

CHAPTER 43

ELECTORAL STATISTICS

43.1 India is a constitutional democracy with a parliamentary system of government, and at the heart of the system is a commitment to hold regular, free and fair elections. These elections determine the composition of the Government, the membership of the two houses of parliament, the state and union territory legislative assemblies, and the Presidency and vice-presidency. Elections are conducted according to the constitutional provisions, supplemented by laws made by Parliament. The major laws are Representation of the People Act, 1950, which mainly deals with the preparation and revision of electoral rolls, the Representation of the People Act, 1951 which deals, in detail, with all aspects of conduct of elections and post election disputes.

43.2 The **Election Commission of India** is an autonomous, quasi-judiciary constitutional body of India. Its mission is to conduct free and fair elections in India. It was established on th 25 January, 1950 under Article 324 of the Constitution of India. Since establishment of Election Commission of India, free and fair elections have been held at regular intervals as per the principles enshrined in the Constitution, Electoral Laws and System. The Constitution of India has vested in the Election Commission of India the superintendence, direction and control of the entire process for conduct of elections to Parliament and Legislature of every State and to the offices of President and Vice- President of India. The Election Commission is headed by the Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners. There was just one Chief Election Commissioner till October, 1989. In 1989, two Election Commissioners were appointed, but were removed again in January 1990. In 1991, however, the Parliament of India passed a law providing for the appointment of two Election Commissioners. This law was amended and renamed in 1993 as the Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners (Conditions of Service) Amendment Act 1993. The commission presently consists of a Chief Election Commissioner and two Election Commissioners, appointed by the president. The Chief Election Commissioner may be removed from his office in like manner and on the like grounds as a judge of the Supreme Court. Other Election Commissioner may be removed by the President on the recommendation of the Chief Election Commissioner.

43.3 The Election Commission enjoys complete autonomy and is insulated from any kind of executive interference. The body also functions as a quasi-judiciary body in matters of electoral disputes and other matters involving the conduct of elections. The decisions of the body are liable for independent judiciary reviews by courts acting on electoral petitions. The Election Commission is responsible for planning and executing a whole amount of complex operations that go into the conduct of elections. During the elections, the entire Central (Federal) and State government machinery including paramilitary forces and the Police is deemed to be on deputation to the Election Commission which takes effective control of personnel, movable and immovable Government Properties it deems necessary for successful completion of the electoral process.

43.4 Lok Sabha (House of People): 43.4.1 Lok Sabha is composed of representative of the people chosen by direct election on the basis of adult suffrage. The maximum strength of the House envisaged by the Constitution is 552, upto 530 members to represent the States, up to 20 members to represent the Union Territories and not more than two members of the Anglo-Indian Community to be nominated by the President, if, in his opinion, that community is not adequately represented in the House. The total elective membership is distributed among the States in such a way that the ratio between the number of seats allotted to each State and the population of the State is, so far as practicable, the same for all States. The Lok Sabha at present consists of 545 members including the Speaker and two nominated members. Lok Sabha elects one of its own members as its Presiding Officer and he is called the Speaker. He is assisted by the Deputy Speaker who is also elected by Lok Sabha.

43.4.2 The conduct of business in Lok Sabha is the responsibility of the Speaker. Lok Sabha, unless sooner dissolved, continues for five years from the date appointed for its first meeting and the expiration of the period of five years operates as dissolution of the House. However, while a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation, this period may be extended by Parliament by law for a period not exceeding one year at a time and not extending, in any case, beyond a period of six months after the proclamation has ceased to operate. Membership of the Lok Sabha requires that the person must be a citizen of India, aged 25 or over, mentally sound, should not be bankrupt and has no criminal procedures against him/her. For reserved seats one should be member of the scheduled castes and/or tribes.

43.4.3 The strength of the Lok Sabha and allocation of seats among the States and Union Territories has been mentioned in First Schedule of the Representation of the People Act, 1950 amended from time to time and the special Acts/Rules enacted in respect of the particular State and Union Territories thereafter. The maximum number of 80 seats of Lok Sabha has been allocated to Uttar Pradesh followed by Maharashtra (48) , Andhra Pradesh (42), West Bengal (42), Bihar (40), Tamil Nadu (39), Madhya Pradesh (29), Karnataka (28), Gujarat (26), Rajasthan (25), Orissa (21), Kerala (20), Jharkhand (14), Assam (14), Punjab (13), Chhattisgarh (11) and Haryana (10). Delhi and Jammu & Kashmir have been allotted 7 and 6 seats respectively. Uttarakhand and Himachal Pradesh have been allotted 5 and 4 seats respectively. Each of the States of Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura has allocated two seats. Each of the States/Union Territories of Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Daman & Diu, Lakshadweep and Puducherry has been allotted one seat.

43.4.4 The Constitution of India came into force on January 26, 1950. The first general elections under the new Constitution were held during the year 1951-52 and the first elected Parliament came into being in April, 1952, the Second Lok Sabha in April, 1957, the Third Lok Sabha in April, 1962, the Fourth Lok Sabha in March, 1967, the Fifth Lok Sabha in March, 1971, the Sixth Lok Sabha in March, 1977, the Seventh Lok Sabha in January, 1980, the Eighth Lok Sabha in December, 1984, the Ninth Lok Sabha in December, 1989, the Tenth Lok Sabha in June, 1991, the Eleventh Lok Sabha in May,

1996, the Twelfth Lok Sabha in March, 1998, the Thirteenth Lok Sabha in October, 1999, the Fourteenth Lok Sabha in May, 2004 and the Fifteenth Lok Sabha in May, 2009.

43.5 Rajya Sabha (Council of States): 43.5.1 Article 80 of the Constitution lays down the maximum strength of Rajya Sabha as 250, out of which 12 members are nominated by the President and 238 are representatives of the States and of the two Union Territories. The present strength of Rajya Sabha, however, is 245, out of which 233 are representatives of the States and Union territories of Delhi and Puducherry and 12 are nominated by the President. The members nominated by the President are persons having special knowledge or practical experience in respect of such matters as literature, science, art and social service. The Fourth Schedule to the Constitution provides for allocation of seats to the States and Union Territories in Rajya Sabha.

43.5.2 The allocation of seats is made on the basis of the population of each State. Consequent on the reorganization of States and formation of new States, the number of elected seats in the Rajya Sabha allotted to States and Union Territories has changed from time to time since 1952. The maximum number of 31 seats of Rajya Sabha has been allocated to Uttar Pradesh followed by Maharashtra (19), Andhra Pradesh (18), Tamil Nadu (18), West Bengal (16), Bihar (16), Karnataka (12), Madhya Pradesh (11), Gujarat (11), Rajasthan (10), Orissa (10), Kerala (9), Assam (7), Punjab (7), Jharkhand (6), Chhattisgarh (5), Haryana (5) and Jammu & Kashmir (4). Each of the States of Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand, and Union Territory of Delhi has been allocated 3 seats. Each of the States of Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura, and Union Territory of Puducherry has allocated one seat. The Presiding Officers of Rajya Sabha have the responsibility to conduct the proceedings of the House. The Vice-President of India is ex-officio Chairman of Rajya Sabha. Rajya Sabha also chooses from amongst its members, a Deputy Chairman. There is also a Panel of Vice-Chairmen in Rajya Sabha, the members of which are nominated by the Chairman, Rajya Sabha. In the absence of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, a member from the Panel of Vice-Chairmen presides over the proceedings of the House. Apart from the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman, Leader of the House is another functionary who plays important role in the efficient and smooth conduct of the business in the House. The Leader of the House in Rajya Sabha is normally the Prime Minister, if he/she is its member or any Minister who is a member of the House and is nominated by him/her to so function.

43.6 Vidhan Sabha (State Legislative Assembly): The Vidhan Sabha also known as Legislative Assemblies are the lower houses of state legislature in the States of India. Members of a Vidhan Sabha are direct representatives of the people of the particular State as they are directly elected by an electorate consisting of all adult citizens of that state. Its maximum size as outlined in the Constitution of India is not more than 500 members and not less than 60. However, the size of the Vidhan Sabha can be less than 60 members through an Act of Parliament, such is the case in the states of Goa, Sikkim and Mizoram.

43.7 Vidhan Parishad (State Legislative Council): The Vidhan Parishad (Legislative Council) forms a part of the state legislatures of India. In six of India's 28 States (Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Jammu and Kashmir and Andhra Pradesh), the Legislative Council serves as the indirectly- elected upper house of a bicameral legislature. The strengths of the Legislative Assemblies of the States and Union Territories has been mentioned in Third Schedule of the Representation of the People Act, 1950 amended from time to time and the special Acts/Rules enacted in respect of the particular State and Union Territories thereafter.

43.8 Latest Development : 43.8.1 **None of the Above (NOTA)** Option : None of the Above (NOTA), also known as "**against all**" or a "**scratch**" vote, is a ballot option in some jurisdictions or organizations, designed to allow the voter to indicate disapproval of all of the candidates in a voting system. It is based on the principle that consent requires the ability to withhold consent in an election.

43.8.2 The Election Commission of India told the Supreme Court in 2009 that it wished to offer the voter a "None of the above" option at the ballot, which was something that the government had generally opposed. The People's Union for Civil Liberties, a non-governmental organisation, filed a Public-interest litigation statement in support of this. On 27 September 2013, the Supreme Court of India ruled that the right to register a "none of the above" vote in elections should apply, noting that it would increase participation. The judges said that this "would lead to a systemic change in polls and political parties will be forced to project clean candidates". Accordingly it directed to provide a NOTA option on the EVM and ballot papers so that the electors who do not want to vote for any of the candidates can exercise their option in secrecy. As per the provisions of clause (a) of Rule 64 of Conduct of Elections Rules, 1961, read with Section 65 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, the candidate who has polled the largest number of valid votes is to be declared elected by the Returning Officer. Therefore, even if the number of electors opting for NOTA option is more than the number of votes polled by any of the candidates, the candidate who secures the largest number of votes has to be declared elected.

43.9 History of Political Parties & their performance in Lok Sabha Elections In India : 43.9.1 From 1950 to 1990, barring two brief periods, the Indian National Congress (INC) enjoyed a parliamentary majority. The INC was out of power between 1977 and 1980, when the Janta Party won the election due to public discontent with the promulgation of emergency by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1975. In 1989, a Janata Dal-led National Front coalition, in alliance with the Left Front coalition, won the elections but managed to stay in power for only two years.

43.9.2 Since 1952, when the country got its debut Lok Sabha after the first General Elections, the dominance of the Indian National Congress was broken for the first time in 1977. The INC led by Ms Indira Gandhi, was defeated by an unlikely coalition of all

the major other parties, which protested against the imposition of a controversial Emergency from 1975–1977.

43.9.3 The Indian National Congress (INC) had earlier stormed into power in the first Lok Sabha elections making Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the first elected Prime Minister of the country. The Indian National Congress managed to replicate its 1952 success story in the second Lok Sabha elections held in 1957. The third Lok Sabha was formed in April 1962. Veteran Congress leader Gulzarilal Nanda succeeded Nehru at his death for a period of two weeks. He served as the acting Prime Minister until the Congress had elected a new leader, Lal Bahadur Shastri. Following the vacuum created by Shastri's death, the Congress once again found itself devoid of a leader. Nanda was back to being the acting Prime Minister, again for a period of less than a month, before being succeeded by Ms Indira Gandhi, Mr Nehru's daughter. The country had its fourth outing at the hustings since Independence in April 1967 whereby Indira Gandhi once again became the Prime Minister of India though internal differences within the congress began to surface. The Congress' dismal electoral performance forced Ms Gandhi to become assertive and opt for a series of choices that put her against the Congress Party high command. Differences within the party kept building. The Congress expelled her for "indiscipline" on November 12, 1969, an action that split the party into two factions: the Congress (O)-for Organisation-led by Morarji Desai, and the Congress (I)--for Indira-led by Ms Indira Gandhi. Ms Gandhi continued to head a minority government with support from the CPI(M) till December 1970. Not wanting to head a minority government any longer, she called for a mid-term election to the Lok Sabha a full one year ahead of schedule. The country was set for the fifth general elections. Ms Gandhi steered the Congress to a landslide victory in 1971. Campaigning on the slogan of "**garibi hatao**" (eliminate poverty), she returned in Parliament with 352 seats, a marked improvement from the party's poor show of 283 in the previous polls. On June 12, 1975, the Allahabad High Court invalidated her 1971 election on the grounds of electoral malpractices. Instead of resigning, Indira Gandhi declared an **Emergency** in the country and jailed the entire Opposition. The Emergency lasted till March 1977 and in the General Elections held in 1977, she was routed by a coalition of parties called Janta Morcha. This was the first time that the Congress had been dealt a bloody blow. The state of Emergency declared by the Congress government was the core issue in the sixth Lok Sabha (1977) elections. Four Opposition parties, the Organisation Congress, the Jan Sangh, the Bharatiya Lok Dal and the Socialist Party, decided to fight the elections as a single party, called the **Janata Party**. The Congress lost the elections for the first time in independent India and Janata Party leader Mr Morarji Desai, who had been released from prison two months before the elections, became India's first non-Congress Prime Minister. The Congress lost nearly 200 seats. Ms Indira Gandhi, who had been in government since 1966, and her son Sanjay both lost elections.

43.9.4 The Janata Party came into power riding the public anger against the Congress and the Emergency, but its position was weak. The Janata Party, an amalgam of socialists and Hindu nationalists, split in 1979 when Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) leaders Mr A B Vajpayee and Mr L K Advani quit and the BJS withdrew support to the government. Mr Desai lost a trust vote in Parliament and resigned. Mr Charan Singh, who had retained some partners of the Janata alliance, was sworn in as Prime Minister in June 1979. Congress promised to support Mr Singh in Parliament but later backed out. He called for elections in January 1980. The fight between Janata Party leaders and the political instability in the country worked in favour of the Congress (I), which reminded voters of the strong government of Ms Indira Gandhi. The Congress won 351 seats in the 7th Lok Sabha (1980) and the Janata Party, or what remained of the alliance, won 32 seats. The Janata party split and split over the years but it had recorded an important landmark in the country political history: it was a coalition and proved that the Congress could be defeated.

43.9.5 Riding on the sympathy wave, after assassination of Prime Minister Indira's Gandhi assassination on October 31, 1984. The Congress won a landslide victory in 8th Lok Sabha (1984) with Rajiv Gandhi at the helm. Congress won 404 Lok Sabha seats and more than 50 per cent of the popular vote, the party's best performance ever.

43.9.6 Second instance when the forte of Congress Party was dented was in 1989 (9th Lok Sabha) when a coalition (**National Front**), similar to the Janta party, led by VP Singh swept to power in the wake of major allegations of corruption by the incumbent Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi . Though, like its precursor ,the new formation also lost its steam early in 1990, in many ways the 9th Lok Sabha Elections were a watershed in Indian electoral politics. The elections changed the way politicians would approach the voters, with caste and religion not far from the average Indian voter at any point in time, becoming the pivot. The National Front managed to secure a simple majority in the Lok Sabha and formed the government with the outside support of the Left Front and the BJP. Janata Dal, National Front's largest constituent, won 143 seats , though, the Congress was still the single largest party in the Lok Sabha with 197 MPs. The BJP was the biggest gainer in the elections increasing its tally to 85 MPs from just 2 in the 1984 elections. Sh V P Singh became the 10th Prime Minister of India for about a year (Dec 1989- Nov 1990) before he lost trust vote in the aftermath of BJP withdrawing support (on account of arrest of its leader Sh L K Advani during his Ram Ranmabhoomi Rath Yatra). Mr Chandra Shekhar broke away from the Janata Dal with 64 MPs and formed the Samajwadi Janata Party. He got outside support from the Congress and became the 11th Prime Minister of India.

43.9.7 The 10th Lok Sabha Elections (1991) were a mid-term one as the previous Lok Sabha had been dissolved just 16 months after government formation. The elections were held in a polarised environment and are also referred to as the '**Mandal-Mandir**' elections after the two most important poll issues, the Mandal Commission fallout and

the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue. A day after the first round of polling took place on May 20, former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated. As the 1991 elections gave no political party a majority, the INC formed a minority government under Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and was able to complete its five-year term.

43.9.8 The years 1996–1998 were a period of turmoil in the federal government with several short-lived alliances holding sway as elections for 11th Lok Sabha (1996) resulted in a hung Parliament . The two years of political instability saw three Prime Ministers as the BJP formed a government briefly in 1996(with Sh Vajpayee at the helm, for 13 days), followed by the United Front coalition(Sh Deve Gowda of Janta Dal, lasting 18 months followed by Sh I K Gujral , after the Congress agreed to support a new United Front government from the outside) that excluded both the BJP and the INC. The 11th Lok Sabha had a short life, lasting barely one-and-a-half years. The minority Inder Kumar Gujral government, the second by the United Front in 18 months since the May 1996 general elections, collapsed on November 28, 1997 when the Congress, headed by Sitaram Kesri, withdrew support over controversy surrounding involvement in the 1991 assassination of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

43.9.9 The 12th Lok Sabha was constituted on March 10, 1998, and a coalition led by veteran BJP leader Atal Bihari Vajpayee was sworn in nine days later. The 12th Lok Sabha had a life-span of 413 days, the shortest to date. The dissolution came in the absence of a viable alternative after the 13-month-old Bharatiya Janata Party-led government was ousted by one vote on April 17. This was the fifth time the Lok Sabha was dissolved before completing its full tenure.

43.9.10 On April 17, 1999, Vajpayee lost a confidence vote in the Lok Sabha and consequently tendered the resignation of his coalition government. He cited a lack of cohesion in his 24-party **National Democratic Alliance (NDA)** as the reason. As General Elections had previously been held in 1996 and 1998, those of 1999 were the third in 40 months. The 1991, 1996, and 1998 elections saw a period of consistent growth for the BJP and its allies, based primarily on political expansions in terms of cultivating stronger and broader alliances with other previously-unaffiliated parties; and regional expansion which had seen the NDA become competitive and even the largest vote taker in previously Congress-dominated areas such as Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Assam. These final factors were to prove decisive in the election outcome of 1999. 13th Lok Sabha when Sh Atal Bihari Vajpayee was sworn in as Prime Minister. The BJP-led NDA government, headed by Prime Minister Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee completed five years of its rule in 2004 (the first non congress govt. to do so). Most analysts believed the NDA, riding high on the feel-good factor and its promotional

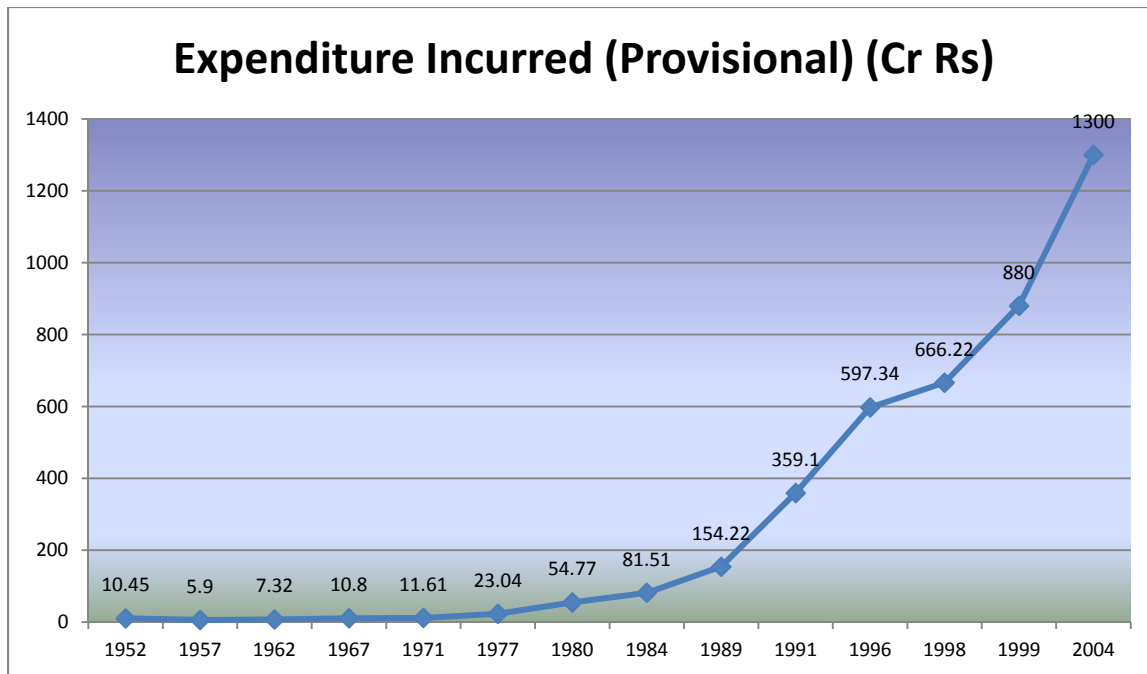
campaign '**India Shining**', would beat anti-incumbency and win clear majority. The Congress, who was regarded as "old-fashioned" by the ruling BJP, was largely backed by poor, rural, lower-caste and minority voters that did not participate in the economic boom of previous years that created a large wealthy middle class and thus achieved its overwhelming victory. However, in the **14th Lok Sabha (2004)**, the BJP had to concede defeat and the Congress was able to put together a comfortable majority of more than 335 members out of 543 (including external support from BSP, SP, MDMK and the Left front) with the help of its allies and under the direction of Ms Sonia Gandhi. This post-poll alliance was called the **United Progressive Alliance**. In the 15th Lok Sabha (2009) the INC won with a majority of more than 200 seats and formed the government by creating a coalition with other parties which were willing to form alliance with it.

43.9.11 As the years passed by, **one-party-dominant politics** in the early years of elections in India had given way to a **coalition System** wherein no single party can expect to achieve a majority in the Parliament to form a government, but rather has to depend on a process of coalition building with other parties to form a block and claim a majority to be invited to form the government. This has been a consequence of strong **regional parties** which ride on the back of regional aspirations.

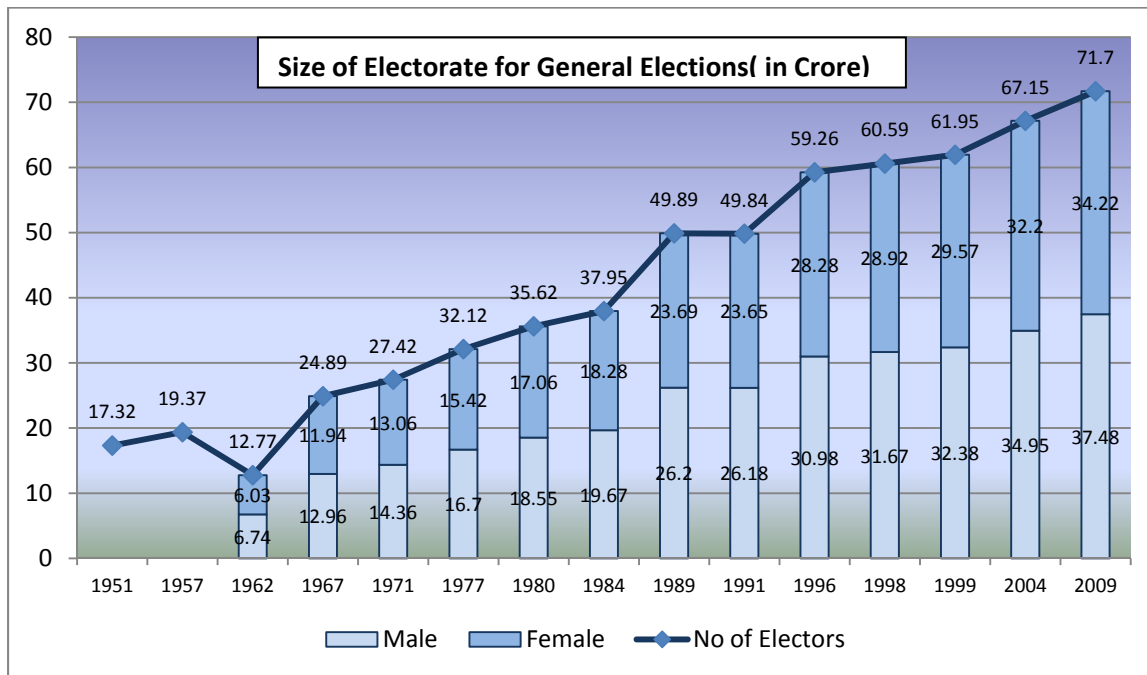
43.9.12 While parties like the TDP and the AIADMK had traditionally been strong regional contenders, the 1990s saw the emergence of other regional players such as the Lok Dal, Samajwadi Party, Bahujan Samaj Party and the Janata Dal. These parties are traditionally based on regional aspirations, e.g. Telangana Rashtra Samithi or are strongly influenced by caste considerations, e.g. Bahujan Samaj Party which claims to represent the Dalits.

43.9.13 Presently , the United Progressive Alliance led by the Congress Party is in power, while the National Democratic Alliance forms the opposition.

14.10 Some Trends in Lok Sabha Elections : 43.10.1 Conducting elections is a costly affair. The amount of money spent by political parties during the elections has grown manifold as the parties resort to diverse means to impress the electorates. The expenses incurred by the Government in preparation of electoral rolls, I-cards, election booths & officers etc is also significant . The graph below indicates expenditure incurred on Lok Sabha Elections as available on the website of Election Commission of India (data source : Legislative Department , Ministry of Law & Justice).



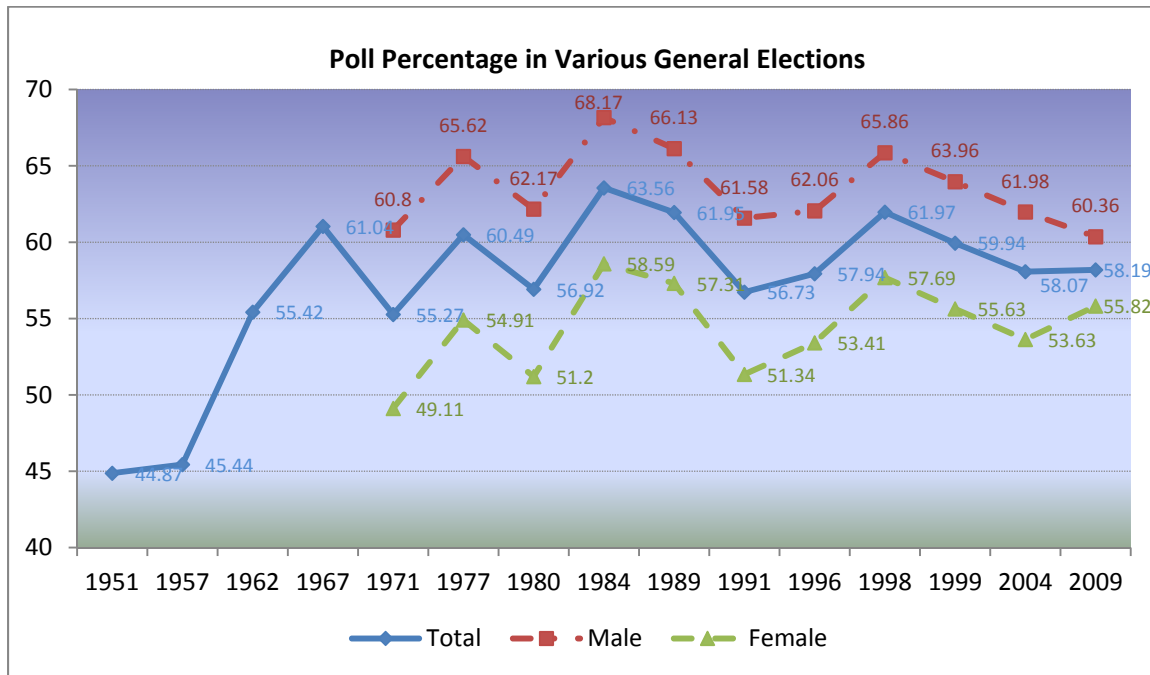
43.10.2 The rapidly increasing electorate in the world's largest democracy is charted below :



Data Source : Election Commission of India

43.10.3 Increased participation in the electoral process is a pre requisite for a healthy democracy . Election Commission of India has been making efforts in this direction through series of audio visual and print campaigns urging people to exercise their right

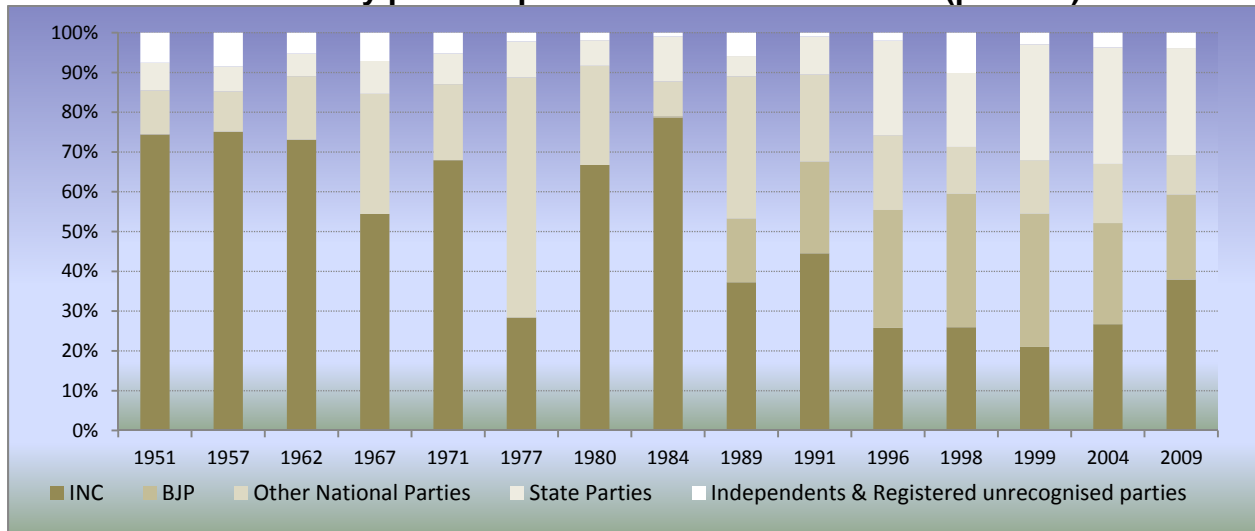
to vote. However, the trend over the years suggests that peoples participation has generally oscillated in the range of 55-60 % for all voters, with males turning out in higher percent to cast their votes (60-68 %) compared to females (50-58%).



Data Source : Election Commission of India

43.11 Status of political parties in various General Elections: Indian National Congress (INC) enjoyed about two third majority in the first three general elections and it gained more than half of the seats till 1984 elections except 1977 when it won less than one third of the seats (154 seats) while Bhartiya Lok Dal won 295 of the 542 Lok Sabha Seats. The debacle in the aftermath of emergency imposed by Ms Indira Gandhi was followed by consolidation by INC in 1980 with wins on 67 percent of seats and subsequently the record high of 79 % of seats (with a total of 404 seats) won by INC in 1984 , in the elections following death of Ms Indira Gandhi. Since 1989, the share of INC has gone down to less than half (about a quarter in 1996-2004 Lok Sabha Elections) during the General Elections. The same period (i.e. 1989) has seen emergence of Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) which from winning 16 % seats in 1989, out performed INC (in terms of seats won) during 1996-1999 general elctions before INC wrested back the top position in the last two elections during 2004 & 2009. Janta Dal also gained significant number of seats during 1989, 1991& 1996 elections winning 143, 59 & 46 seats respectively. Communist Party of India - Marxist (CPM) has won around 20 - 40 seats in various general elections since 1967.Its share fall to the lowest of tally of only 16 seats in 2009 .

Seats won by political parties in General elections (percent)



Data Source : Election Commission of India

43.12 **Data Source** : Most of the information on electoral statistics is maintained by **Election Commission of India**. This includes : electoral rolls, list of polling stations, parliamentary constituencies, information on political parties: symbols, contribution reports, expenditure reports , past elections : highlights, results, analysis, list of winning candidates, number of electors, voter turn out , future elections, seats & reservation status etc. The information on expenses incurred by the government for Lok Sabha elections is provided by **Ministry of Law & Justice**. Information on allocation/ composition of seats in Rajya Sabha is also maintained by **Rajya Sabha Secretariat**.