Representation of Youth in Electoral Politics: 
An Analysis of the Indian Election System

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ABSTRACT
The paper examines the role of institutions in declining participation of youth in Indian electoral politics during 16th Lok Sabha Elections held in 2014. There is an uneven proportion of young Member of Parliaments (MPs) especially belonging to dynastic succession model. Demographic indicators revealed that the median age of India as of 2018 is 27.9 years old whereas an average Indian legislature leader (Member of Parliament) is 56 years. There might be various reasons for this form of representation be it socio-economic factors combined with institutional barriers taking a path dependent trajectory, based on comparative and historical analysis. The research tries to find out leading causes to the aversion towards electoral politics by the youth which is detrimental for the vitality of democracy. It critically examines the contemporary modes of political participation spearheaded by the youth populace. The under-representation seems to emerge from decline in student led ideological movements, prevalence of political nepotism and the culture of gerontocracy in a nation of youth majority.

Keywords: Path Dependence, Youth Representation, Nepotism, Political institutions, Gerontocracy, India

INTRODUCTION
The effective functioning of democracy depends on people’s right to choose their representative, which is possible through voting by the citizens of the nation irrespective of caste, race, gender, class. Indian citizen requires Electoral Photo Identity Card (EPIC) also known as Voters ID to cast their vote during the election. They are issued by the Election Commission of India (ECI). ECI is an autonomous constitutional body overseeing proper administration during the state and central election. They have specific criteria’s for being eligible for voting based on the principle of Universal Adult Suffrage, whereby an individual must be 18 years of age (Haqqi, 1962). Additionally, a person with an unsound mind or convicted for a criminal offence is barred from voting.

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The paper concentrates towards the electoral seats bagged in by the youth Member of Parliament (MP) considered in between the age bracket of 25 to 40 years. The reason for the slab is owing to Article 84(b) of the Indian Constitution, 1949 which limits explicitly the minimum age of 25 years for contesting in the House of the People, popularly known as Lok Sabha. Majority of these youth MP contest election by receiving party ticket from any one of India’s multiple parties. Parliamentary contestation in central level attracts a diverse range of candidates in contrast to the State level and Panchayati Raj (Village level) election. At the same time, the MP is more closely allied with the party’s opinion and structure.

Besides their influence in the constituency, the subsequent status is not enhanced for an MP as much compared to Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) who is accountable for state administration. Moreover, the MP is responsible for attending meetings in Lok Sabha located in the nation’s capital, New Delhi, for almost an entire year (Forrester, 1968). Whereas, MLA travels no further than the state capital for less than a quarter season each year, making them a more active participant within the region (Forrester, 1968).

The party influence is clearly shown during the stage of candidate selection for party ticket where the procedure becomes naturally varied in Parliament and State Assembly respectively (Roy 1967). The preference can be based upon nepotism, party’s loyalty, individual’s influence, and their socio-economic assets. The senior party member has the right in vetoing the candidates. They play a crucial role in reducing the entry point for the average populace in electoral politics.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Various academic scholars have argued that lower political involvement is better off in the long run for having some democratic stability (Huntington 1968). One requires stable institutions to provide credible commitment to protect the entire ecosystem from populist pressure of elites, special interest groups and biased politics (Bardhan, 2006). It might also be owing to the understanding that individual who turn out and participate appear more informed about the current governments and their likely pick (Krishna and Morgan 2011).

Correspondingly, political institutions also need to come up with theoretical models which can point out the continuity of these declining representation under dynamic conditions (Bardhan, 2006). They must simultaneously provide a cost-benefit analysis of resisting change according to the perceptions of the elites (Bardhan, 2006). Lutz and Marsh go on to suggest that absenteeism during the voting ballot is not necessarily detrimental since non-voters and voters have similar preferences (2007). Nonetheless, under-representation leads to a loss in voicing out of the opinion of the minority group; in this case, the youth who are responsible for the nation’s future. Furthermore, in India, the outcomes in national-level elections are symptomatic to the trends of the state, which is often known as “cross effect of the ruling” (Kumar, 2013).

We do discover that a variety of subgroups have some type of guarantees, such as women, youth, individuals based on location, interests, class, race, and caste. Although the degree varies according to the party ideology (Krook et al., 2014), one can see various forms of reservation policies undertaken by the Government of India for the excluded community. These policies, when grounded with legality and coercive power of the state, then goes on to create a signal of action to be carried out in a certain way. These make most policies more durable by establishing reward and punishment for the associated activities (1990).
This policy becomes significant when the youth are becoming increasingly more disengaged, coupled with apparent apathy in politics emphasized from research (Bhavnani, 1991). Survey research done in Australia points towards young people becoming more cynical in the political process and lacking trust in politicians (Print et al. 2004). In India, specifically, the working class in the upper area remain unregistered in the voting list. The omission is mainly due to migration within the country, or without prior communication not being in their home when ECI verification is conducted (Ramanathan, 2008).

The above literature tries to identify the pattern of underrepresentation of youths in the Indian democratic system since the onset of elections. While also trying to find which institutions play a role in perpetuating this cycle. It relates directly to the status quo bias present within the political institutions creating a path-dependent institution with increasing return (Pierson 2000). The rigidities of bureaucracy make it tough to bring about revolutionary change from the path requiring critical environment for overthrowing the representation. Also, the ‘few cases, many variable’ problem given by Pierson should be kept in mind for this microcosmic study limited only for Parliamentary seats with significance given to the 16th Lok Sabha Election for examination (Pierson, 2000).

Management literature has highlighted the value of diversity in incrementing organizational development. Academicians review arguments while at the same time researching data on how managing diversity fosters competitive advantage (Cox et al. 1991). The diversity between generations in politics can create a separate cultural backdrop providing a holistic outlook during the decision-making phase in the administration, necessary for an ideal democracy.

Coupled with Rawlsian view whereby we imagine one’s self in an original position behind a veil of ignorance, not knowing anything about natural abilities or position would lead to a liberal principle of justice (Rawls 1971). Whereby, according to Rawls, there will be a rational set of representation without the presupposition of history and post dependence. Benhabib argues that this exclusion of the phenomenal realm leaves an ‘empty shell’ of self without any moral reciprocity (Benhabib, 1984). One can also question how these autonomous and subjective principles merge in contemporary society. We can take the example of the exponential rise of internet access, which has made the world enormously interconnected than ever before (Durkheim, 1984).

METHODOLOGY
Most of the data is gathered from the segregation of the list of MPs’ available from PRS Legislative Research, an Indian non-profit organization which was established with the mission to make the legislature more transparent among the general public. The datasets, through an interactive MP track for all the constituencies, are categorized according to the specifications such as gender, education qualification, election term, age, party, and states. A panel data of Young MP’s elected since the time of independence was adapted from an article by Anirban Banerjee who had sourced it from Centre for the Study of Developing (CSDS) data unit (2013).

Research Data
The results from figure 1 suggests that the youth MP elected are not gendered egalitarian in 16th Lok Sabha elections. Females account for a mere 28% among the total youth leaders for the central government. Likewise, to the case of United States, candidate system can hamper the entry for women into the public sphere, especially primary elections (Davis, 1997). This renders only, the most confident women who not surprisingly emerge to have more electoral experience and fundraising
success (Pearson and McGhee 2004). Even more so, women’s representation in the overall scenario of total 543 seats, appears bleaker with less than 12 per cent of the MP seats won by women.

Henceforth, women must perform ‘better’ than their counterparts to even fare equally in the election rally and contest (Lawless and Pearson 2008). There is pending legislation in the parliament known as Women’s Reservation Bill which proposes to amend the Constitution of India and provide 33% reservation for women in all the state assemblies and lower house of parliament. According to the amendment, there will be a rotation of the seat after each general election while having a quota-within-quota system in place for the reserved castes and Anglo-Indian (Madhavan, 2010).

The outcomes (from figure 2) advocate Meghalaya leading in state wise youth representation (excluding Lakshadweep which is a Union Territories of 1 seat), even though the state constitutes of a meagre two seats in 16th Lok Sabha’s total constituency of 543 seats. The same can be said about Himachal Pradesh and National Capital Territory of Delhi, accounting for only 4 and 7 seats correspondingly. Adjusting according to the weight of seats in the nation, even the states of Uttar Pradesh (total of 80 seats), Odisha (21) and West Bengal (42) seems to have a better youth representation compared to the national average.

The above result can give rise to separate case study analysis on its own for providing reasons for the surge of a youth leader in these state during the 2014 general election. As conversely any leader, will not want to lose their agency to the rivals, which can be these upcoming youth political leaders in their region (Moe 1990). Increasing political competitiveness will lead to a decrease in rent-seeking expenditure unless the rent is sufficiently more significant than the cost of the policymaker while the; “dissipation rate is lower than in previous research because of policymaker costs” (Godwin et al., 2006). They will, therefore, have a rent-seeking institution in the state to protect their interest and barring a new party or an individual to establish their reins.

As the problem of “political uncertainty” gives condensed attention towards long term vision, there is an attempt of political players to create barrier and arrangements that can lengthen their term (Moe 1990). The table above highlights a gradual decline in the percentage of youth MP in India since the commencement of election after independence in Lok Sabha instead of increasing the number of Youth MP since the 1952 election under PM Jawaharlal Nehru which had about 28 per cent of youth. It reveals the engagement in the political scenario after contributing to the activism movements during the independence struggle.

DECLINE IN STUDENT-LED MOVEMENT
The student movement through which various political leaders had emerged seems to have collapsed. Many organizations and interest groups which had a strong influence on the student body on the campus have faded, while the spirit of nationalism and sacrifice has deteriorated (Altbach 1966). The level of commitment and surge in protest for developments is intimately connected within the intellectual groups forming a nexus of media, academicians and student union. Political parties were influential in having a support system within these student bodies for active recruitments while also providing support to nationalist movements (Altbach, 1966).

Taking the case of Lucknow University’s student leaders for two decades after independence revealed the changing course of action for student leaders elected based on merit (Sayeed 1973). Only about 23 per cent of the student union leaders came from a politicized background in a way
contrary to their familial tradition (Sayeed 1973). After 1957, money is utilized to entertain serious professionals and lackies, leading to a leadership founded upon terror, intimidation, and violence (Sayeed, 1973).

The emphasis has also shifted from broader socio-political issues to campus-oriented or educational issues (Hazary, 1987). They are observed from the formation of the student council, which is more focused and campus-centric in their reforms and protest. A decline in ideological politics, wanting dedicated leadership and scepticism of student by the general corruption in political system and society are some of the fundamental causes of absence in student movements in education institutes around the country (Hazary, 1988).

Currently, the task of self-sufficiency towards their kin seems to be prioritized amongst the youth instead of nation-building. The centres of student unrest in India, which have received so much attention seems to be isolated demonstrations and are exceptions rather than the rule (Altbach, 1966). The student unrest in Universities in Delhi, Lucknow, Aligarh offers interesting insights but seems to be outliers when aggregated to educational institutes around the country (“Student Revolt: Inside India's Volatile JNU Campus.”). Pilcher views that people are influenced by social and historical predominated during their youth fixed in the different subjective area due to which each generation of youth has its independent historical consciousness (1994).

Besides, the presence of young leaders need not imply compliance with the government even though there are cases of dynamic youth leaders in certain zones. Ironically, a traditionally hierarchical leader will stand in the election as they are confident of their success owing to their influence, caste, network and economic potential (Singh 1960). The same can be interpreted for elections taking place on the national level, keeping in mind the need for the party ticket in contestation. According to Stinchcombe, increasing returns rest on “historical causes” where some movement triggered a path of pattern and that activity is continuously reproduced even though the first event no longer persists (1968).

**DYNASTIC SUCCESSION – A POLITICAL NEPOTISM**

The incumbency factor reveals that elected representative already has a structural advantage in Indian elections. The incumbents have unrestricted access to state machinery and resources which they can deploy to their advantage (Okoye, Egboh and Chukwuemeka, 2012) — automatically increasing the average age of the politicians who keep getting re-elected in subsequent election term.

A research paper written on incumbency within states pointed two features leading to their winning; distal and proximate (Kumar 2013). Proximate factors such as choice of candidates, pre-poll alliance and freebies which can be equalized by even the opposition (Kumar 2013). However, the former feature, i.e. distal, such as policies and programs by the current governance during their term can provide a massive boost during the next election campaign. Thereby, the general reflection from an electorate may be to give the previous government another chance in areas that were needed to improve instead of giving a chance to novel parties and young leaders.

Furthermore, out of the 71 Youth MP’s elected in 16th Lok Sabha, almost half of the candidates (see figure 4) have been elected through nepotism within the family be it husband, uncle, father, and other close family circles. The dynastic succession whereby the political authority spans for
generations within father and son persist for the youth MP’s who are the upcoming leader by taking in the reins for the constituency. Yet, scholars argue that the “institutional fabric” required for dynastic theory is amiss in India, as the norms require the candidate to obtain support from a variety of interests during the election (Mitra 1988). They made the dynastic succession model more of an exemption than an everyday occurrence from a general perspective (Mitra 1988). In the author's opinion, nepotism of family is still widespread within the entire political eco-system.

It is accepted that parties find it expensive to build organizations and contest election as they require colossal marketing and other transaction costs (“Resilience of . . . Patronage.”, 2012). The leaders, therefore, feel that since these finances are hidden from public keeping them concentrated within the family’s control seems like the best option (“Resilience of . . . Patronage.”, 2012). This is usually the situation unless the party is driven by cadre and at the same time organized around ideology or they are tied to a civil society-based association (“Resilience of . . . Patronage.”, 2012). Obviously, it constricts the scope of youth representation in the political landscape by limiting the entry to a particular family, caste, religion, and ideology.

To overcome these issue, in the 2014 National Youth Policy (NYP) by the central government through the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports has focused on three imperatives for youth participation in governance: engagement of youth outside the political system from grassroots level to national stage, government mechanism which can leverage the youth, promoting youth in urban governance. Whereas, the Ministry of Rural Development has introduced youth connections to support fund utilization and program execution in IAP (Integrated Action Plan) districts, which are individual backward tribal districts affected by left-wing extremism via the Prime Minister Rural Development Fellowship (“National Youth Policy 2014”, 2014). Ministry of Panchayati Raj runs Rajiv Gandhi Panchayat Sashaktikaran Abhiyan to build capacities of the elected representative including and not limited to youth and first-elected representatives (“NYP 2014”, 2014).

Another scheme launched in 2007, called Panchayat Mahila Evam Yuva Shakti Abhiyan (PMEYSA) for group action empowerment for the elected youth and women representatives in village-level politics which according to guidelines disclose that about 42 per cent of the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI’s) are youth leaders. They are under the umbrella of Panchayat Yuva Shakti Abhiyan and is being initiated by collaboration with the ministry of youth affairs through its youth club named Nehru Yuva Kendra Sangathan. The main objective for this program is sensitization during orientation and sharing of information between the youth club members and elected representative.

According to the Ministry of Rural Development, although the expenditure under the PMEYSA scheme is minimal, it is having some impact in raising awareness among elected representatives (“Press …Raj”, 2011). The examination of these NYP’s reveals that there is a limitation in actual engagement for youths who remain outside the political focus or are not elected. Taking on the argument forward, that if a specific segment of society has a lower political voice, the risk of policy deepening this inequality increases which can have considerable implications to the level of trust and their perceived legitimacy (Bernauer et al., 2015).

GERONTOCRACY: YOUNG POPULATION, OLD LEADERS
Contrastingly, India appears to be a gerontocracy system, i.e., rule by aged individuals in a country where the majority of the populace falls under the category of youth. There seems to be a cultural proclivity to seniority coupled with the fact that older adults being more likely to cast votes during
the election. One of the instances of informal gerontocracy can be viewed in Sidamo group from Ethiopia, organized in generational style patrilineal clan where the authority is held by the elders who are responsible for acquisition and protection of property disputes in return for the services provided by the young generation in the field (Hamer 1970). They even have the authority of allocation of marriage considered as the ultimate source of wealth and power, which shows the importance of gerontocratic structure in these pastoral nomads (Hamer 1970). There might also be examples where gerontocracy leads on to dynastic succession like in the case of retirement or death of the Japanese Diet (National legislature body) Member. Which then, based on the authority of name recognition, the “kōenkai” who is the local support group will search for a successor who is a blood relation to the member (Yasumi, 1990).

Also, the general notion that experience gained and network established by the veteran politicians is a significant factor leading to gerontocratic success in politics can be flawed. This agrees to the point by Frank Bruni, where attention to age can “degrade the virtue of oldster” while ruminating the inexperience of the youth (Bruni, 2019). Ironically in the case of the US Senate and House of Representatives between 1945-85, where the actual representation was lower in comparison to the expected representation of the older population (Uhlenberg 1988). Hence, there have been cases of retreat by the older generation from critical decision making in society, though this must not be implied as a corollary in India due to its diversion in norms from the western society.

However, empirical work has associated “inter-cohort change” to lower political and civic engagement and overall society’s withdrawal between the early 20th Century and Baby Bommer generation (Putnam, 2000). According to Putnam, it is a society that had experienced slow and subtle turnover of generation due to which, unlike the preceding generation, the new cohort was not as engaged in civic life (Putnam, 2000). The change arises as to the representation of the new cohort increases in demography bringing with them their unique values, making them less likely to participate in traditional electoral politics. It is difficult to reverse “inter-cohort change” since individuals generally do not adopt new tastes and thereby become a consequence of social growth (Putnam 2000).

Monetary enticements are another factor for the lower participation of youth in politics. The marketization of education and a more competitive “human capital” mentality has transformed students’ overall experience wanting them to make a career and sustain their lifestyle (Furlong et al., 1997). Giddens views tertiary education as a path that prepares for an economy that is highly specialized and fragmented (Giddens, 1991). There has been a distinction between “Student Youth” and “Non-Student Youth” noted by sociologist Y. B Damle. Student youth have the pressure for career and attainment of prestigious jobs, making them resistant to an ideology which requires understanding with action (Damle, 1989). While on the other hand, Non-student youth are preoccupied with making a living because of which ideology-based political action is not viable (Damle, 1989). This united with the circumstance that political entry requires huge influence or, under the table, bribery to obtain party ticket, both of which practiced among the older public who now have the time and monetary power to join electoral politics.

**CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Political mobility within the constituency can influence the participation of youth in national parties. Taking a case study of Seva Bharati Projects, which are volunteering projects by Youth RSS members
in Chennai and Bangalore, paints a different picture (Chidambaram 2012). Youth attrition in Chennai for volunteering on a long-term basis becomes curtailed as there are better opportunities for employment and mobility through linkages of regional political parties compared to Bangalore (Chidambaram 2012). There is a relation for future political participation through the involvement of groups in community service, public forums oration, and generating a communal identity than other forms of voluntary association (McFarland & Thomas, 2006).

Emerging technologies like social media connections through the internet or even wireless handheld devices are branded as “Web 2.0”, in various ways, they also induce participation in democracy (Chadwick 2009). Alternative modes of political activism leading to engagement seen in various parts of the world are challenging youth apathy notions in politics. The event of Occupy Movement had been to a nuanced combination of technology and participatory democracy by the youth during their protest (Milne 2011). Scholars note that involvement with social movements, coordinated by the overarching organization, provides exposure to the individual with a chain of activists that facilitate long term engagement and retention (Fisher, 2012).

In this digital era, youth have become more proactive in sharing their views and opinion while at the same time, political parties have started using these platforms to connect with the youth. Nathan Manning suggests that while the collectivist and organized form of traditional politics has declined, new political practices are emerging around an individual's everyday life, which exploits contemporary social conditions to bring comprehensive socio-political change (Manning 2012). We see that youth have been forth runners of democracy whenever such organized awareness and activism are carried out in the grassroots. Thus, digital rebellion due to its lower transaction cost of impending change against the policy of the government with lower repercussion can act as an informal substitute path over the cumbersome journey of joining a party they resonate with, among the youth.

Consequently, Web 2.0 is significantly used to increase one’s popularity, affiliate with admired groups, and maintain good relations, there are only small minorities who identify themselves as political activist representing a small subcategory in social media (Miller, 2016). The factory owners in China who use their indigenous social network WeChat choose not to post anything political to avoid themselves in a potentially dire stance with the local government (Miller, 2016). The Indian government is also underway on projects like NETRA tracking all the content on the web for suspicious activity (Xynou and Elonnai, 2016). The advent of big data technology with an identity-based tracking system such as Aadhar Card and other documents can provide intimate profiling of individuals without their consent.

In other electoral countries such as Chile, low turnout has become class based as the system of Voluntary registration is combined with compulsory voting (Corvalan and Cox, 2013). The aim was to restrict participation and popular will as they introduced two institutions that constrain them: registration rule and electoral system, which favored right-wing politics (Corvalan and Cox, 2013). The ratio of voting age population seems to be declining at a constant rate of 1.3 percent per year, leading to 24 percentage cumulative in the past two decades with wealthy citizens voting much higher than the deprived counterparts (Corvalan and Cox, 2013). The system was also built to favour right-wing party which condensed the outcomes and drastically changed government elections.
CROSS COUNTRY ANALYSIS

Even in India, urban residents, primarily educated middle and upper class, complained that the enrolment process is a critical barrier in participation during voting ballots as they need to demonstrate proof of residence at election centers during a set time and date (Gowda, 2010). In the case of Chile, there is an institutional barrier likewise to India for the upper class and youth who may regularly migrate for work or study purposes domestically. Indian data reveals that active participation is more among the poor, thereby highlighting the weak social bias in favor of the privileged class (Kumar, 2009).

In a cross-country report of four Anglo-Saxon nations of the USA, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, there seems to be a proliferation of “Progressive Individualist” values among the youth. As they experience their lifestyle in an individualistic and disjointed structure, it compromises their collective action in social and political issues, making them less probable to engage in electoral politics. Adding on to the setting is dynastic succession based on analysis from different Asian countries, which cements non-democratic rule in North Korea and Singapore, sustain political domination in electoral democracies i.e., Japan and India or built-up mass opposition and revolt in Burma and Bangladesh (Mark, 2012).

One of the major reasons for the pertinence of low youth representation is the profitability for the elites to implement these steps, as they find the original stance in politics to further their economic for domination and rent-seeking (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2008). Paradoxically, a more significant democratic advantage, consecutively leads to greater domination in politics by the elites as they invest more in their de facto power to avoid costs in the future (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2008). The Polya urn process, where the element of chance combined with a decision rule that links outcomes of preceding events by Mathematician Arthur can also be demonstrated in politics (Arthur, 1994).

The four features accompanying path dependence or increasing return process, given by Pierson are:

- **Multiple Equilibria** – Several outcomes are possible based on conditions being conducive to growing returns, such as dynastic models and other socio-economic factors leading to underrepresentation of youth.
- **Contingency** – Relatively small events such as the decline in merit-based student union leaders occurring in right-wing movement, leading to enduring and wide consequences.
- **A critical role of timing and sequencing** – Earlier events of continued dynastic models and low youth engagement post-independence making it more important than the latter circumstance. Therefore, later events might not matter due to institutional barriers put in place.
- **Inertia** – Once the path has established, positive feedback may lead to a single equilibrium. This makes the institution change resistant.

These paths of development are “interdependent web of an institutional matrix,” which produces an increasing return in the future (North 1990). All these above features are espoused in the institution of youth representation in electoral politics, making the entire model in a political path dependence unless significant juncture, which might act as “exogenous shock,” puts an overall pressure on the existing path (Mahoney, 2000).
CONCLUSION
As argued by Mahoney and Thelen, when institutions lack the power to change the rules, the player in this case the youth should deploy layering strategies to attach new regulations to the existing one which can bring in a substantial change in the logic and reproduction of the core institution (Mahoney and Thelen, 2012). There was a shift in the political science community during the 1990s towards institutional and ideational analysis (Zhang, 2011). Intuional approach aids in understanding how institutions construct the politics and how it evolves over a period while the ideational approach reconnoitres the significance of ideas, which can be a casual belief in the framework of policymaking and the political result (Zhang, 2011).

The idea of seniority as merit altogether in Indian societal norms can be one of the reasons for outcomes towards older representatives and might require separate research entirely. Combining the idea, with the logic of “collective action,” where individuals tend to free ride contributed to the under-representation of youth as a path-dependent institution (Oslon, 1965).

Therefore, charting a sustainable condition for collective action and a broad change in the democratic discourse and practice is required to change the path of youth under-representation in India. We are not living in an age-irrelevant society, yet as more demographical conditions lead the working class in the economy, we need to critically examine the needs of the youth, by the youth, for the youth – by growing their inputs in decision making bodies especially in electoral politics.

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**Figure 1: Author’s Calculation, PRS MP Track**

![No. of MP's below 40 (16th Lok Sabha Elections)](image-url)

- Female
- Male
Figure 2: Author’s calculation, PRS MP Track

Statewise Percentage (%) Representation of MP's below 40 (16th Lok Sabha Election)

- Karnataka: 3.6%
- Kerala: 5.0%
- Punjab: 7.7%
- NCT Delhi: 28.6%
- Lakshwadeep: 100.0%
- Rajasthan: 12.0%
- Meghalaya: 50.0%
- Himachal Pradesh: 25.0%
- Haryana: 10.0%
- Bihar: 12.5%
- Telangana: 11.8%
- Andhra Pradesh: 12.0%
- Jharkhand: 7.1%
- Assam: 14.3%
- Chhattisgarh: 9.1%
- Gujarat: 11.5%
- Tamil Nadu: 7.7%
- Odisha: 23.8%
- Madhya Pradesh: 10.3%
- Maharashtra: 14.6%
- West Bengal: 21.4%
- Uttar Pradesh: 18.8%
Figure 3: Author’s Calculation, Adapted from Banerjee - CSDS Data

Figure 4: Author’s Calculation, PRS MP Track

Percentage % of Total Seats of Youth MP's for the election term

Number of MP's below 40 (16th Lok Sabha)

36 35

Family Nepotism  No family influence
Table 1: No. of MP's below 40 based on Gender (16th Lok Sabha Elections) (Author’s Calculation, PRS MP Track)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>No.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>20</td>
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Table 2 State wise no. of MP's below 40 (16th Lok Sabha Elections) (Author’s calculation, PRS MP Track)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total Number of Seats</th>
<th>Percentage of Young MP’s (Below 40 years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>18.8</td>
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<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Time series data of Young MP's in Indian Lok Sabha Elections (Author’s Calculation, Adapted from Banerjee 2013 - CSDS Data)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of MP's below 40</th>
<th>Total Seats</th>
<th>% of Total Seats for the election term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>11.9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Number of MP’s below 40 based on dynastic succession (16th Lok Sabha) (Author’s Calculation, PRS MP Track)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family connection in politics</th>
<th>36</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No family influence</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>