How Caste And Class Factor's Affected The 2019 Verdict

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ABSTRACT: *Elections represent the general will of the people as expressed in their votes. In the 17th Lok Sabha elections National Democratic Alliance (NDA) represent a cross-section of the Indian urban as well as rural elite. This social basis can be identified through the criterion of caste but there is an element of class in it. The decline of the Congress party and the rise of the BJP to power, created the possibility of a new kind of cleavage based politics. This elections are also about the lessening of caste factors and the rise of class consciousness. There is a specific desire for a "better" class identity along with retaining the order caste one. The BJP has effectively projected the idea of a 'new India' that is a land of hope and opportunity, downplaying the welfare state upon which most people's well-being depends. Thus, Present work is an endeavour to understand that how caste and class factors affected the 2019 verdict.*
Key Words: Election, Political Parties, Caste and Class,

I.   INTRODUCTION

Democracy and elections are an integral part of whole the mechanism of faith in system. Elections obviously have different meanings and play different roles in different political systems. In some, they are central in other peripheral; in some they seem clearly to contribute to political development, in other to political decay. They may be used as thinly veiled disguises for various forms of authoritarian rule as institutionalized procedures for system maintenance in established democratic societies, or as instruments for the increasing democratization of political systems.[1]

In India after independence, multy-party system developed but functionally it worked as one dominant party system. Congress party was the dominant party in India. This system remained in operation till 1989. Due to the leading Pre-independence role, Congress emerged as the dominant party in early period, people from different classes, castes, communities joined the Congress. But later on certain groups were dissatisfied with Congress, therefore many new political parties emerged with their own ideologies. With the passage of time, gradually one-party dominant system shifted to the multi-party system. In 1967 rise of the first generation regional parties led to the multiparty system at the states level. In 1980s with the evolution of the second generation parties based on the regional and sub-national interests vis-à-vis degeneration of the national parties gave way to the comprehensive multi-party system at the national level.

Ever since the decline of the Congress party (1989), three distinction of Indian politics are: one is the coalition politics, and second the rise of many smaller and regional parties to prominence in national level politics and the third is rise of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in Indian politics as the substitute of the Congress. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) began to fill the political vacuum created by the decline of the Congress, providing a Hindu nationalist alternative. The BJP's rise to prominence has been the defining feature of Indian politics over the last decade. The Congress for so long the 'natural' party of governance, lost out to this new political force. BJP has emerged as the single majority party in the last twogeneral elections (2014 and 2019).[2] It is the only one to continuously improve its seat tally.

The BJP represents a unique political culture which is nothing but as it claims, a typical feature of Indian culture and Indian Tradition. The party commonly regarded as a conservative political force and occupies the powerful berth in the 'rightist' wing of Indian politics.[3]The organisational set up of the BJP is highly cadre based. The party's organisational structure spreads all over India, starting from national level to both levels. Different party support groups also contribute to the organisational strength of the party.[4]A strong and effective organisation has been an important factor that contributed to the growth of the party in Indian Politics.

In this election, the BJP expanded significantly its support base among the cross sections of the Indian voters, except the STs (41 percent) and the Muslims (10 percent).[5]Being a front ranking national party, it is high time that the BJP should project itself independently before the Indian electorate.

After the end of Nehru-Indira-Rajiv type of dynastic leadership, the Congress is suffering from leadership crisis. The new leadership of the party has failed to maintain its traditional support base and to mobilise the people of India at large. In the absence of strong leadership the party often resembles like a divided house.[6]

BJP and Dynamics of Indian Party System

BJP now an all-India party because some of its MPs had been returned from Andaman to Kashmir, from Gujarat to Tripura. It is true that the BJP has now reached beyond the Hindi belt in a big way. The party has also registered impressive performance in states where it was a nonentity so far, like Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal or Orissa.BJP has taken roots in new territories but its most substantial gains have been accomplished in those states where it had made alliances with regional parties.

The 2019 election marked the emergence of a 'new BJP's social bloc' that included the traditional upper-caste supporters of the party but reached beyond this elite. Basing this argument 'the BJP secured the support of 61 percent of upper caste Hindus and the dominant Hindu peasant castes such as Jats, Marathas, Patidar.[7]The NDA therefore represent a cross-section of the Indian urban as well as rural elite. This social basis can be identified through the criterion of caste but there is an element of class in it. The decline of the Congress party and the rise of the BJP to power, created the possibility of a new kind of cleavage based politics.
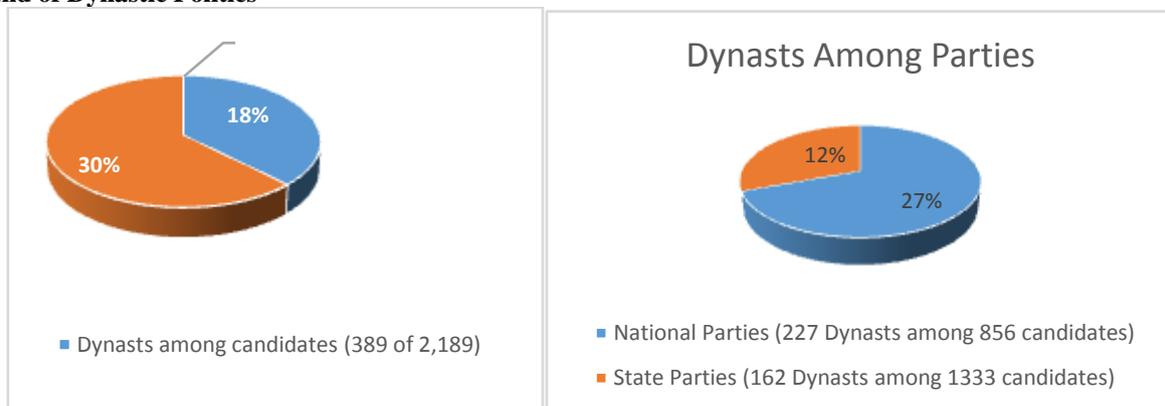
Yet coalition politics too, is marked by mixed outcomes. The inevitability of coalitions is underscored by the experience of post-Congress polity; it also underscores the peculiarities involved in coalition politics-state parties played a crucial role in making coalition possible and at the same time, they on their own have been unable to use the same strategy to push the larger parties out of the centre of political competition. While the third fronts have been unable to configure parliamentary majorities, the BJP and Congress too, have been unable to push out players who would not join either of their alliances.[8]

Caste and class consciousness

It is frequently said that these elections are about the lessening of caste factors and the rise of class consciousness. What is actually crucial to understand is the upsurge in desire for both caste and class identities: it is not as if caste identities have been abandoned in favour of class ones rather there is as much pride in asserting caste identities as there is the desire to display the markers of, usually middle class-ness. There is a specific desire for a "better" class identity along with retaining the order caste one. This is a significant factor that attracts many to the persona of Modi.[9]At the same time, the trend of so-called 'vote banks' based on caste and religious identities in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar breaking down continued. So-called traditional vote bank (Yadav, Dalit and Muslim) of SP-BSP 'Mahagathbandhan' rejected both the parties in UP and RJD and Congress coalition in Bihar.In UP and Bihar, the minority vote has always been a decisive factor, except this time around. Ever since the emergence of Mandal politics, a coalition of backward castes and Muslims has played a key role at the hustings. However, this time all such calculations went awry in the face of the BJPs nationalism rhetoric, which it hammered repeatedly, citing Pulwama and Balakot as examples.[10]The massage that came out of the outcome of the 2019 elections was clear that opportunistic alliances did not find favour with voters.

India's vibrant democracy, with its numerous intricacies and complexities, win the country accolades from around the world after every general election. The voting population is also praised for exercising its franchise. But there is hardly any meaningful debate on the choices available to the country's vast electorate. During the 2019 campaign, some analysts commented on the BJP's strategy that seemed to be aligned towards the presidential form of government. Issues related to leadership- or lack of clarity about it from the opposition- emerged as the dominant theme. From a voters prospective at least two or three national level parties should be in opposition to offer leadership to the country. Such a scenario will strengthen our democracy, make governments more accountable to their party manifestos and promises and gradually move the conversation during election campaigns from trivial to substantive issues.[11]

End of Dynastic Politics

Pie chart (left): 18%, 30%
- Dynasts among candidates (389 of 2,189)

Pie chart (right): **Dynasts Among Parties** — 12%, 27%
- National Parties (227 Dynasts among 856 candidates)
- State Parties (162 Dynasts among 1333 candidates)

Source: The data on the newly elected MPs has been taken from candidate affidavits collected by Association of Democratic Reforms (ADR). Published on May 26, 2019.[12]

The dynastic factor has not been absent in this election at all. Although the phenomenon has increased. We define 'dynast' any candidate or MP having a relative who in the past or in the present has served or serves an elective mandate at any level of representation. It also includes candidates with relatives who serve or have served prominent position in party organisations.

There are total number of contesting dynasts in 17th Lok Sabha elections are 2189, which 389 are elected. Among 542 elected MPs to the Lok Sabha, 227 dynasts belongs to national parties and 162 dynasts belongs to the state parties. The data suggest that in 2019, a record 30 percent of all Lok Sabha MPs belong to political families. More surprisingly it affects all parties although national as well as state parties. National parties are at the forefront of the phenomenon across all states. Among the National parties Congress remains the most dynastic one, with 31 percent of his candidates belonging to a political family. But the BJP is catching up with 22 percent of dynast candidates. Although the BJP relentlessly criticises all opponents for being dynastic enterprises, accusing them of forming an anti-democratic establishment. The main reason quite simply is that parties try to maximise their chances at winning seats by fielding candidates that tick most of the win ability boxes. The fact remains that locally dynasts remains by and large more as asset than a liability.

Women candidates are more 'dynastic' than male candidates. Parties tend to select their women candidates from within existing political families, as they still perceive that fielding women candidates constitutes a risk. As a result of 2019 election, 100 percent of the female candidates fielded by the SP, the TDP, the DMK, and the TRS belong to political families. This trend applies to Congress and BJP as well with respectively 54 percent and 53 percent of their women candidates being dynasts.

However, one of the main reasons why dynasts are nominated by parties in large proportion pertains to their influence within the parties themselves and by the fact that they tend to perform better than non-dynastic candidates. While 22 percent of the BJP candidates were dynasts among the BJP MPs jumps to 25 percent. The gap is even large on the Congress side (from 31 percent to 44 percent) and among key state parties, including the Shiv Sena where dynasts represented only 8 percent of the party candidates (among them 39 percent of the party MPs).[13]Across parties the over-representation of dynasts is stronger among the elected MPs than among the candidates. The data suggests that the phenomenon has increased in this election.)
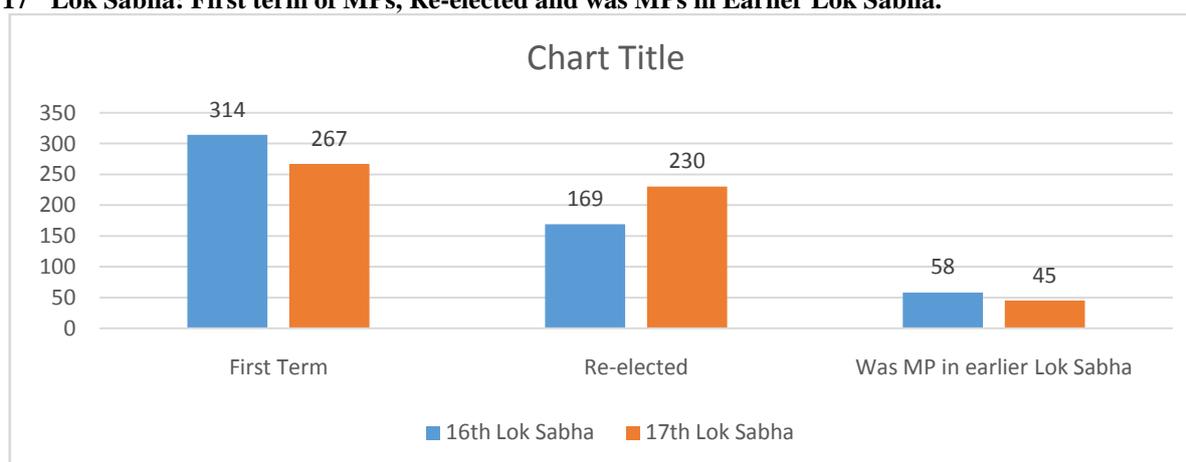
Age Profile of Winner Candidates: 16th and 17th Lok Sabha

2014 (Total 532 MPs)			2019 (Total 542 MPs)		
Ages	No. of MPs	% of MPs	Ages	No. of MPs	% of MPs
25-40	44	8%	25-40	64	12%
41-55	170	32%	41-55	221	40%
56-70	251	47%	56-70	227	42%
Above 70	67	13%	Above 70	30	6%

Source: The data on the newly elected MPs has been taken from candidate affidavits collected by Association of Democratic Reforms (ADR). Published on May 26, 2019.

Above table shows that the 17th Lok Sabha has 12 percent of MPs below the age 40 years. This is more than that of the 16th Lok Sabha which had 8 percent of MPs below the age of 40 years. This bucks the longer term trend of Lok Sabha getting older. The proportion of MPs below 40 years of age has steadily declined from 26 percent in the first Lok Sabha. Table shows that 82 percent of elected MPs are between the age of 41 to 70. It was 79 percent in 16th Lok Sabha below 13 percent comparison to 17th Lok Sabha. Only 6 percent MPs in 17th Lok Sabha are above the 70 years age that was 7 percent below from 16th Lok Sabha. Chandrani on the Biju Janata Dal (BJD) ticket elected from Orissa is the youngest MP in 17th Lok Sabha, while at the other end 79 year old Mohammad Sadique from Faridkot in Punjab is the most senior MP in the 17th Lok Sabha. The average age of an MP in newly elected Lok Sabha is 54 years.

17th Lok Sabha: First term of MPs, Re-elected and was MPs in Earlier Lok Sabha.

Chart Title

First Term	Re-elected	Was MP in earlier Lok Sabha
314 (16th), 267 (17th)	169 (16th), 230 (17th)	58 (16th), 45 (17th)

■ 16th Lok Sabha   ■ 17th Lok Sabha

Source: PRS Legislative Research Institute for Policy Studies, New Delhi.[14]

This distribution is not very different from the last general election. Above table shows that, this time 267 MPs will be in the newly elected Lok Sabha for their first term comparison to 16th Lok Sabha it was 314 MPs that were elected for the first term. The number of MPs re-elected is significantly higher than in the last general election. In 17th Lok Sabha, this time 230 MPs were re-elected that is more than 61 from outgoing Lok Sabha. Further, 45 MPs was in earlier Lok Sabha.

Among 267 first timer MPs 191 (72%) are at least graduates, 61 are Post graduates and 11 have doctorates. While career politicians like, agriculturists, businessmen or advocates dominate the list, a surprising 17 doctors have entered the lower house this time**.[15]**

Richer Candidates has Higher Chances of Win
Success rates and Assets

Value of Assets (Rs)	Candidates	Winners	Strike Rates (%)
5 Crore and Above	883	266	30.1%
2 Crore-5 Crore	678	125	18.4%
50 Lakh- 2 Crore	1601	112	7%
10 Lakh- 50 Lakh	2069	27	103%
Less than 10 Lakh	2699	9	0.3%

Source: Data in this Kit is presented in good faith, with an intention to inform voters. Candidates' affidavits obtained from the ECI website (www.eci.nic.in) with nomination papers is the source of this analysis. Website:- www.adrindia.org, www.myneta.info.[16]

Result of the Lok Sabha elections 2019 suggest that the richer candidate's candidature has brighter chances to winning. Nearly a one-third (30.1 percent) of candidates with total assets of Rs 5 crore and above won. By contrast, the success rate of candidates with total assets of less than Rs 10 Lakh wasa mere 0.3 percent according to a report published May 25 by the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) a non-partisan NGO working for electoral and political reforms.

According to the ADR report, the percentage of crorepati MPs has risen steadily from 58% in the15th Lok Sabha (2009) to 82 percent in the 16th Lok Sabha (2014) and 88 percent in the 17th lok Sabha (2019). The report analysed the assets of 539 (of the total 542) winners in 2019, of whom 475 had total assets of Rs 1 crore or more. These numbers were 443 out of total 542 in 2014 and 315 out of 543 in 2009 general elections. The chance of winning for a crorepati candidate in the Lok Sabha 2019 is 21 percent.[17]

Most Crorepati Winners: Parties with 10 seats or more only

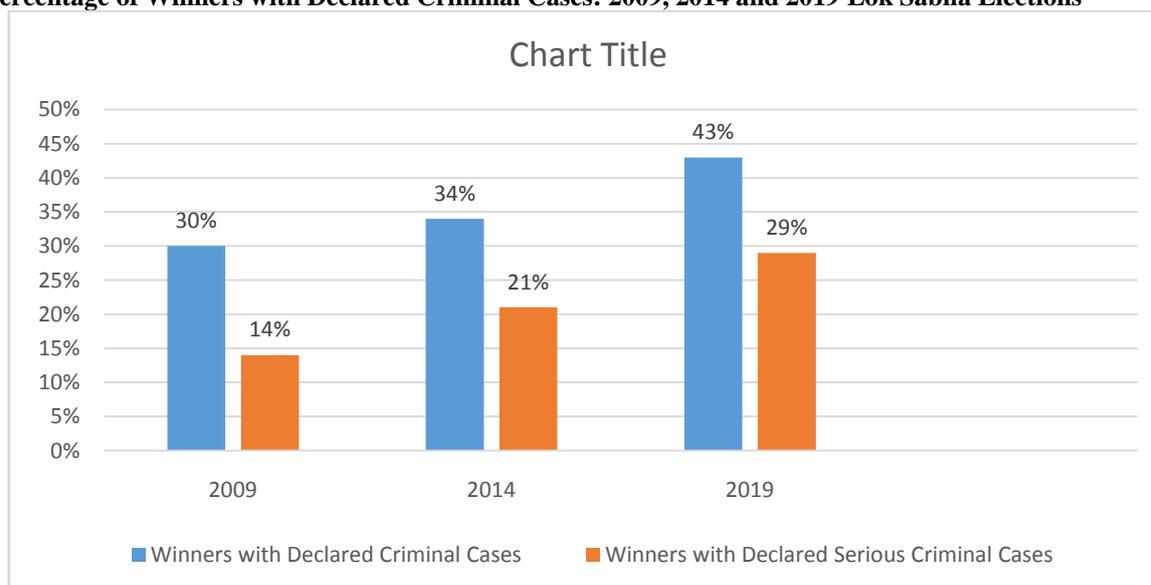| Parties	Winners %
BSP (10)	100%
Shiv Sena (18)	100%
DMK (22)	96%
JD(U) (15)	94%
TMC (20)	91%
BJP (265)	88%
YSRCP (19)	86%
INC (43)	84%

Source: The data on the newly elected MPs has been taken from candidate affidavits collected by Association of Democratic Reforms (ADR). Published on May 26, 2019.

Above table shows thatall the winner candidates of the BSP and Shiv Sena are crorepatis. Second position hold by the DMK with 96 percent winner candidates. Among 15 winning candidates, JD (U) holds 94 percent, TMC holds 91 percent (20), BJP holds 88 percent (265), YSRCP 86 percent (19), Congress 84 percent (43) are crorepatis.

According to ADR report published on May 26, 2019, the Biju Janata Dal (BJD) and CPM have the lowest percentage (67 percent) of MPs with assets valued more than Rs 1 crore. The BJD had 12 MPs in the new House; the CPM has 3. Among states the Union Territories, Orissa has the lowest percentage of crorepati winners (67 percent); as many as 15 states/UTs elected only crorepatis to Lok Sabha.

The average of assets per Winner in the Lok Sabha Elections 2019 is Rs 20.93 Crore. Among major parties, the average assets per Winner for 303 BJP Winners is Rs 14.52 Crore, 52 INC Winners have average assets of Rs 38.71 Crores, 23 DMK Winners have average assets worth Rs 24.51 Crores, 22 YSRCP Winners have average assets worth Rs 54.85 Crore, and 22 AITC Winners have average assets of Rs. 6.15 crores.

Percentage of Winners with Declared Criminal Cases: 2009, 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha Elections

Source: Data in this Kit is presented in good faith, with an intention to inform voters. Candidates' affidavits obtained from the ECI website (www.eci.nic.in) with nomination papers is the source of this analysis. Website:-www.adrindia.org, www.myneta.info.

India has elected more MPs with criminal records in the seventeenth Lok Sabha than it did in the sixteenth Lok Sabha. The Association of Democratic Reforms, a non-government organisation, studied the affidavits of 539 MPs, nearly half of the newly elected Lok Sabha members have criminal charges against them. According to the Association of Democratic Reforms (ADR), it is a 26 percent increase as compare to 2014 elections. Among newly elected Lok Sabha MPs, 43 percent have declared criminal cases against themselves. Of the 539 winners analysed, 233 (43 percent) were found to have declared criminal cases. In 2014, out of 542 newly elected MPs analysed, 185 (34 percent) had declared criminal cases against themselves. In 2009, out of all 543 winner, 162 (30 percent) had declared criminal cases. Since 2009, the increase in the number of MPs with declared criminal cases is 44 percent.

The statement said, of the 539 MPs in 2019, 159 (29 percent) have declared serious criminal cases relating to rape, murder, attempt to murder, kidnapping, crimes against women etc. this increase from 112 (21 percent) of 542 in 2014 and 76 (14 percent) of 543 in 2009. In other words, the count has more than doubled since 2009 general election. ADR report said that Among 11 winners- 5 from the BJP, 2 from the BSP, one each from the Congress, NCP and the YSR Congress Party and an independent, have murder charges against them. Dean Kuriakose (An INC Winner) from Idukki constituency has declared 204 criminal cases against himself, including cases related to committing culpable homicide, house trespass, robbery, criminal intimidation etc. The chances of winning for a candidate with declared criminal cases in the Lok Sabha 2019 is 15.5 percent whereas for a candidate with clean background, it is 4.7 percent.

Women Representation

According to an analysis by Ashoka University Trivedi Centre for Political Data, of the 8048 candidates contesting this year Lok sabha elections, among them 716 was women. The 716 women represent

only 8.8 percent of the fray, but that is still the highest in six decades and marginally better than the 7.6 percent in 2014. The highest yet women's representation among MPs reached 62 (11.6 percent) in the outgoing Lok Sabha (2014). The 17th Lok Sabha have 78 women representatives, up from 62 elected the last time in 2014. In a house of 542, that takes it closer to the half-way mark (14.1 percent) of the 33 per cent women's quota that is being sought for long. As we rejoice in having the largest number of female legislature till now, there is renewed hope that the legislation for one-third representation to women will back be on track.

Among the National Parties, the BJP and the Congress have each fielded one woman among every eight candidates (respectively 55 out of 436, and 54 out of 421). The BSP have fielded 26 among 384, SP six among 49, TDP fielded two from 25, AAP four among 35, Shiv Sena 9 among 98 and JD(U) two among 25 candidates. Among the more prominent regional parties, the TMC and the BJD have given one-third or more their tickets to women, compared to just one in 34 given by the NCP. The INLD and AGP have not fielded any women candidates.[18]

Hearteningly, the 17th Lok Sabha will have 78 women MPs, the largest number of women lawmakers the country has ever had. The increase in the number of women MPs is directly related to the 716 women candidates, the maximum number nominated by various political parties in an election. The surge in women candidates is also linked to the phenomenon of increased women voter participation.[19]This is the first time that women MPs constitute more than 14 percent of the total Lok Sabha seats.

Muslim Representation in Indian Parliament

Muslim representation in the lower house comes to less than five percent of its total composition, way below the community's 14 percent share in total population. Muslim representation in 17th Lok Sabha has increased by five taking the community's tally to 27 from 22 in the outgoing Lok Sabha. Most of the winning candidates are from opposition parties while only one candidate of the NDA could make it to the Lower House.BJP leading in 303 of 542 seats, is again the only winning party in general election to not have a single Muslim MP. The party had given tickets to six Muslim candidates but none of the six candidates have won.

Muslim representation in the 16th Lok Sabha had dipped to its lowest so far at 22. In 15th Lok Sabha, 33 members of the community were elected. The highest number of Muslim MPs in the Lok Sabha was in 1980 when 49 members of the community were elected.[20]

Most of the elected Muslim candidates belong to the Congress (5) and Trinamool Congress (5), followed by the Samajwadi Party (3), Bahujan Samaj Party (3) and the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference (3).Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, which have a considerable Muslim population, are sending six MPs each from the community.[21]

II. CONCLUSION:

Thus, the outcome of the 2019 elections has been widely interpreted as a victory of centric political forces, a vote for stability, a verdict in favour of nationalism and a mandate for good governance. Although the Indian electorate has rewarded performance in many parts of the country, the number of Members of Parliament (MPs) with criminal charges against them has gone up. Though India has one of the richest democratic traditions in the world, here a person with no assets can get elected to some of the highest offices in the country, the 17th Lok Sabha has more millionaires than the previous one. Despite these negative trends, there are positive ones as well. The number of women MPs has increased. Compared to the previous general election, Muslim representations also increased to 0.5 percent.

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