, when the English left the country in 1947 education was at a very low level. While casting vote the choice poses a problem even before highly educated a persons hence nothing can be said against the illiterate persons. To democracy successful a prominent role is played by educated persons and intellectuals. They understand as to how it can be made successful. The welfare of the society solely depends upon the integrity, co-operation, mutual understanding and assistance. No sincere efforts were made in British India for the development of higher education hence, people were deprived of deep-thinking.

On the basis of communalism India was divided in 1947. It is one of the wonders that when first of all General Elections were held in 1952 there were no bad happenings which could bring bad name to the country while before that, there had been great riots on the basis of communalism, formerly Muslim population was more than the 4 crore but 1952 and on
ward up to 1971 the question of communal conflicts did not arise in respect of parliamentary elections. It is almost quite clear that the Indian choice in going for adult franchise has therefore itself is most. It remarkable thing that efforts were made to protect the interest of the minority groups and there had been on complaints to the Election Commission in this regard.

In India women were given the right to vote in the 1st General Elections. In this respect it can be said that India has been more forward than countries like France which enfranchised its women only by 1945, and Belgium which followed suit in 1949,¹ have also been given equal place in the India Constitution. It is also pity that in the developed countries like United States which is so politically awakened where a great deal of behavioural research has been done, the voting rate of women is about ten percent lower than that of men².

In the Indian Constitution women were not only given the the right to vote but in the Second General Election of Lok Sabha, 44 women contested the elections and 21 got elected. In the General Elections of 1962 there were 62 women contested elections of the Lok Sabha and 31 succeeded.³ In this way women representatives were 6.3% of the total third Lok Sabha membership 31 out of 491 members. The Congress put up 40 women candidates and 22 were succeeded.⁴ Looking at the socie.

¹. N.N.Mallaya, Indian Parliament, (1970), P.52
². Angus Cambell, the American Voter, N.Y. Johan Willey,1960, P.256
and political condition of India this is much higher a percentage than in the U.S. House of Representatives of the Senate.

It becomes clear from the figures collected that women in Indian General Elections have been given the right place in social and political life of India.

The figures show that the gap between male and female voting participation became smaller by two percentage points over the five years period, from 17 points in 1957 elections to 15 points in the 1962 elections. If the account of the three national polls is taken into consideration inference can be drawn that by and by the women community in India is coming closer and closer to men so far as the voting behaviour is concerned. 1

It has been observed that with the change of times, development of education, social status of women is improving they are getting modernized. In the words of Bertrand de Jouvenel the indicators of modernization may 'move her' instigate her to enter the public arena, but being moved is an activity, a decision on her own part. If she is a passive recipient, she is hardly modernized, except in external material culture but hardly in behavioural or ideological culture. 2

It can rightly be said about the world women that it has been a great tragedy with women that they have remained deeply involved in the private sphere which has not permitted her to make entrance into political arena. If all in India some women are politically advanced and active, it only means that they have transcended this situation defined by the ideal case.

From the point of view of study of voting behaviour of women as class in India it is worth while to mention that they show political apathy and it has been so from the very beginnings of history. The political apathy may also be divided into parts non-voter apathy and voter apathy. In India women who cast their vote in General Elections are examples of voters apathy in the sense that for a substantial number, voting is a ritual, to be unthinkingly performed at the bidding of their husbands or joint family elders even without bothering about the parties, candidates or their own problems. In this respect education may be an important factor for removing this social malady. With the growth of higher education in India a great change has come under our observation. Right from 1952 General Elections to 1971 the increasing percentage of women votes is not disappointing. This implies political awakening, development of higher education and social status. The following table shows the interest shown by women as a class in various General Elections of India.
TABLE No. 2:2

Statement showing women electors and voters in Lok Sabha
Elections in India (1952-1977)  Figures in (000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>173,213</td>
<td>77,946</td>
<td>80,709</td>
<td>28,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>193,652</td>
<td>91,446</td>
<td>91,329</td>
<td>35,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>216,372</td>
<td>102,428</td>
<td>119,904</td>
<td>447,764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>250,596</td>
<td>120,209</td>
<td>152,725</td>
<td>66,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>274,094</td>
<td>130,620</td>
<td>151,537</td>
<td>64,154</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: A personal letter from R.P. Bhalla, Research Officer New Delhi, Election Commission India.

The above table shows clearly that in the successive General Elections from 1952-1971 the number of total voters increased and simultaneously, it may be assumed, there must have been similar increase in the number of women voters also. This, moreover, as has already been explained, in successive elections after 1952 women have showed interest in various states and percentage of those who cast their votes has gone up. The social status of women, their educational development and their interest in political activities of the country are all reflected in their participation in election as voters.

The voting behaviour of Harijana and the Scheduled Caste comprises a significant section of voters from the point of view of education, social awareness they have comparatively lagged behind in spite of all the efforts made by the
Women Electors and Voters in General Election in India,
(1952 - 1971)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Electors</th>
<th>Women Electors</th>
<th>Total Voters</th>
<th>Women Voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>173,213</td>
<td>77,946</td>
<td>80,709</td>
<td>28,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>193,652</td>
<td>91,446</td>
<td>91,209</td>
<td>30,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>216,372</td>
<td>102,428</td>
<td>119,944</td>
<td>47,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>250,598</td>
<td>120,209</td>
<td>152,399</td>
<td>66,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>274,094</td>
<td>180,620</td>
<td>161,537</td>
<td>64,154</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. of Electors and Voters.
Government to uplift them. These people generally decide their vote and support according to the guidance of the leaders of their community and parties. Therefore, the political parties woo their votes contact the leaders of the Scheduled Castes and Harijans. In this respect, they still function as local agents of a party and influence the voting behaviour of the people but gradually this influence is being reducing with upliftment education, social and economic status and political awakening in the country.

For instance, 58% voters cast their vote in 1971 General Elections of Lok Sabha. The figure reduced by 7% voting in the five reserved constituencies. There was 50 and 52 voting turnout in the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes constituencies respectively. On the other hand, sizeable number of the (85 percent) voted in the election. Consequent it is observed that only 16 percent Advasis and 14 percent Scheduled Caste leaders did not vote.

There were some voters who could not vote because their names were not in the electoral roll while some of them had personal difficulties. Probably they were ill or away from the polling station. Out of this were teachers who did not care to cast their vote through postal ballot. In other words they preferred to be away from politics because they were government servants. In the same state there were some voters belonging

2. Ibid, P. 432.
to the Harijan and Adivasi Class they also did not exercise their franchise because they thought there was no use of it. Since no party was interested in solving their problems, such was the reply of a Harijan. Similarly, a middle aged Adivasi of Ahmedabad, a factory worker explained that he boycotted the elections along with his community because of the fact that no political party was interested in solving their problems. However, he mentioned that he would vote, if the Government would solve our problems. Further there was a 65 years matriculate leader of Sat-Pati Parth, who expressed his annoyance and shouted at the interviewer and said that "Matdan" is an illusion giving false promises and arousing hopes, the buggers make use of vote and make you a fool. Though the Congress has done a lot for the welfare of the Adivasi and Harijan Community but in 1971 General Elections of India the performance of the Congress Party was not much significant in the Harijan and Adivasi constituencies of Gujrat.

The analysis has been made by some scholars in the field that 7% voters did not vote on account of the reason that they were illiterate hence, they did not attach any importance to it. They do not understand about their betterment. They think of liquor, money and mostly vote on the advice of some body on whom they depend.

In short, the growth of Indian Parliament has taken a long time. During British Administration it was not given

a proper shape because the Indian citizens had no say and for this purpose to acquire freedom they had to sacrifice their life. Religion and Politics interact in a developing society in more than one way and the British Government wanted to enjoy its maximum benefits up to 1945. In 1909 when India was given a chance for franchise it was quite limited. This was based on caste-creed, property right, communal pattern, sex value and the policy of divide and rule. India has remained a multi-religions country hence, inter religious politics played a militant role in comparative electoral politics and political battles, specially in British India and Consequently India was divided. It accentuated the separatist trends among the various religious groups. Consequently, on the basis of minority groups the provision was made to reserve their seats but in this respect the British India Government was motivated to keep their own men in the Federal Assembly of India.

Under the People's Representation Act, 1951, the provision has been made to conduct General Elections by a competent body. Five General Elections have been conducted so far on the basis of secularism. Voting behaviour, in a country is ever changing hence, it takes its own shape from time to time. Thus there is the reason why the position of different political parties in the Parliament does not remain constant. It is because educational development, social value, social ideologies, economic pattern, regionalism, caste and creed, faith in political parties and political aims etc determine the voting behaviour. While studying voting behaviour in India it is quite apparent that communal voting.
voting behaviour has not been allowed. The provision for reserved seats has been made for the Harijans and Scheduled Tribes and Castes. The experience explained to the Indian voters that right from 1952 to 1967 the Congress Party dominated the Lok Sabha. In the General Elections of the Congress lost its position. The reason was that political aims of the people began to change gradually and it was presumed that it would be rather very difficult for the Congress to establish its position in the Lok Sabha. However, the General Election of 1971 proved a boon for the Congress. Under the leadership of Smt. Indira Gandhi, Elections were held and the Congress Party swept the polls in 1971. The Congress was weak at the Centre in 1967 as well as in various states. Hence, people decided to establish a stable government. This changed the voting behaviour for the betterment of the country.