



The Changing Profile of Lok Sabha: A Socio-Economic Study of Members (1952-2002)

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Secretary-General
Lok Sabha

Lok Sabha Secretariat
New Delhi
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**LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
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PREFACE

An overview of India's political trajectory during the last half a century reveals that the successful working of parliamentary government has passed through various phases of stresses and strains and successfully surmounted them. This is attributable to a great extent to the intrinsic resilience of Indian democracy and judicious representation of cross-sections of society in democratic institutions. The two Houses of Parliament have been guiding the destiny of the nation and facilitating the overall development of the society and polity, thus endeavouring to fulfil the hopes and dreams of the people. In this onerous task, as the popular House of Parliament, the Lok Sabha has had a stellar role to play in voicing the concerns and articulating the aspirations of our people. The composition of the Lok Sabha, over the years, has been truly representative, reflecting the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic social fabric of the country. By providing genuine representation to diverse segments of the population, the Lok Sabha has, over the last fifty years, in fact, mirrored and symbolized the veritable diversity of the Indian nation.

The Lok Sabha met for the first time on 13 May 1952 after the first General Election held in Independent India. Ever since, we have had twelve more General Elections to the popular House. An adequate understanding of the socio-economic background of members of the thirteen Lok Sabhas will benefit parliamentarians, political scientists, research scholars and others to analyze the representational role of our members from a proper perspective. This study endeavours such an exercise, making use of parameters like members' age, educational and occupational background and previous legislative experience. A socio-economic profile of women members has also been included in this study, keeping in mind the significance of greater partnership between men and women in the supreme legislative body. This study was originally published as an article in the publication *Fifty Years of Indian Parliament* brought out by the Lok Sabha Secretariat in May 2002. On the occasion of the International Parliamentary Conference to mark the Golden Jubilee of our Parliament, we are bringing it out as a separate volume. This will enable wider dissemination of information relating to our members' socio-economic background to all delegates coming from different Parliaments of the world and all other interested readers. We hope that this study will be found useful and informative.

New Delhi,
January 2003

G.C. MALHOTRA,
Secretary-General,
Lok Sabha

Introduction

Inhabited by more than 100 crore people of various identities distributed over a continental geographic spread, India emerges as a diverse society. There are prominent topographical divisions presenting multiplicity of cultural and ethnic groups and variety of language groups and local dialects. Similarly, thousands of socio-cultural groups distinguishing themselves in terms of occupations, ritual practices, lifestyles and food habits present a challenge of daunting diversity for the processes of democratization, modernization and liberalization. An enquiry into the socio-economic attributes of members of the Lok Sabha reveals a microcosmic picture of this wide-spread diversity.

The multicultural nature of Indian society denotes not merely the co-existence of varied ideas and claims, but more significantly it means confluence—the confluence of different socio-cultural groups. In such a confluence, sometimes, its streams may take opposite directions and, as such, dissent may arise. But, dissent also has a positive aspect insofar as it helps in attaining a composite culture. Members of Lok Sabha represent this spirit in an effective manner and, irrespective of their socio-economic and ideological differences, collectively work for the overall development of the nation.

Against this background, the present study attempts to discuss patterns of membership in successive Lok Sabhas and their socio-economic attributes. This study has been undertaken on the basis of bio-data supplied by members on the constitution of the thirteen Lok Sabhas.* To compare the socio-economic background of the members, important factors such as age, education, occupational background, previous legislative experience, etc. have been taken into consideration.

General Membership Profile

The Constitution vests sovereignty in the people of India, which is exercised through their elected representatives. Commencing with the First General Elections to the Lok Sabha, conducted in 1952, the electoral history of India during the next half a century, spanning thirteen General Elections, bears eloquent testimony to one of the most glorious chapters of India's democratic experience.

* The bio-data pertaining to the Thirteenth Lok Sabha is based on the position obtaining on 23.8.2000, contained in the *Who's Who of the Thirteenth Lok Sabha*.

The Lok Sabha is composed of representatives chosen by direct election on the basis of adult suffrage, as prescribed by the Constitution. The elected membership is distributed in such a way that the ratio between the number of seats allotted to each State and population of the State is, as far as practicable, the same for all States. There are special provisions for reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and for nomination in respect of the Anglo-Indian community, which shows our commitment to providing equitable representation to all sections of society. A broad survey of all the thirteen Lok Sabhas reveals that the pattern of membership has, by and large, been reflective of the general distribution of various socio-economic categories in the society facilitating the emergence of the Lok Sabha as a microcosm of Indian society.

The party system and the electoral process in India have evolved over the last five decades. The one-party dominance of the first two decades slowly gave way to fragmentation of mainstream parties, proliferation of regional parties, representation of multiple ideologies and emergence of coalition governance in the next three decades. This apart, splits, mergers and alliances have frequently transformed the compositions of political parties. What we see today is thus the transformation of the political scene from the One-Dominant Party Period (1952-1977) to a period of Multi-Party Governance (1977-2002).

Our democratic experience of over fifty years shows that political parties and elections have become preferred modes of political and socio-economic transformation in India. These political devices have not merely fulfilled the institutional requirements of democracy, but also allowed the system to adapt itself in tune with the social ethos of the people. It is obvious that the legislators have very aptly become the symbols of the basic socio-economic fabric of the Indian population.

I. Age Profile

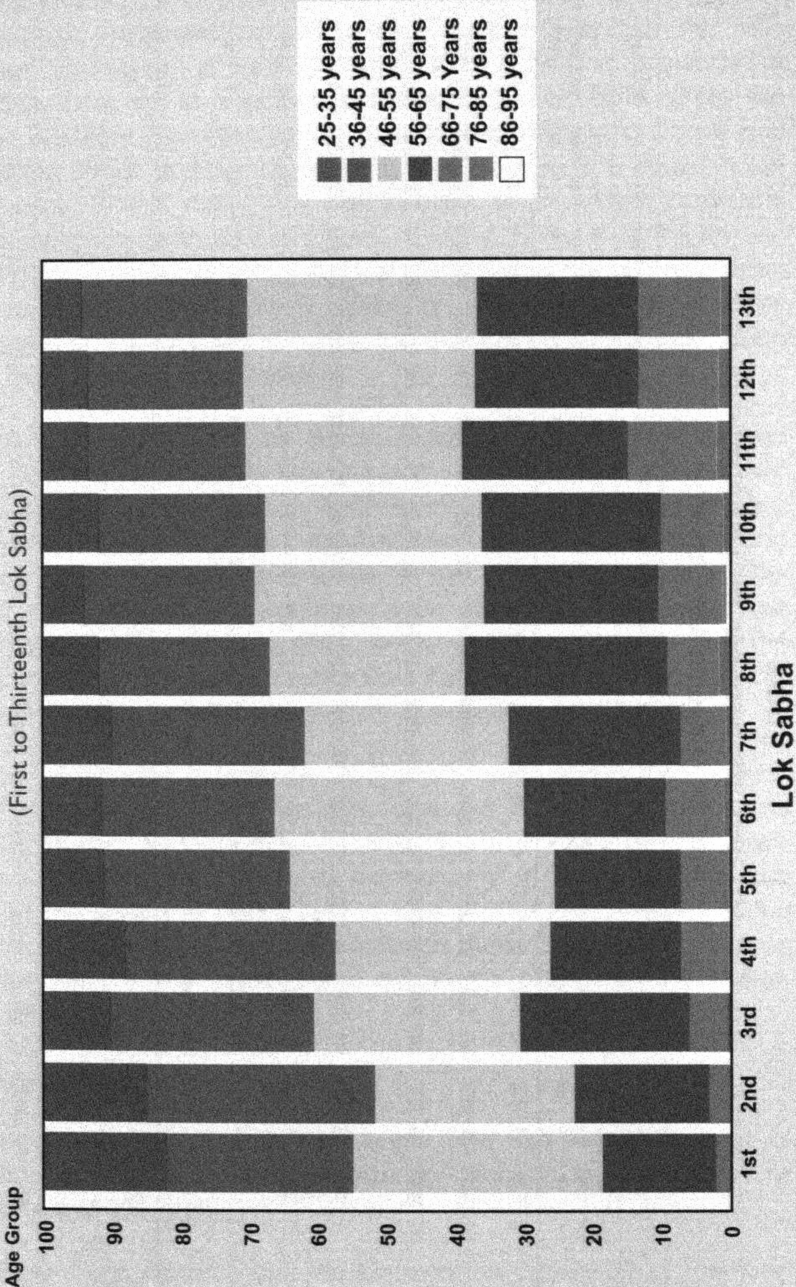
The Constitution prescribes no upper age limit for membership of Lok Sabha while the minimum age for election as a member of Lok Sabha is 25 years.

Table 1 and Graph 1 give the comparative picture about members of various Lok Sabhas classified in seven different age groups with a span of 10 years each, beginning with the age group of 25-35 years and ending with 86-95 years.

TABLE I
AGE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS
(First to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)

Age Group	1st Lok Sabha	2nd Lok Sabha	3rd Lok Sabha	4th Lok Sabha	5th Lok Sabha	6th Lok Sabha	7th Lok Sabha	8th Lok Sabha	9th Lok Sabha	10th Lok Sabha	11th Lok Sabha	12th Lok Sabha	13th Lok Sabha													
	Num-ber	per-cent- age	Num-ber	per-cent- age	Num-ber	per-cent- age	Num-ber	per-cent- age	Num-ber	per-cent- age	Num-ber	per-cent- age	Num-ber	per-cent- age												
25-35 years	82	17.75	73	15.02	45	9.47	59	11.89	44	8.73	44	8.48	52	10.02	43	8.10	31	5.93	40	7.92	33	6.39	34	6.35	29	5.36
36-45 years	126	27.27	162	33.33	143	30.11	152	30.65	138	27.38	131	25.24	146	28.13	133	25.05	131	25.09	125	24.75	120	23.25	123	22.99	133	24.58
46-55 years	167	36.15	140	28.81	142	29.90	154	31.05	193	38.29	188	36.22	154	29.68	151	28.43	174	33.33	158	31.29	162	31.40	181	33.83	180	33.27
56-65 years	76	16.45	95	19.55	116	24.42	94	18.95	92	18.25	107	20.62	128	24.66	154	29.00	131	25.10	131	25.94	124	24.03	125	23.37	126	23.29
66-75 years	11	2.38	16	3.29	27	5.68	35	7.06	34	6.75	44	8.48	35	6.74	41	7.72	53	10.15	46	9.11	66	12.80	63	11.78	65	12.02
76-85 years	—	—	—	—	2	0.42	2	0.40	3	0.60	5	0.96	4	0.77	9	1.70	1	0.20	5	0.99	11	2.13	9	1.68	8	1.48
86-95 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total number of members who supplied information	462		486		475		496		504		519		519		531		522		505		516		535		541	
Total number of Seats	499		500		503		523		521		544		544		544		529		509		543		549		543	

GRAPH I
AGE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS
 (First to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)



The average age of members in the First Lok Sabha was 46.5 years. After recording an upward trend upto the Third Lok Sabha in which the average age was 49.4 years, it came down in the Fourth Lok Sabha to 48.7 per cent. Trends show that in the Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh and Thirteenth Lok Sabhas, the average age was above 50 years. The First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh and Twelfth Lok Sabhas had the average age below 50 years. The Twelfth Lok Sabha has emerged as the youngest House so far with 46.4 years, while the highest average age was recorded in the Thirteenth Lok Sabha with 55.5 years. Table 2 and Graph 2 provide percentage-wise details of all the thirteen Lok Sabhas.

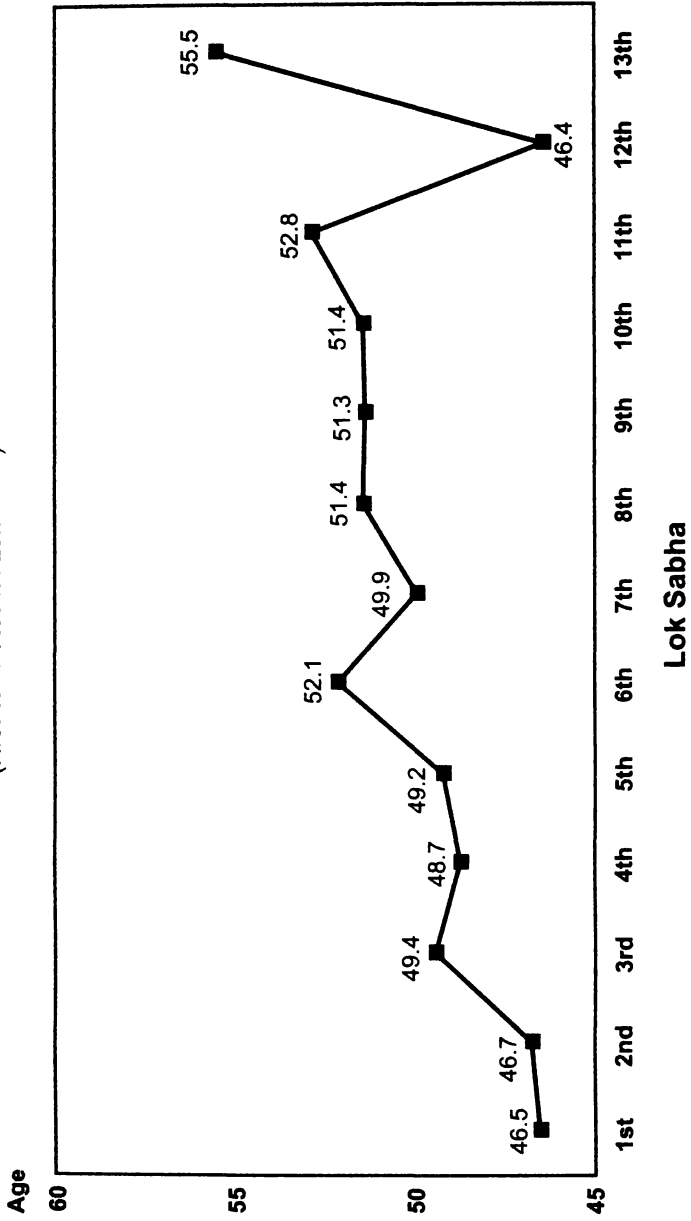
The concentration of members in any single age group in the ten-year span was the highest in the age group of 46-55 years in all Lok Sabhas barring the Second, Third and Eighth Lok Sabhas. As the dominant group, they constituted 36.15 per cent in the First Lok Sabha. Their highest representation was in the Fifth Lok Sabha with 38.29 per cent while the minimum was recorded in the Eighth Lok Sabha with 28.43 per cent. In the Thirteenth Lok Sabha, they accounted for nearly one-third of the House, i.e. 33.27 per cent.

Interestingly, one witnesses a considerable fall in the representation of members in the age group of 25-35 years over various Lok Sabhas. After recording their highest representation of 17.75 per cent in the

TABLE 2
AVERAGE AGE OF MEMBERS
(First Lok Sabha to the Thirteenth Lok Sabha)

Lok Sabha	Average Age
First (1952-57)	46.5
Second (1957-62)	46.7
Third (1962-67)	49.4
Fourth (1967-70)	48.7
Fifth (1971-77)	49.2
Sixth (1977-79)	52.1
Seventh (1980-84)	49.9
Eighth (1984-89)	51.4
Ninth (1989-91)	51.3
Tenth (1991-96)	51.4
Eleventh (1996-97)	52.8
Twelfth (1998-99)	46.4
Thirteenth (1999-)	55.5

GRAPH 2
AVERAGE AGE OF MEMBERS
(First to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)



—■— Average age of each Lok Sabha

First Lok Sabha, their representation has suffered a steep fall. In the Thirteenth Lok Sabha, this group registered a marginal presence with 5.36 per cent, which has been the lowest so far. The category of members in the age group of 36-45 years has shown significantly consistent presence. Their highest representation was in the Second Lok Sabha with 33.33 per cent while the lowest concentration was seen in the Twelfth Lok Sabha with 22.99 per cent.

On the other hand, the category of members belonging to the age group of 56-65 years has registered a steady progress. This group formed 16.45 per cent of the total in the First Lok Sabha, which has been the lowest so far. Their highest representation was in the Eighth Lok Sabha with 29 per cent. Similarly, the category of members in the 66-75 years' age-group has also made slow but steady improvement in its representation. It was at its lowest in the First Lok Sabha with just 2.38 per cent. It touched its peak in the Eleventh Lok Sabha with 12.80 per cent.

The concentration of members belonging to the age group of 76-85 years also has shown a gradual improvement. In the First and Second Lok Sabhas, this group did not find any representation. Their highest percentage was in the Eleventh Lok Sabha at 2.13 per cent. The category of members in the age group of 86-95 years found representation only in the Ninth Lok Sabha wherein one member, Prof. N.G. Ranga (89 years, 1 month), found place. Incidentally, Prof. Ranga is the oldest member till date in all the Lok Sabhas. Shri Subodh Hasda (25 years, 1 month), elected to the First Lok Sabha, holds the distinction of being the youngest male member so far. Among women members, Smt. Vijayaraje Scindia was the oldest member (79 years, 7 months: 12th Lok Sabha) while Kumari Vedakumari Mothey holds the honour of being the youngest woman member (25 years 6 months: 2nd Lok Sabha). *Graph 2A* provides the comparative picture in respect of the oldest and youngest members in all the thirteen Lok Sabhas.

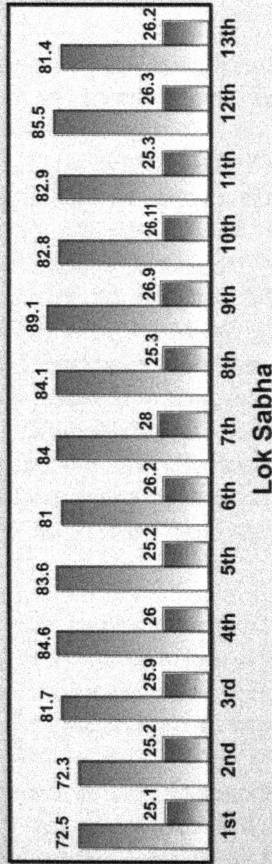
It may thus be seen from the above analysis that members belonging to the older age groups in the range of 56 to 85 years have, barring some exceptions, improved their representation over various Lok Sabhas. As a result, the average age of membership has risen from 46.5 years in the First Lok Sabha to 55.5 years in the Thirteenth Lok Sabha. This could perhaps be attributed to the fact that there has been a rise in the life expectancy in the country during the last five decades, which has increased from 37.1 (male) and 36.2 (female) in 1951 to 62.3 (male) and 65.3 (female) in 1999.

GRAPH 2A

AGE OF OLDEST AND YOUNGEST MALE MEMBERS

(First to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)

Year: Month



Oldest Male Member :
Prof. N.G. Ranga
Age : 89 Yrs. 1 Month
Lok Sabha : 9th

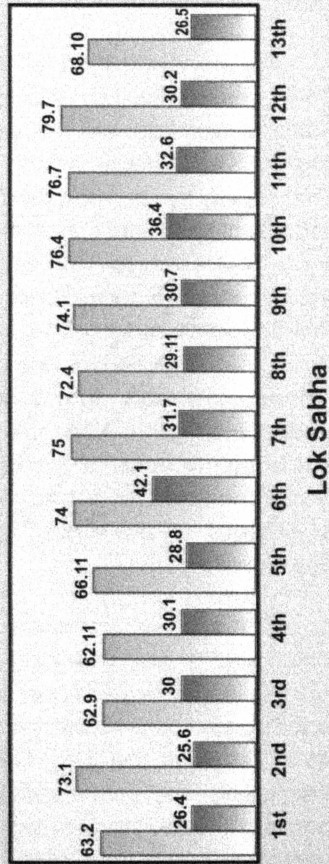
Youngest Male Member :
Shri Subodh Hasda,
Age : 25 Yrs. 1 Month
Lok Sabha : 1st

Age of the Oldest Member
Age of the Youngest Member

AGE OF OLDEST AND YOUNGEST WOMEN MEMBERS

(First to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)

Year: Month



Oldest Woman Member :
Smt. Vijayaraje Scindia,
Age : 79 Yrs. 7 Months
Lok Sabha : 12th

Youngest Woman Member:
Kumari Vedakumari Mothey,
Age : 25 Yrs. 6 Months
Lok Sabha : 2nd

Age of the Oldest Woman Member
Age of the Youngest Woman Member

II. Educational Background of Members

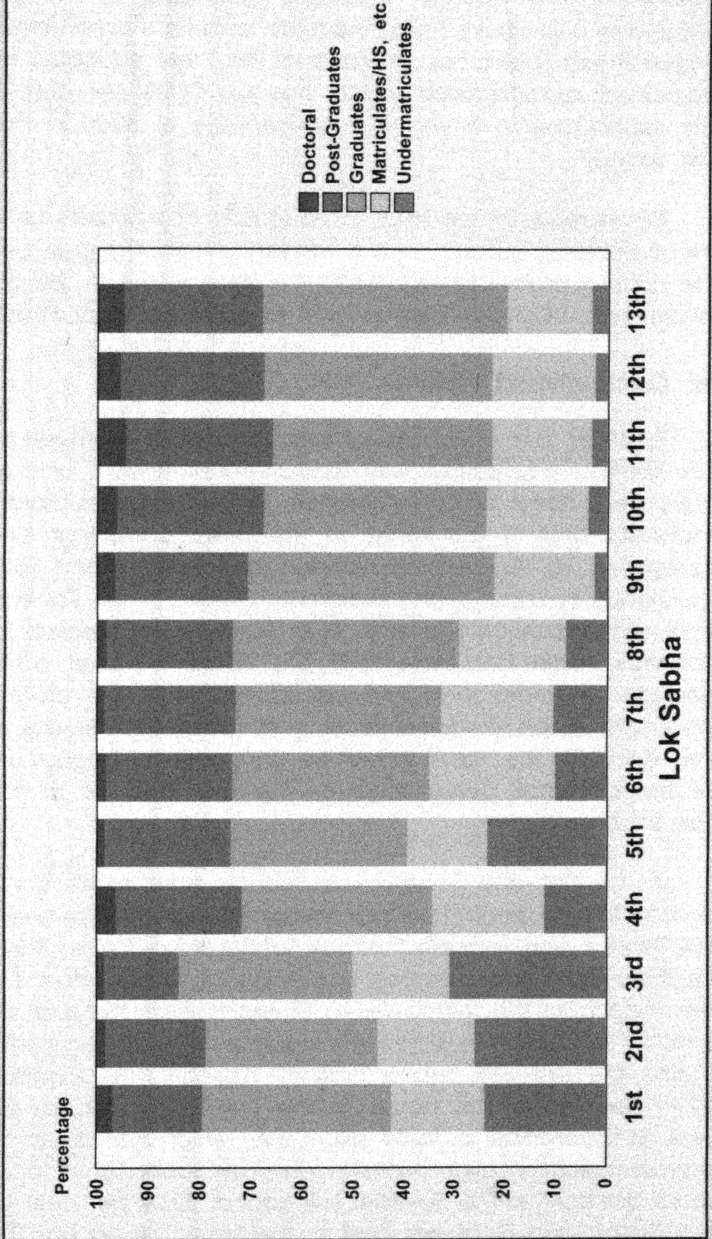
For the purpose of making a comparative analysis of their educational background, members of the thirteen Lok Sabhas have been classified into five categories, viz., (i) Under-Matriculates; (ii) Matriculates, Higher Secondary or Intermediate Certificate Holders; (iii) Graduates (including those with equivalent technical qualifications); (iv) Post-Graduates (including equivalent technical qualifications holders); and (v) Doctoral Degree or other high academic qualification holders. *Table 3* and *Graph 3* indicate the number and percentage of members falling into these five categories.

If we look at the members belonging to the Under-Matriculate category, their number over various Lok Sabhas has been on the decline. They registered a representation of 2.81 per cent in the Thirteenth Lok Sabha as against 23.48 per cent in the First Lok Sabha, 25.48 per cent in the Second Lok Sabha and the highest 28.77 per cent in the Third Lok Sabha. Their minimum representation was recorded in the Ninth Lok Sabha with 2.09 per cent.

Members belonging to the category of Matriculates/Higher Secondary or Intermediate Certificate Holders had 18.44 per cent representation in the First Lok Sabha which started showing a declining trend from the Seventh Lok Sabha onwards. Their representation was 19.73 per cent in the Eleventh Lok Sabha, 20.23 per cent in the Twelfth Lok Sabha and 16.90 per cent in the Thirteenth Lok Sabha. The decline in the concentration of this category tends to consolidate the position of the category of Graduates and above in successive Lok Sabhas.

Going by any single category, Graduates accounted for their highest representation with 48.75 per cent in the Ninth Lok Sabha. In the First Lok Sabha, it was 37.1 per cent, which rose to 48.03 per cent in the Thirteenth Lok Sabha. Category-wise, the number of Post-Graduates has registered a steady progress and in the Eleventh Lok Sabha with 28.82 per cent, it surpassed the position obtaining in all the previous Lok Sabhas. Their representation in the First Lok Sabha was 17.82 per cent whereas it is 27.2 per cent in the Thirteenth Lok Sabha. The category of members having Doctoral Degree or above improved its position from 3.16 per cent in the First Lok Sabha to 5.06 per cent in the Thirteenth Lok Sabha. Combined together, Post-Graduates and Doctorate Degree holders constituted 20.96 per cent in the First Lok Sabha. This combined category registered 34.42 per cent, 32.7 per cent and 32.27 per cent representation in the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Lok Sabhas, respectively.

GRAPH 3
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF MEMBERS
(First to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)



One of the striking features of membership pattern has been the upward movement of the graph relating to educational profile of members in successive Lok Sabhas, notwithstanding the high degree of illiteracy in the country. Members belonging to the category of Graduates and above have registered consistent improvement and the Thirteenth Lok Sabha has emerged as the 'most educated House'. Their combined representation which was just 58.08 per cent in the First Lok Sabha rose to a very high percentage of 80.29 in the Thirteenth Lok Sabha.

The increase in the level of education of members as reflected in the membership pattern of the thirteen Lok Sabhas can be viewed in the context of the general rise in the literacy rate in the country as a whole from 18.33 per cent in 1951 to 65.38 per cent in 2001.

III. Occupational Pattern

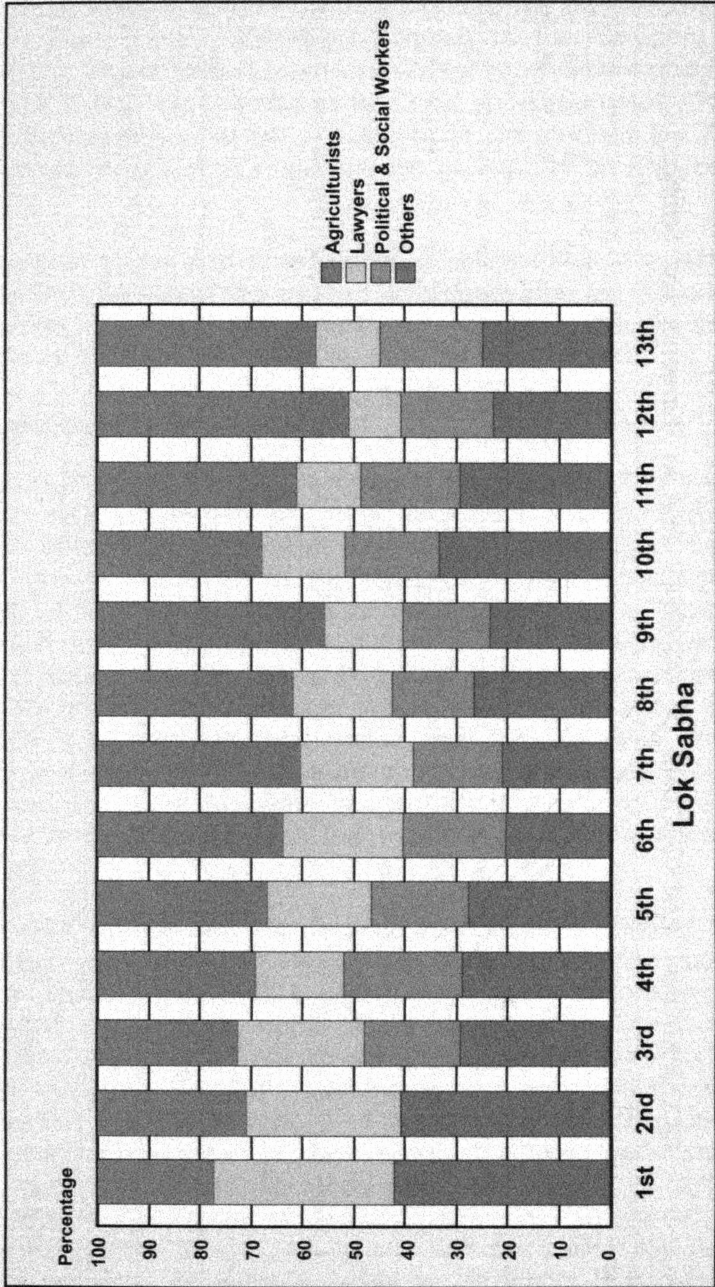
To study the occupational background of members of different Lok Sabhas, only certain well recognised professions and occupations have been taken into consideration. By and large, a majority of them represent one or the other of the three prominent occupational categories, viz. Agriculturists, Lawyers and Political and Social Workers mentioned in *Table 4* and *Graph 4*. 'Others' in this *Table* and *Graph inter alia* include categories such as Businessmen, Medical Practitioners, Scientists, Traders and Industrialists, etc. Where, however, a member was engaged in more than one occupation, only the profession which appeared to be predominant in a member's career has been taken into account. The *Table* shows the occupational background in terms of number and percentage of the members of all the thirteen Lok Sabhas.

In the First and Second Lok Sabhas, Agriculturists constituted the second largest group. But, their strength has gone up over the various Lok Sabhas, and from the Third Lok Sabha onwards, they have emerged as the largest group among occupational categories. This shows that the majority of the members are emerging from the rural background, which is in conformity with the predominantly rural economic scene in India. The First Lok Sabha had 97 Agriculturists constituting about 22.45 per cent of the House. In the Twelfth Lok Sabha, their number was 261 constituting 49.06 per cent, which has been the highest representation of Agriculturists in any Lok Sabha. They accounted for 38.98 per cent in the Eleventh Lok Sabha, 32.09 per cent in the Tenth Lok Sabha and 44.14 per cent in the Ninth Lok Sabha. Their growing strength in successive Lok Sabhas also indicates a definite trend towards decentralization of power from urban elites to those who belong to the grass-roots.

TABLE 4
OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF MEMBERS (First to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)

Prof. Occupation	1st Lok Sabha		2nd Lok Sabha		3rd Lok Sabha		4th Lok Sabha		5th Lok Sabha		6th Lok Sabha		7th Lok Sabha		8th Lok Sabha		9th Lok Sabha		10th Lok Sabha		11th Lok Sabha		12th Lok Sabha		13th Lok Sabha	
	Num-ber	Per-cent- age	Num-ber	Per-cent- age	Num-ber	Per-cent- age	Num-ber	Per-cent- age	Num-ber	Per-cent- age	Num-ber	Per-cent- age	Num-ber	Per-cent- age	Num-ber	Per-cent- age	Num-ber	Per-cent- age	Num-ber	Per-cent- age	Num-ber	Per-cent- age	Num-ber	Per-cent- age	Num-ber	Per-cent- age
Agriculturists	97	22.45	141	29.01	129	27.45	154	30.62	168	33.20	189	36.00	206	39.39	203	38.30	230	38.30	230	38.98	207	38.08	261	49.06	230	42.67
Lawyers	153	35.42	147	30.25	115	24.47	88	17.49	103	20.36	123	23.43	116	22.18	101	19.06	80	15.36	83	16.34	66	12.24	54	10.15	66	12.24
Political & Social Workers	-	-	-	-	88	18.72	115	22.86	96	18.97	105	20.00	90	17.21	85	16.04	89	17.08	92	18.11	104	19.59	96	18.05	108	20.04
Others	102	22.13	198	40.74	138	29.36	146	29.03	139	27.47	108	20.57	111	21.22	141	26.60	122	23.42	170	33.46	155	29.19	121	22.74	135	25.05
Total number of members who supplied information	432		486		470		503		506		525		523		530		521		508		531		532		539	
Total number of seats	499		500		503		523		521		544		544		544		529		509		543		546		543	

GRAPH 4
OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF MEMBERS
 (First to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)



The data reveals a clear change in the representation of Lawyers over different electoral periods. Their representation, which was 35.42 per cent in the First Lok Sabha, in fact, suffered a steep decline with the Twelfth Lok Sabha registering the lowest Lawyers' representation with 10.15 per cent. Thus, a group which outnumbered all other categories in the First and the Second Lok Sabhas, was pushed to the second place in the Third, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Lok Sabhas. In the Fourth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Lok Sabhas, they occupied the third position.

The category of Political and Social Workers has been included in the study from the Third Lok Sabha onwards. Their representation touched the highest point in the Fourth Lok Sabha with 22.86 per cent. Overall trends indicate that this category has made steady progress during all the Lok Sabhas. After recording their lowest concentration in the Eighth Lok Sabha with 16.04 per cent, they registered 19.59 per cent, 18.05 per cent and 20.04 per cent representation in the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Lok Sabhas, respectively. The emergence of Political and Social Workers as a prominent occupational category assumes significance in the context of the working of the Indian political system and is reflective of the fact that for many members politics or parliamentary work has become a full time engagement.

Over the years, other classes are also now throwing themselves into the political arena. *Table 4A* provides a detailed statement about representation of 24 categories, including Agriculturists, Lawyers, and Political and Social Workers over the thirteen Lok Sabhas. The occupational categories of Diplomats, Economists and Pilots were included from the Ninth Lok Sabha onwards. The categories of Businessmen, Scientists and Sportspersons were included for the first time in the study of the Tenth Lok Sabha while the categories of Cooperative Leaders and Management Consultants were included from the Eleventh Lok Sabha. Three new categories, viz. Chartered Accountants, Judges, and Veterinarians were included for the first time in the study of the Twelfth Lok Sabha. Majority of these categories, viz. Teachers & Educationists, Traders & Industrialists, Journalists & Writers, etc., have witnessed decline in their representation.

TABLE 4A*
OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF MEMBERS (First to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)

Prior Occupation	1st Lok Sabha		2nd Lok Sabha		3rd Lok Sabha		4th Lok Sabha		5th Lok Sabha		6th Lok Sabha	
	Num-ber	Per-centage	Num-ber	Per-centage	Num-ber	Per-centage	Num-ber	Per-centage	Num-ber	Per-centage	Num-ber	Per-centage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Agriculturists/ Horticulturists	97	22.45	141	29.01	129	27.45	154	30.62	168	33.2	169	36
Artists	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.2	—	—	—	—
Businessmen	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chartered Accts.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Civil, Police & Military Service	16	3.7	19	3.91	4	0.85	16	3.18	17	3.36	9	1.71
Co-operative Leaders	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Diplomats	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Economists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Engineers and Technologists	—	—	—	—	4	0.85	7	1.39	6	1.18	5	0.95
Former Rulers	5	1.16	7	1.44	10	2.13	7	1.39	2	0.4	3	0.57
Judges	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Industrial Workers/Trade Unionists	—	—	—	—	1	0.21	1	0.2	—	—	9	1.71

*extended occupational categories.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Journalists/ Writers	45	10.42	50	10.29	27	5.74	24	4.77	32	6.32	11	2.1
Lawyers	153	35.42	147	30.25	115	24.47	88	17.49	103	20.36	123	23.43
Management Consultants	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Medical Practitioners	21	4.86	17	3.5	14	2.99	14	2.78	9	1.78	10	1.91
Pilots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Political and Social Workers	-	-	-	-	88	18.72	115	22.86	96	18.97	105	20
Religious Missionaries	-	-	-	-	1	0.21	4	0.8	2	0.4	-	-
Scientists	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sportspersons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Teachers and Educationalists	43	9.95	55	11.31	27	5.74	33	6.56	36	7.11	44	8.38
Traders and Industrialists	52	12.04	50	10.29	50	10.64	39	7.76	35	6.92	17	3.24
Veterinarians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total number of members who supplied information	432		486		470		503		506		525	
Total number of seats	499		500		503		523		521		544	

Pior Occupation	7th Lok Sabha		8th Lok Sabha		9th Lok Sabha		10th Lok Sabha		11th Lok Sabha		12th Lok Sabha		13th Lok Sabha	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
Agriculturists/ Horticulturists	206	39.39	203	36.3	230	44.14	163	32.09	207	38.98	261	49.06	230	42.67
Artists	1	0.19	5	0.94	4	0.77	5	0.92	7	1.32	6	1.13	8	1.48
Businessmen	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	4.53	29	5.46	8	1.5	22	4.08
Chartered Accts.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.19	2	0.37
Civil Police & Military Service	5	0.96	16	3.02	6	1.15	16	3.15	13	2.45	10	1.88	8	1.48
Co-operative Leaders	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	0.75	—	—	—	—
Diplomats	—	—	—	—	3	0.58	4	0.79	4	0.75	2	0.38	—	—
Economists	—	—	—	—	1	0.19	—	—	1	0.19	1	0.19	—	—
Engineers and Technologists	6	1.15	4	0.75	11	2.11	7	1.38	9	1.69	5	0.94	8	1.48
Former Rulers	1	0.19	3	0.57	2	0.38	3	0.59	—	—	2	0.38	1	0.19
Judges	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.19	1	0.19
Industrial Workers/Trade Unions	4	0.76	7	1.32	2	0.38	4	0.79	4	0.75	11	2.07	9	1.67
Journalists/ Writers	15	2.87	7	1.32	14	2.69	11	2.16	8	1.51	7	1.31	9	1.67
Lawyers	116	22.18	101	19.06	80	15.36	83	16.34	65	12.24	54	10.15	66	12.24
Management Consultants	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	0.38	2	0.38	2	0.37

	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1														
Medical Practitioners	10	1.91	21	3.96	18	3.46	25	4.92	16	3.01	17	3.19	17	3.16
Pilots	-	-	-	-	1	0.19	1	0.2	2	0.38	-	-	1	0.19
Political and Social Workers	90	17.21	85	16.04	89	17.08	92	18.11	104	19.59	96	18.05	108	20.04
Religious Missionaries	1	0.19	1	0.19	-	-	3	0.59	1	0.19	4	0.75	2	0.37
Scientists	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.2	-	-	-	-	1	0.19
Sportspersons	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.39	-	-	3	0.56	2	0.37
Teachers and Educationists	35	6.69	41	7.74	41	7.87	49	9.64	41	7.72	28	5.26	33	6.12
Traders and Industrialists	33	6.31	36	6.79	19	3.65	16	3.15	14	2.64	12	2.25	9	1.67
Veterinarians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.19	-	-
Total number of members who supplied information	523	-	530	-	521	-	508	-	531	-	532	-	539	-
Total number of seats	544	-	544	-	529	-	509	-	543	-	545	-	543	-

IV. Women Members

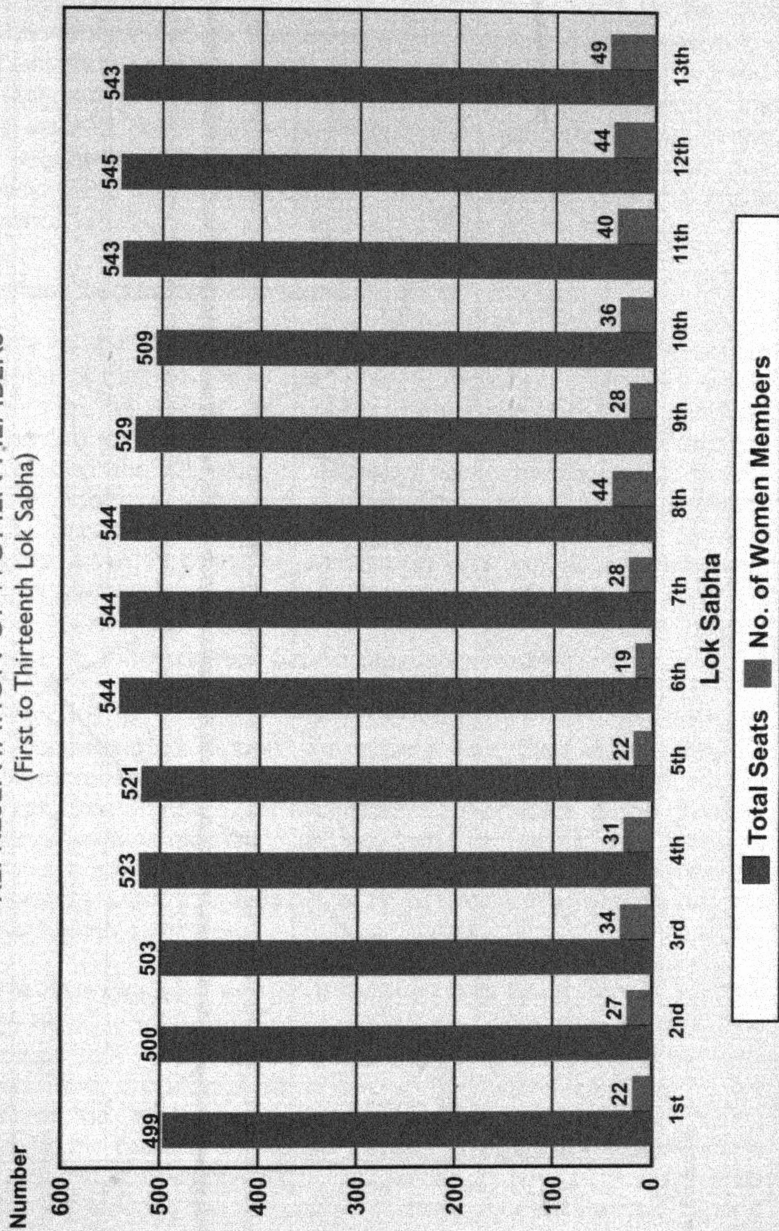
Traditional norms and conventionally assigned roles for men and women in the society tended to restrict in the past, women's participation in the political process. The situation changed during the freedom struggle when a large number of women also took part in the struggle for Independence. With the attainment of Independence, various steps were taken for achieving parity between men and women and for the empowerment of women such as the adoption of the principle of equality in the basic law, increased participation of women in economic life, and reinforcement of basic social indicators like education and health, etc. The growing number of women members, as depicted in *Table 5* and *Graphs 5* and *5A*, is indicative of our commitment in this direction.

As compared to 22 women members (4.4%) in the First Lok Sabha, their number has more than doubled and reached an all time high in the Thirteenth Lok Sabha with 49 members (9.02%). This percentage, however, looks dismal in comparison with the world average of 14.5 per cent.

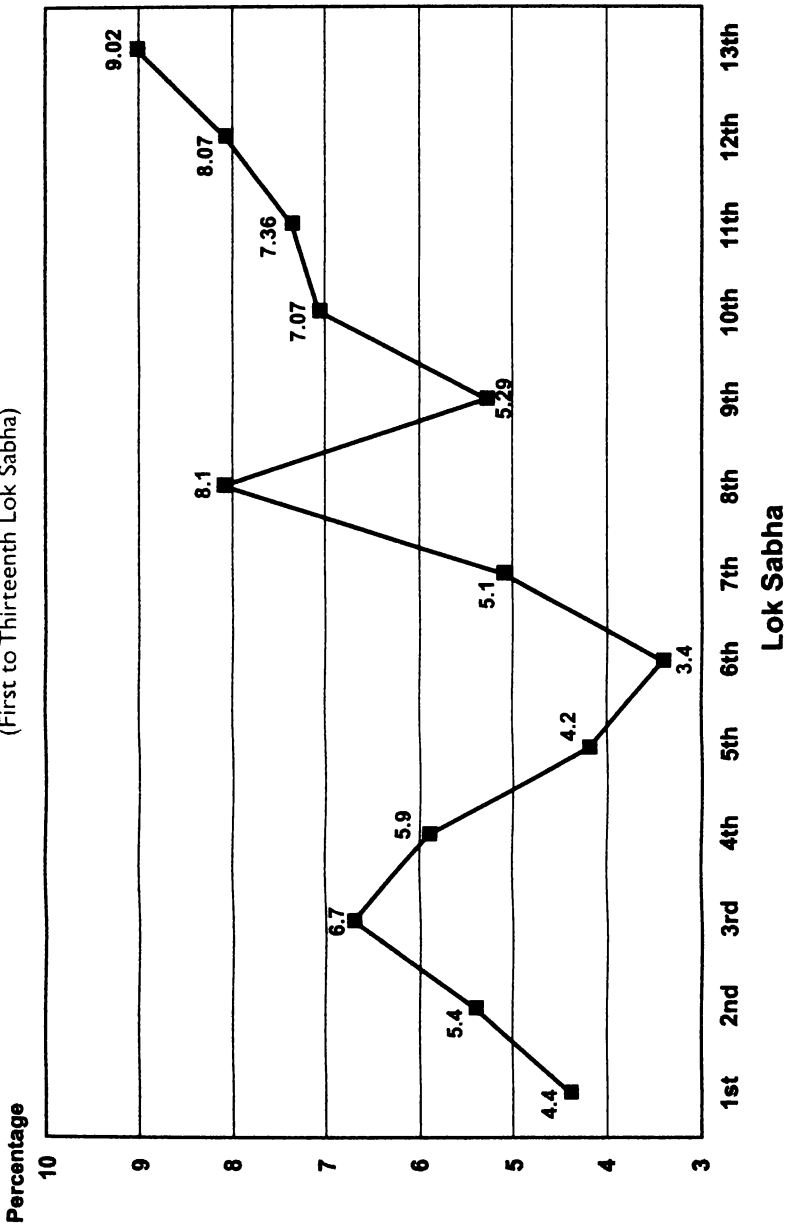
TABLE 5
REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN MEMBERS
(First to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)

Lok Sabha	Total No. of Seats	No. of Women Members	Percentage to the total
First	499	22	4.4
Second	500	27	5.4
Third	503	34	6.7
Fourth	523	31	5.9
Fifth	521	22	4.2
Sixth	544	19	3.4
Seventh	544	28	5.1
Eighth	544	44	8.1
Ninth	529	28	5.29
Tenth	509	36	7.07
Eleventh	543	40	7.36
Twelfth	545	44	8.07
Thirteenth	543	49	9.02

GRAPH 5
REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN MEMBERS
 (First to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)



GRAPH 5 A
PERCENTAGE-WISE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN MEMBERS
 (First to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)



The scenario, however, need not be considered as completely dispiriting as there are convincing reasons for likely change for the better. The commitment to providing an equitable share to women in representative institutions got a boost with the enactment of the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution, which provide for reservation of not less than one-third of the total seats in local bodies for women. Now, reservation of not less than one-third seats for women in the directly elected House of Parliament, i.e. the Lok Sabha as also in the State Legislative Assemblies, is sought to be made through the Constitution (Eighty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1999, presently pending in the Lok Sabha.

V. Previous Legislative Experience

Table 6 indicates the position regarding previous legislative experience of members from the Seventh Lok Sabha onwards. It would be seen that the Seventh and Eighth Lok Sabhas had three members each having prior legislative experience in the Central Legislative Assembly and the Constituent Assembly. One member each of the Ninth Lok Sabha was having experience in the Central Legislative Assembly and Constituent Assembly. Eight members of the Seventh Lok Sabha, seven of the Eighth Lok Sabha and one each of the Ninth and Tenth Lok Sabhas had experience in the Provisional Parliament. The Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Lok Sabhas had no member holding experience in these pre-Lok Sabha legislative bodies.

Judging by the number of members re-elected from the preceding to the succeeding Lok Sabha, it is evident from *Table 6 and Graph 6* that the representation of such members has never touched 50 per cent mark. Interestingly, only 143 (26.28%) members of the Seventh Lok Sabha were re-elected from the Sixth Lok Sabha. The Thirteenth Lok Sabha holds the distinction of having the maximum number of such members with 270 members (49.72 per cent) who were re-elected from the Twelfth Lok Sabha.

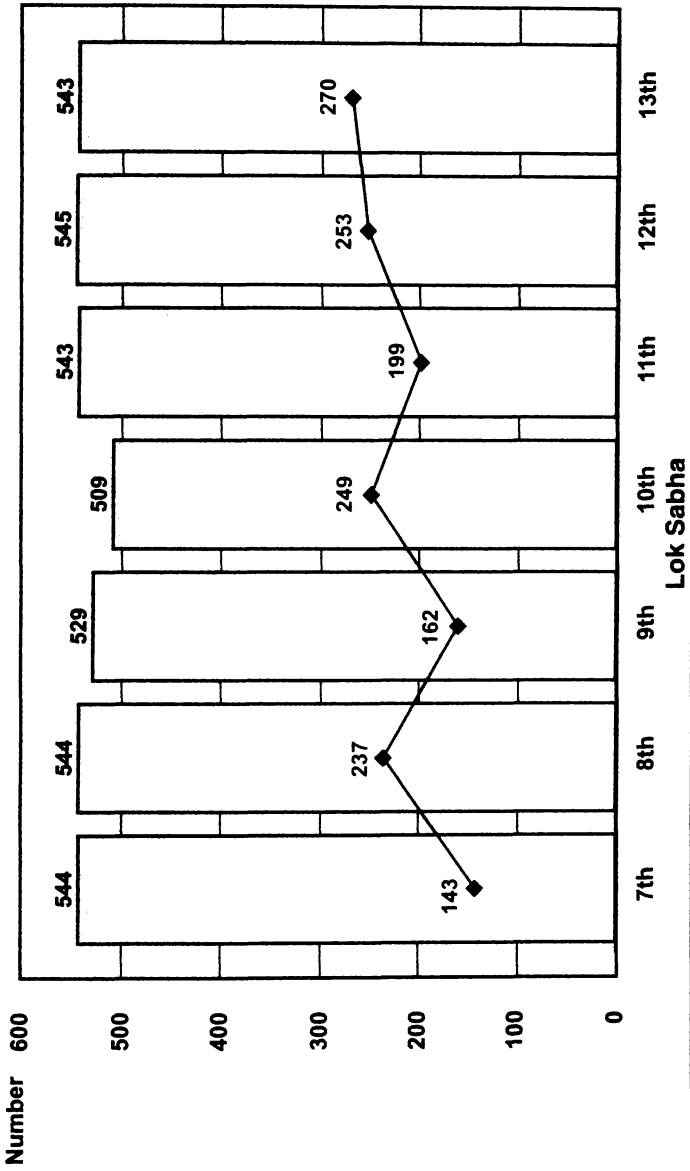
Table 6A shows prior legislative experience in Lok Sabha by number of terms held by members from the Seventh Lok Sabha onwards. The data reveals that, on an average, approximately one-fourth of the total members hold experience of only one Lok Sabha (one term). No member of the Thirteenth Lok Sabha holds the distinction of having served in all the previous twelve Lok Sabhas. However, Shri Indrajit Gupta (who died on 20 February 2001) had served in ten Lok Sabhas while Shri P.M. Sayeed has the distinction of having been elected to nine Lok Sabhas prior to his election to the Thirteenth Lok Sabha. The Prime Minister, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Shri Somnath Chatterjee and Shri Madhavrao Scindia (who died on 30 September 2001) possessed legislative experience in eight previous Lok Sabhas.

TABLE 6

PREVIOUS LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE OF MEMBERS (Seventh to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)

Legislature	7th Lok Sabha	8th Lok Sabha	9th Lok Sabha	10th Lok Sabha	11th Lok Sabha	12th Lok Sabha	13th Lok Sabha
Central Legislative Assembly (1942-46)	3	3	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Constituent Assembly (1946-50)	3	3	1	1	Nil	Nil	Nil
Provisional Parliament (1950-52)	8	7	1	1	Nil	Nil	Nil
First Lok Sabha (1952-57)	12	11	3	2	1	Nil	Nil
Second Lok Sabha (1957-62)	22	17	7	5	5	4	3
Third Lok Sabha (1962-67)	33	22	7	9	5	6	4
Fourth Lok Sabha (1967-70)	66	39	23	24	13	10	9
Fifth Lok Sabha (1971-77)	119	73	45	34	18	16	18
Sixth Lok Sabha (1977-80)	143	63	91	52	41	36	26
Seventh Lok Sabha (1980-84)	—	237	131	118	71	59	37
Eighth Lok Sabha (1984-89)	—	—	162	149	78	74	48
Ninth Lok Sabha (1989-91)	—	—	—	249	134	115	80
Tenth Lok Sabha (1991-96)	—	—	—	—	199	161	125
Eleventh Lok Sabha (1996-98)	—	—	—	—	—	253	206
Twelfth Lok Sabha (1998-99)	—	—	—	—	—	—	270
Council of States (Rajya Sabha)	31	10	19	25	14	46	41

GRAPH 6
RE-ELECTED FROM THE PRECEDING TO SUCCEEDING LOK SABHA
 (Seventh to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)



Total No. of members
 Re-elected from the previous Lok Sabha

TABLE 6A
EXPERIENCE IN LOK SABHA (Seventh to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)

Membership of the Lok Sabha	7th Lok Sabha Number	8th Lok Sabha Number	9th Lok Sabha Number	10th Lok Sabha Number	11th Lok Sabha Number	12th Lok Sabha Number	13th Lok Sabha Number
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
All the Twelve Lok Sabhas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Eleven Lok Sabhas (11 Terms)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ten Lok Sabhas (10 Terms)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Nine Lok Sabhas (9 Terms)	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Eight Lok Sabhas (8 Terms)	—	—	—	—	1	2	3
Seven Lok Sabhas (7 Terms)	—	1	—	3	2	3	4
Six Lok Sabhas (6 Terms)	2	4	2	4	5	10	13
Five Lok Sabhas (5 Terms)	7	7	6	7	11	21	16
Four Lok Sabhas (4 Terms)	11	10	11	26	31	21	25

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Three Lok Sabhas (3 Terms)		21	25	37	48	26	47	44
Two Lok Sabhas (2 Terms)		58	57	75	89	74	76	110
One Lok Sabha (1 Term)		117	166	122	143	95	147	145
Total		216	270	253	320	245	328	362

A. Member(s) with experience of Ten Lok Sabhas

1. Shri Indrajit Gutpa (Midnapore, West Bengal)

B. Member(s) with experience of Nine Lok Sabhas

1. Shri P.M. Sayeed (Lakshadweep)

C. Members with experience of Eight Lok Sabhas

1. Shri Somnath Chatterjee (Bolpur, West Bengal)

2. Shri Madhavrao Scindia (Guna, Madhya Pradesh)

3. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee (Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh)

Table 7 and *Graph 7* show position with regard to previous legislative experience of members of various Lok Sabhas. The Thirteenth Lok Sabha again has the maximum number of members possessing such an experience (362 members, constituting 66.67%). The Seventh Lok Sabha had the minimum number of such members (216, constituting 39.71%).

As regards ministerial positions or other parliamentary offices held by members, an increase is witnessed in the number of members having experience in such offices. *Table 8* and *Graph 8* provide information relating to members of the Thirteenth Lok Sabha. There are 87 members of the Thirteenth Lok Sabha who had been members of the Union Council of Ministers at one point of time or the other. The corresponding figure in the Twelfth and Eleventh Lok Sabhas was 86 and 76, respectively. The number of members of the Thirteenth Lok Sabha having experience of working as Ministers in the States is 84. There are seventeen former Chief Ministers, three former Speakers and two former Deputy Speakers of Lok Sabha, and nine former Speakers and seven former Deputy Speakers of State Legislative Assemblies in the current Lok Sabha.

Conclusion

The examination of bio-data of the members for all the thirteen Lok Sabhas has thrown up certain broad conclusions.

It shows that members belonging to the age group of 46-55 years have outnumbered other categories in majority of the thirteen Lok Sabhas. Preponderance of this age-group in the membership profile of the Lok Sabha is reflective of the electorate's preference for youthfulness coupled with experience and maturity in the personalities of their representatives. This apart, candidates belonging to other age-groups have also been successful in securing adequate representation in various Lok Sabhas.

TABLE 7
EXPERIENCE OF MEMBERS IN LOK SABHA
(MEMBERS WITH PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE IN LOK SABHA/NEW MEMBERS)
(Seventh to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)

Parliamentary Experience	Seventh Lok Sabha		Eighth Lok Sabha		Ninth Lok Sabha		Tenth Lok Sabha		Eleventh Lok Sabha		Twelfth Lok Sabha		Thirteenth Lok Sabha	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total No. of members having previous Legislative Experience in Lok Sabha	216	39.71	270	49.63	253	47.83	320	62.87	245	45.12	328	60.18	362	66.67
No. of members not having previous Legislative Experience in Lok Sabha	328	60.29	274	50.37	276	52.17	189	37.13	298	54.88	217	39.82	181	33.33
Total	544		544		529		509		543		545		543	

GRAPH 7
PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE OF MEMBERS IN LOK SABHA
 (Seventh to Thirteenth Lok Sabha)

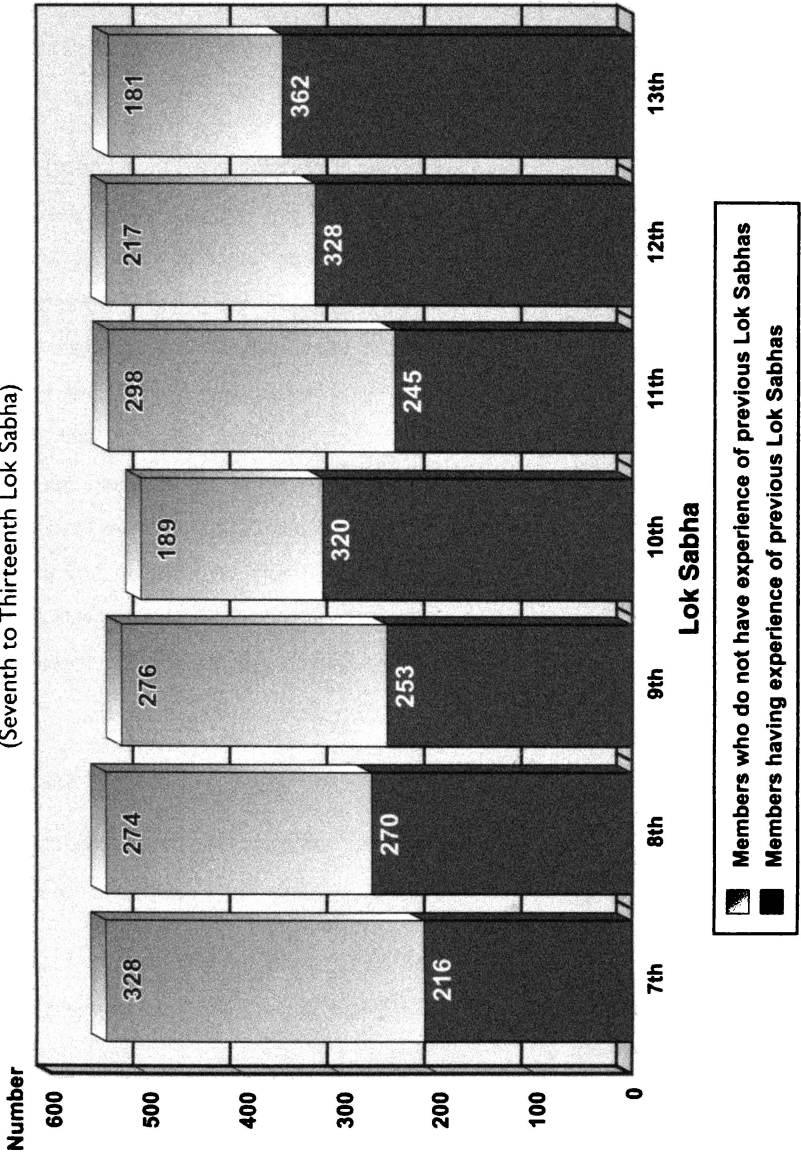


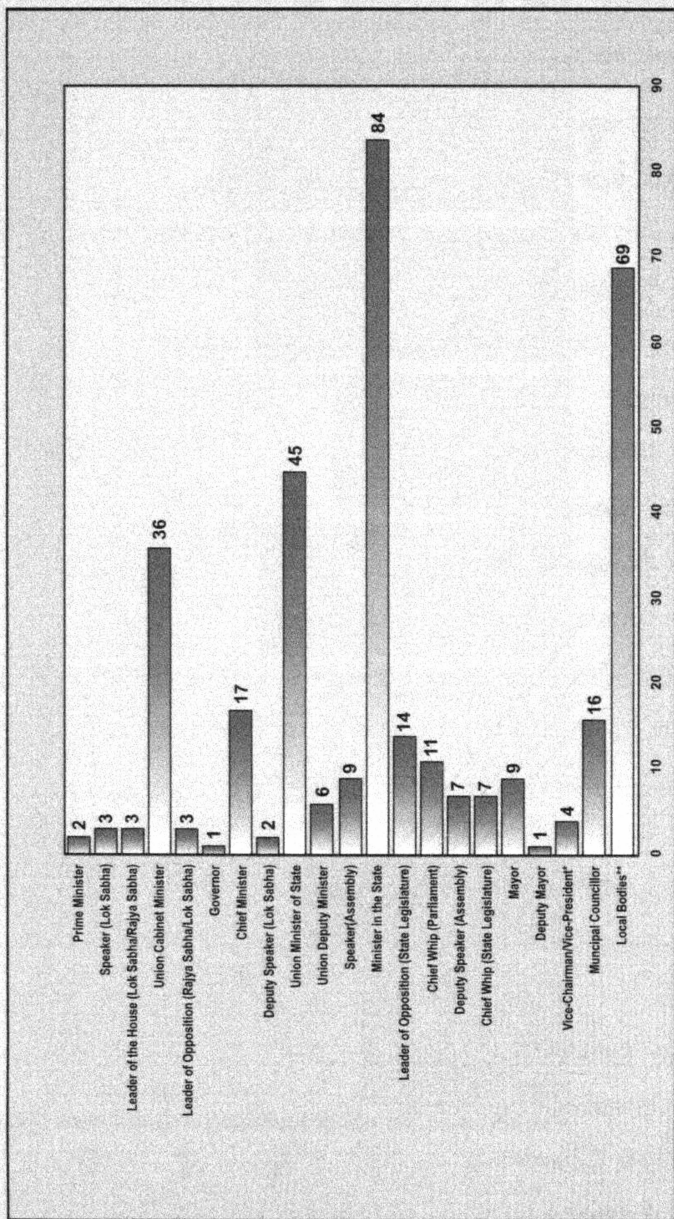
TABLE 8**MINISTERIAL POSITIONS OR OTHER PARLIAMENTARY/PUBLIC OFFICES HELD BY MEMBERS OF THE THIRTEENTH LOK SABHA**

Office/Position	No.
Prime Minister	2
Speaker (Lok Sabha)	3
Leader of the House (Lok Sabha/Rajya Sabha)	3
Union Cabinet Minister	36
Leader of Opposition (Rajya Sabha/Lok Sabha)	3
Governor	1
Chief Minister	17
Deputy Speaker (Lok Sabha)	2
Union Minister of State	45
Union Deputy Minister	6
Speaker (Assembly)	9
Minister in the State	84
Leader of Opposition (State Legislature)	14
Chief Whip (Parliament)	11
Deputy Speaker (Assembly)	7
Chief Whip (State Legislature)	7
Mayor	9
Deputy Mayor	1
Vice-Chairman/Vice-President*	4
Municipal Councillor	16
Local Bodies**	69

* (Panchayat Samiti/Taluk Development Board)

** Chairman/President/Sarpanch, Municipal Body/Municipal Council or Committee or Zilla Parishad/Panchayat Samiti/Gram Panchayat

GRAPH 8
MINISTERIAL POSITIONS OR OTHER PARLIAMENTARY/PUBLIC OFFICES
HELD BY MEMBERS OF 13TH LOK SABHA



*Panchayat Samiti/Taluk Development Board

**Chairman/President/Sarpanch, Municipal Body/Municipal Council or Committee or Zilla Parishad/Panchayat Samiti/Gram Panchayat

The educational profile of the Lok Sabha has also undergone a metamorphosis over the years. As education is one of the basic indicators of socio-economic status, it equips a person with the requisite intellectual skill and abilities which are necessary for a proper understanding of political and social obligations. In all the thirteen Lok Sabhas, members with at least graduation level have registered more representation than Under-Matriculates or Under-Graduates. Thus, as compared to 58.08 per cent in the First Lok Sabha, 80.29 per cent of the members of the Thirteenth Lok Sabha possessed educational qualifications of the level of graduation and above. The higher level of education equips members to be politically more informed and more responsive to popular demands. The overall trend indicates that the electors have favoured those who have had good education and who could relate to their aspirations and effectively articulate their grievances in the supreme legislative body.

Judging by occupational background, Agriculturists, as an occupational category, have been enjoying dominance over the other categories from the Third Lok Sabha onwards. While the percentage of Agriculturists has gone up from 22.45 per cent in the First Lok Sabha to 42.67 per cent in the Thirteenth Lok Sabha, there has been a steep fall in the representation of lawyers. The emergence of lawyers as the largest group in the First and Second Lok Sabhas may be attributed to the participation of a large number of lawyers in the national struggle for Independence and their subsequent election to the Lok Sabha. The proliferation of various other professional groups in the political process has also contributed to the decline in the number of lawyers.

Indian legislators have established their credentials as rational and time-tested agents of social welfare and economic change. The socio-economic background of legislators and its analysis, as attempted in this paper, would not only help us in understanding the general pattern of representation but also enrich our understanding of the political profile of our parliamentarians.