CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION
During the last two or three decades, the study of elections and electoral behaviour has attracted a good deal of scholarly interest and the field has gradually acquired a special importance within the discipline of Political Science. The following explanations could be offered for such widespread interest in electoral research. The primary factor, of course, is the central place of popular election in the democratic process. Most of the countries in the contemporary world are committed to some form of democracy or the other or at least profess to be so committed. Elections being the chief institutional mechanism of political recruitment, consciousness, legitimation, participation, mobilisation and communication are integral part of democratic politics. It is, therefore, crucial for the political scientists to study the electoral process and the behaviour of the voters. In every democratic society election is a major and much publicised event. It tends to highlight and dramatise the entire political process and considerable extent the underlying cultural and milieu. It involves larger number of people in political activity for the time being and brings political leaders—and aspirants for political leadership in to more direct contract with the masses or the citizens than in any other way. It, at the same time, gives the average citizens at least a temporary sense of having a real say in the choice of his political
leaders, and of genuine participation in the political process. As Iqbal Narain et al have observed, "elections constitute the most exciting of all political events bringing political reality and even its subdued contours in to sharp focus." But an equally significant explanation for the proliferation of electoral research is the advent of the behavioural movement in political studies with its emphasis on empirical and quantitative methods.

The application of these methods in the study of elections have been very useful and have opened new possibilities for understanding electoral behaviour and elections, today and have arouse considerable scholarly interest in almost all democratic countries.

The study of voting behaviour is of profound significance in democratic Countries. It provide insight into the political process, political culture and political behaviour. Moreover, it is useful for finding the nature and extent of political participation. Further, it helps in analysing the pattern of political recruitment and measuring the levels of political awareness and political efficacy. Further more, the study of voting behaviour is the key to knowing the psychology of voters, their attitudes, perceptions, motives, values and preference. Additionally, it is also helpful in revealing the extent of support, opposition, apathy and alienation in a political system.
Lastly, it provides a valuable device for enquiry into the processes of political mobilisation, interest, articulations, interest aggression, political socialisation and political communications.

The study of elections by political scientists and political sociologists came into vogue in the post-world war II period. It was a new attempt to understand and explain the social reality. It was for the first time that in such studies latest scientific technique were applied to political problems. The behavioural approach opened up vast areas to fruitful empirical research. Garceave and Eldersveld made two good review studies of voting behaviour till 1951. Eldersveld pointed out certain limitations of these studies. The studies did not throw any light on the nature of electoral basis for the acquisition and exercises of power. It is also not clear as to under what conditions and through what motivations power changes hands. Nor do we get an idea of how effective are elections, parties, groups and media of communication as instruments for democratic action and discussions.

The study of elections and electoral behaviour can moreover, be made from historical angle. One can study trends in voting from election to election going as far back as available date make possible, analyse shifts in vote from one party to another over the years, record the rise of new
parties and disappearance of others and assess reasons or undertake other historical analysis of the elections. Such a historical approach is different in the case of voting behaviour and has not been attempted. For to study voting behaviour historically is to use the case history method which requires special training and background, and is the pressure of clinical psychologists and psychiatrists.

The first work focusing on the psychological aspect of political activity was published by Graham Wallas as in 1908\(^3\) when he attributed the "curiously unsatisfactory" condition of political science in his time to the persistence of an outdated, mistaken psychology and commented that "nearly all students of politics analyse institutions and avoid the analysis of men". Twelve years after Graham Charles E. Merriam,\(^4\) father of influential "Chicago School of Political Science thought", advocated and predicted greater attention to the psychological dimension of the political process, he served as reporter of the other main tenants of the behavioural approach to politics.\(^5\) "In 1921, in an article, "The present state of the study of politics" he argued that more attention be given to the methods and findings of sociology, social psychology, geography, ethnology, biology and statistics. Through his important book "New aspect of politics (1925),\(^6\) he becomes the intellectual godfather of behavioural approach by expliciting and advocating most of the characteristics of
the goals, methods, procedures and emphasis of political
behaviour. After them, his brilliant and precious student
Harold Laswell\(^7\) emphasised and illustrated the use of
psychological categories in the study of politics. Now the
behavioural approaches have been incorporated in the
mainstream of political science in western countries like
America and England.

For obvious reasons electoral research has
remained a special field of interest for many proponents of
the behavioural approaches, and since 1955 studies of the
social, psychological and institutional determinants and
consequences of voting behaviour have appeared at a rapidly
accelerating rate. There have been studies concerned with
assessing the influence of social factors as religion, age,
economic class, family, race, ethnic background and
occupation on voting behaviour. There have been
motivational studies which attempted, with varying success,
to analyse the psychological determinate of the influence of
social factors on voting behaviour by focussing attention on
voter's perceptions rather than on objective social
influence. Later on a few studies have also tried to relate
voting behaviour to some personal characteristics of the
voter like authoranism, dognatism, political effectiveness
and so on.
The study of voting behaviour is a very important aspect of the electoral universe. The term "voting behaviour" is used to describe certain areas of study and types of political phenomena which previously either had not been conceived of or had been considered irrelevant. Voting behaviour connotes today more than examination of voting records, compilation of voting statistics, and computation of electoral shifts. The term has vast coverage and entails an analysis of individual or group psychological processes, their perception, emotion, motivation, and their relationship with political action. It also enters into the institutional patterns, such as the communication process and their impact on election. Today host of variable are taken to constitute the focus of enquiry into voting behaviour. The term voting behaviour has expanded in meaning and is construed as one area of study within the broader field of political behaviour.

The voting performance and behaviour provide an insight to the value and significance of the elections. Considerable volumes of quantitative research have been undertaken by scores of scholars throughout the world to throw light on the ever-changing behaviour of the sovereigns at the ballot boxes, yet our knowledge of the voting behaviour still remains limited and speculative.
In studying political behaviour or voting behaviour, scholars do not deal with the principle of behaviour or the content of behaviour, but rather the context in which the individual's behaviour is related to the state institutions. Since its context in relationships are more relevant to the social scientists, the field of voting behaviour has expanded and its phasing and method of exploration carry the imprint of the sociologist, social anthropologist, social psychologist, economist and the political scientists.

To political scientists, voting behaviour is an area of political science where theory can be systematically and quantitatively measured and tested. Titus claims that voting records are quantitative documents and in voting one has the pragmatic recurrence of a situation with a large number of votes permitting numerical summarisation which can be used for scientific studies. No other phenomenon seems to possess so many advantages for scientific analysis as the process of voting. In the post war period, through the modern methods of survey and polling technique, it is found that political relationships and variables can be explored more fruitfully in connection with an election situation.

It is also the experience that voting behaviour research produces more definite conclusions than in any other type of political science research. Of course, though
quantitative research has made headway in the fields of administration, fiscal problems, legislative leadership, and even judicial decisions, yet the quantity of research in these fields does not yet prove adequate for building theories and models. But because many more studies have been undertaken on voting behaviour, more valid and reliable statements can be possible to build theories of voting behaviour. Thus, theory construction has reached a higher peak of sophistication, in the field of voting-behaviour research than elsewhere in political science. This is mostly possible due to the wealth of hypothesis tested and stored by the sister disciplines in the social sciences.

The possible determinants of voting behaviour have been identified by the researchers of different disciplines and significance is attached to the variables like family, the group, the social and economic class of the voter; as also as the individual's perceptions or motivations, or his value system or his integration into the community. Yet there is one controversial assumption underlying all election studies. That, among the correlates of the voting act near complete emphasis is laid on socio-psychological variables as if some irrational, impulsive, and innate urges lay at the root of voting choices. The implication of this assumption is that, while the political, including party, elites of the country are genuinely concerned about the proper functioning of democratic processes, the real blame
lies at the door of the "irresponsible and irrational" voters. Scholars, like Meclosky and others who have planned their studies with this assumption compared the attitudes of the leaders and the voters and found the latter to be more parochial, more irrational, and more undemocratic than the former. The damage to the forward thrust of the democratic movement in the wake of these findings with the apparent danger of a case being built to put the democratic movement itself into reverse gear, has led some political scientists, such as Theodor Lowi and V. O. Key (Jr.), to undo the damage in some way, but these isolated efforts do not seem to have made much of a dent. The kit of the conceptual tools used in the voting behaviour research have been varied and useful to the avid researchers. Such tools are hardly used for the analysis of state power, state organisation, state leadership or the state policy. Of course such presumptions of sophistication in theory-construction are often questioned by the fellow researchers. They point their fingers at the content of theories and the interrelationship of the conflicting hypotheses which sometimes emerge out of such studies. Yet the results of the voting behaviour researches have fascinated the theories and the statesmen alike.

Since 1900 voting behaviour studies have assumed an elite status in the scientific fields of knowledge. The ultimate goal of the students of voting behaviour is the
development of the science of the electoral process. A major reason for the inquiry into voting behaviour is to discover uniformities and through such discovery to be able to indicate the consequences of such patterns and values of the observed behaviour to the political system as a whole. Here the term voting behaviour comprehends those actions and interactions of political participants which are involved in the electoral process.

The basic requirements of voting behaviour research are two. In the first place, research must be systematic. This means that research must grow out of a precise statement of hypothesis and a rigorous ordering or evidence. In the second place, research in voting behaviour must place primary emphasis upon empirical methods. Thus, focussed on the behaviour of the individuals in the given political situations during the pre and post election periods, voting behaviour studies call for examination of the actors and the different variables of the electoral behaviour with the object of formulating and testing hypothesis concerning uniformities of behaviour in different socio-economic settings.

Question arises as to why voting behaviour of the same individual is different in different situations and settings. The answer lies in the analysis of the factors effecting voting behaviour. Lipset gives four factors :-
(1) The significance of government policies to the individual, (2) Access to information about the importance of political decisions to one's interests, (3) Group pressure to vote, and (4) Conflicting pressures. It is true that everyone is affected by government policies, but some group are more affected than others, and these groups organise more voters to their fold than the other groups. Sometimes people subject to the most severe economic distress poor workers, the unemployed peasants etc. have the lowest rate of votings. Even though political parties offer to advance their cause, yet such parties do not get the support of such group of voters. Perception regarding complex social problems can result from education. Therefore, higher voting among the more educated groups is noticeable because of access to information political awareness arise from social position and contacts with others with similar problems. Again, even if people are not aware of a personal involvement in the electoral decision, they may still be induced to vote by social pressure and feeling of social obligation. The variations in voting behaviour which relate to socio-economic class may also be related to different degrees of conformity with the dominant standards in various societies.
MEANING OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR

The study of political behaviour is concerned with the acts, attitudes, preferences and expectations of men in a political context. But there is little reason to assume that his behaviour in politics is basically different from his behaviour in other contexts. The people who do not like to participate in the social life of their community or in voluntary associations, are also likely to be politically apathetic. The problem of union leaders seeking maximum concessions at the bargaining table does not seem to differ significantly from the problems of the legislators seeking a maximum of advantages for their district. Both must satisfy their respective voters. To keep their jobs, as a matter of fact, voting behaviour is an important part of the political behaviour. In this way, it involves the Individual as well as the group society. It can be illustrated in the following works:

"Voting choice is", in one way or the other, the function of a process of political decision making by each individual voter but that does not mean that the individual voter, makes his decision in abstract manner. Further, it may be stated that voting behaviour of an Individual or of a particular group depends upon various political, social, economic, financial and other conditions. All the above forces try to influence a man and some of them are specially
whipped upon the election eve, to exert greater influence on him. As a citizen, a voter has his own political and social preferences and prejudices which he must take into account while making his voting choice. Sometimes, his choice is made for him by others like respected persons or influential leaders, without any special reference to elections, and he commits himself politically to certain policies and parties under the influence of these "opinion leaders". In all these cases, he does not start with a clean state of mind. He has already formed his political preferences and he proceeds to translate them into action. In other cases, however, the choices are not ready-made and are arrived at the election time under the influence of party campaigns and propaganda. Some of these election-eve, choices are based either on deliberate choice or on the prevailing trend to help the winning side. These voting choices and decisions are not made strictly on an analysis of the party programme. The personality of the candidate also is a crucial factor which the voter usually keeps in the mind while making his voting choice. The voting choice is made in a concrete situation and the voter's ideas about that situation normally affect the choice and thus the image of general public opinion has an important bearing on the peoples' voting choices.

In a developed country like the U.K., Social class is the most important determinant of voting behaviour. The study of voting behaviour of Britain shows that in the U.K.,
the voting behaviour of the solid middle class and manual workers has a considerable degree of cohesion. The former vote for the conservative party predominantly and the latter for the labour party. But there is much similarity between India and France as both have a multi-party system. Only in the year 1977, the Indian opposition parties got united and won the elections by overwhelming majority. In the real sense, they do not follow the one party opposition system in India, and France. Hence the voter is not able to choose a viable alternative to the Congress Party in India.

Although there are different variables of the election, the following are more significant.

Firstly, the sagacity and the interest of the voter on the election and his interest on the election rectified the degree of Politico-electoral consciousness. The voter who does not have political vigilence cannot give any importance to the voting. Of course, that degree of interest should be measured by some principled questions.

Secondly, the variable of politico-electoral informations sources determine the voting behaviour. A voter can be influenced by his family members' discussion; the normal channels such as Radio and News papers and caste and religious meetings. In this regard, the behaviour will depend upon the most influential factors.
Thirdly, the party affiliation helps to determine the behaviour of voting. If a voter belongs to a particular party he gives no heed to other parties but blindly follows his party.

Fourthly, the voting preferences of a voter resolve the voting behaviour. In other words, it may be expressed as the ideal estimate by the people about the parties and especially candidates for whom they would like to vote. Findings about voting behaviour have, by and large, remained unchallenged. The way in which the behavioural theories have developed their logical premises, has left ample room for questioning the findings, that voting preferences do not symbolize independent and rational choice of voters; and that they are closely related to socio-psychological experiences of individuals as articulated by interested parties; and that they do not bear their ultimate expectations from the democratic creed and yet they would continue to swear by it. Thus F.J.S. Ross has been led to comment.

"... . . . . It has been tactily assumed atleast by those who have pressed for the widening of the franchise, that once the man or woman had received the vote all would be well. He or she would know by instinct how to use it. These are lamentably inadequate views and there is much need for their reconsideration and revision."
Since voting behaviour occurs in the political system called "election", it may appear that the study of voting behaviour is with the study of election. But (it can be shown that) there is a difference between the two in respect of focus and extent. An election situation in the democracies as found in India, usually contains the following elements: (a) Voters (b) Candidates (c) Parties (d) Party Workers or workers of independent candidates (e) Issues (f) Campaign. A full case study of an election should pay attention to all its elements. It should not only depend on the behaviour of the voters but also of the candidates and party workers and analyse the issue before the voters and the campaign to which they were exposed. This is a tremendous task, wide in its extent and coverage. One can, on the other hand, concentrate merely on voting behaviour studying the other election elements in so far as they effect it (which in deed they do). That is to say, one may focus on voting behaviour and the other elements of election as the background of the study (The other elements can not be neglected but can be viewed in prospective).

It is supposed to examine the voting behaviour of the people in the rural areas with reference to Panchayatiraj Institution.
Rural India, contrary to the general belief, is not inert. It is seething with different conflicts. "The constitution of Independent India has provided universal adult suffrage to the Indian people. Tens of millions of peasants who constitute the majority of the population acquire a political status. Their will expressed though the ballot box would now considerably influence the political life of the nation. This is a unique event in the long history of Indian humanity, for it is for the first time that the people including the rural masses have secured the democratic right to determine who will rule them. Universal Adult suffrage serves as a powerful format in the life of the rural people making them politically conscious to a phenomenal degree. It is momentous event in the history of the rural Indian society.

As the will of the rural people expressed through the ballot box considerably influences the political life of the nation, it is necessary to study the political behaviour of the rural people and its various sections.

Mackenzie observes, "Free elections though not a supreme and are yet a device of the highest value, because no one has invented a better political contrivance for securing in large societies to conditioning necessary for the maintenance of the Government in any society. First election can create sentiment of popular consent and
participation in public affairs even when Government is complex as to be beyond the direct understanding of the ordinary citizen. Secondly, succession of Government by the peaceful transfer of authority to new rulers when the time comes for the old ruler to go because of morality and failure. "Election have been one of the most important instrument of political change in India and has made an impact upon the level of unconsciousness of the masses, the function of the Government and the relationship between the ruler and the ruled. Election have been treated as the area for competition among political groups and an agency through which political elites are recruited. Election is an agency through which the political elites legitimize their dominance.

The most distinctive action for a citizen of a democracy is deciding how to vote or indeed whether to vote in a competitive election. Why, how and whom a voter votes is serious questions for the investigation of an empirical thing of participating democracy. The data of voting behaviour helps in understanding actual operation of democratic institution of a developing society. In a democratic political system the electors and the elected are involved in a mutual interaction of each other's thinking, rule, activities and behaviour. The voters think as to who will deliver them the goods while the contestants think as
to whom the voters would elect what consideration shall weigh in the voters mind in the exercise of their votes in the election.

The study of voting behaviour is an important aspect of the electoral universe. The term "voting behaviour" is used to describe certain areas of study and types of political phenomena which previously either had not been conceived of or considered irrelevant. Voting behaviour cannotes today more than examination of voting records, compilation of voting statistics and computation of statistical data.

The term has vast coverage and entails an analysis of individual or group psychological processes, perception, emotion, motivation and their relationship with political action. It also entails into institutional patterns such as the communication process and their impact or election. Today host of variables are taken to constitute the focus of enquiry into voting behaviour. The term voting behaviour has expanded in meaning and is construed as one of the studies within the broader study of political behaviour.

The voting performance and behaviour provide insight into the value and significance of the election. Considerable volume of qualitative researches have been undertaken by the scores of Scholars through out the world
to throw light on the ever changing behaviour of the sovereign at the ballot. Yet our knowledge on the voting behaviour still remains limited and speculative.

In studying political behaviour or voting behaviour, scholars do not deal with the principle of behaviour or the content of behaviour but rather the context in which the individual behaviour is related to the state institutions. Since its contextual relationships are more relevant to the social scientists, the field of voting behaviours has expanded and its phasing and the method of exploration carrying the imprint of the Sociologist, social anthropologists, social psychologist, economists, and the political scientists.

VOTING DETERMINANTS

The factors that influence eligible voters in making the decisions that are involved in the electoral process are many and complex and vary greatly in different political systems. Even within the same political system they may also vary. In particular constituencies or regions these may vary over time, and may be influenced by the circumstances under which the elections are held.

Almost all meaningful studies by voting behaviour have dealt with political and socio-economic factors as voting determinants. In general, such studies in the more
developed countries, where more electoral research has been carried on, give special attention to political factors, where as electoral studies in developing societies tend to stress the socio-economic factors. Now the tendency of modern electoral research, where ever it is conducted, is to give considerable attention to the different types of factors.

ECOLOGICAL DETERMINANT

As regards study of voting behaviour there are some ecological determinants concerned with environmental factors. These play a vital role and are of decisive importance, as these are concerned with broad cultural, social, political and economic setting of the total system in which the act of voting takes place. The ecological approach lends itself to both macro and micro analysis but here, while undertaking a study of two Lok Sabha Elections together only the macro level analysis will be possible.  

While examining the Socio-economic factors Dr.Imtiaz Ahmad has shown by empirical research as well as participant observation and experience how the local context and situation in a particular constituency influence electoral behaviour; and he has stressed the significance of local, social and economic cleavages in determining voting pattern and political alignment at the time of elections.
In India there are three main political factors which generally influence the voting behaviour conventionally. They are as follows:

1. Candidate Orientation
2. Issue Orientation
3. Party Identification

In the developed countries like U.S.A. and the U.K. it has been observed that persons having affiliation with a particular party give particular importance to the party which is significant in determining the voting behaviour. As regards the system of candidate orientation, that includes the elements of personal preference and the personality of a candidate and the voters' reaction to him is usually an even more important determinant. Issue Orientation is distinctly has least important of the three categories.

CANDIDATE ORIENTATION

As regards candidate orientation in the states where party is given importance there is no significance of a candidate, while in one-party states, obviously the party and not the candidate is the determining factor. Further,
it may be stated that in two or in multi-party system like India, especially in constituencies where one party has predominant strength, the same situation may prevail. Besides having a multi-party system in India has particularly one party dominance. This system of parliamentary democracy has prevailed on the national level for most of the time since independence, with the possible exception of the period between 1967-1971. The party rather than the candidate has been the major determinant in most constituencies in most elections. This was especially true in the fifth General Elections of the Lok Sabha in 1971 and also in the State Assembly elections of 1972. It was a favourable time for Congress(R) when 'Indira Wave' had been most effective in almost all States as well as in constituencies of India.

The study of elections in India shows that candidate Orientation is the second most important determinant of voting behaviour, next to party identification in the national elections, yet it is often the most important determinant, some times overwhelming, in local elections and to lesser degree in state elections.

In Indian elections, some times, social factors have great significance on all aspects of social and political life.
There have been many caste-studies on the basis of which research scholars predict that even in the rural areas people cast their votes on the ground of welfare of the people.\textsuperscript{15} It matters little whether they are educated or un-educated. Such considerations as caste, party affiliation, education, residence, experience, or ability of candidates are all of relatively minor importance. In this way it can be concluded that there is discrepancy between the findings and the actual voting behaviour in India. N.D. Palmer has noted that the voter, often votes for candidates who are not distinguished for either of the two attributes which are professedly uppermost in his hand, and he clearly is more influenced by other attributes than he cares to admit.\textsuperscript{16}

**ISSUE ORIENTATION**

The different case studies have proved that issue orientation has lesser significance than the candidate orientation as regards voting behaviour. It has rarely been observed that a voter considers specific issues while he caste his vote. The Indian illiterate voter remains ignorant about the specific issues. He may not be in a position to identify the stands of the different political parties and the candidates. In the General Elections of the Lok Sabha 1967 and 1971 people did not vote for Congress party as such but for the surname of Gandhi that alluded to
the name of Mahatma Gandhi, and, for the daughter of Pt. Nehru who were well known to them. This practice is found not only in India but also in developed countries like the U.S.A. In the years 1960 and 1964 when the U.S. Presidential Elections were held, the case studies prove that the common voter was keeping lesser familiarity with the party issues. In the same way an Indian voter has less interest in specific issues.

In the General Elections of Lok Sabha 1971 the Congress (R) included in the election campaign 'Garibi Hatao' slogan. It was concerned with the general welfare of the very ordinary people and often there were reference to the socialist pattern of society. The different perception of popular public issues by vote placed in different life situations assumes quite an importance in determining voter's political preferences. It helps us to ascertain the prevailing estimate of public opinion in a state and the relationship between this climate and expressed political preferences of the voters.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Party identification can not be ignored while we are studying voting behaviour. It has its significant role in most of the democratic countries. In the countries where party system is strong, people vote according to the
suggestion of the party leader. In other words, it may be pointed out, that in such a political system the voter's mind is predetermined. During the period of the election campaigning when new issues are brought to the notice of voters, they do not effect the mind of the voters. Under such circumstances, party identification tends to override other considerations, including conflicting interest's and affiliations.

In the context of India it may be said that from 1952-62 loyalties of the Indian voters remained with the congress party. But later on at the time of Lok Sabha Elections of 1967 formal affiliation with political party was very low, and individual voters and groups of voters transferred support from one party to another or to independent candidates. The 1967 Lok Sabha Elections, for example, seemed to show that large majority groups, such as Muslims, lower caste groups, and the young voters,were to use the words of Eric-da-costa, rewriting their basic loyalties. In the said elections it was observed that a large number of voters transferred their loyalties and this was the reason that the Congress could not manage a solid majority. Since the voting behaviour was much effected, Smt. Indira Gandhi was not in a better position in the Lok Sabha and therefore, it was difficult for her to pull on with the Government work. However, in most cases the shifting loyalties of the voters proved to be transitory. Again,
there were some groups which came back to the Congress fold, or more specially supported the new Congress headed by Smt. Indira Gandhi, in the next General Elections of the Lok Sabha, in 1971.

With the above in mind, one may conclude that the Indian voter does not take much time in changing his traditional loyalties. Therefore, his voting behaviour is unpredictable. For extensively, he shifts his party support also in the various states in India. In brief it may be concluded that the results of various elections have demonstrated that the voter is becoming increasingly independent in his electoral choice.

As a matter of fact in India party identification does not carry important meaning at the national level but it is significant at the state level elections. In West Bengal State Assembly Elections, 1969, party identification, was slightly more important than candidate orientation, while in Utter Pradesh it was more than four percent higher.

There is a case study of Adivasi and Harijan castes of Gujarat state by Ghanashyam Shah observing that though the loyalties of the said castes remained with the Congress there were voices of discontent during the fifth Lok Sabha Elections, in 1971. Harijans and Adivasis were united and they decided together at Ahmedabad that there was no use
of voting since no party was interested in solving their problems. In the same way at Ahmedabad an Adivasi factory worker declared that he and his community world would boycott the election because no political party was interested in improving their condition. They declared in public that vote is their sacred power and they do not wish to give it to any debauched. A labour leader said that Satpathi Panth was with him. This shows that the party Orientation was not considered a main factor during the fifth Lok Sabha Elections.

The regional issues could not shoot, much less eclipse the issues of national dimensions such as Garibi Hatao, Socio-economic change and political stability. Rather the national politics spread over the regional politics, Except in the Telengana Praja Samiti, no other regional party (like Bharatiya Kranti Dal, Akali Dal, Bengal Congress, Siva Sena etc.) could successfully raise local or regional problems. Utkal Congress which performed fairly well in Assembly Elections could not get a single seat in the Lok Sabha. The state politics which had increased its influence at the centre after Nehru was again brought down to its level, accompanied with central penetration into the various levels of state.

In short it may be concluded that the voter showed his Orientation to national issues, national leadership, and the national party only at the time of Lok Sabha Election,
1972. Besides this, the Political conditions were different during the Lok asbha Elections of 1967. It can be added further that for the first time (perhaps) Indians voted as a nation on national themes. There was a certain breakdown of traditional loyalties along economic lines and this might give Indian Politics a completely new tone. 21

SOCIAL DETERMINANTS

In the various case studies of elections it is acknowledged that S.E.S. factors play their own role. Many analysis should agree with the Swedish Sociologist, Gunhar Sjoblm, that the socio-economic factors are in most instances dominant for voting behaviour. 22 Some students in discussing the sociological setting of Political behaviour, go for the direction of what might be described as social determinism. As regards, election studies empirically, it may be noted that from the very beginning social determinants have been taken into account in U.S.A.. As a matter of fact social characteristics determine political preferences. 23

The significance of the S.E.S. factors have been accepted but different scholars have acknowledged them in different ways. Some authors and researchers believe that in more developed political system where voters are largely educated and are accustomed to exercising the franchise as a
normal part of their political life, voting is as much an individual as a collective act. There are some persons who express their views that this may be increasingly the case even in less developed politics, which have essentially literate voters, that, in short, this is an expected consequence of political development.

RESPONSE OF THE POLITICAL SCIENTISTS IN INDIA

Political science research in India still follows the nineteenth century legalistic, institutional and formal approach. The domination of political science field by history, jurisprudence and philosophy has continued. The emphasis on abstract theory and institutions has contributed to the general neglect of the human and socio-psychological aspect of politics. There have been very few studies in India which can be said to use a behavioural approach. The authors of voting behaviour have concluded their chapter on 'Democratic Practice and Democratic Theory' by saying that the political theory has declined: for a century and half the western democracies have been leaving in the stock of basic political ideas that lastly we are restated towards the end of 18th century. That is a long time . . . The gap thus formed between political thoughts and political ideas has steadily widened. It has taken a long time for the results to become evident: but now that it has seen hot politics devoid of a contemporary moral and political
theory, means, it is possible that something may be done about this. In India we are living on the borrowing of the political theories developed in the western countries. Thus it is only more necessary to undertake behavioural studies as one basis for building of a contemporary, social and political theory for Indian democracy. It is needless to say that theoretical superstructure needs a sound base of empirical researches on a large scale. It is a little disappointing to find that not very many efforts are being made in these directions.

The attempt whatever little, to study election by the Indian scholars, infact, began in 1952 after the first election in independent India. If we look into these studies, we find that such works are "simplistic, descriptive, and of generic type" as Iqbal Narain remarks .... these were, after all, pioneering efforts in the field quite a few of these studies are journalistic in character, offering hindsight in to the electoral process, but usually having no relevant data to draw upon and buttress their conclusions.24

"The reports" on the Indian general elections 1951-52, the first pioneering work in this election offers only state wise account of electoral process presented in descriptive style and covers such aspects as pattern of party alliences, selection of candidates, the campaign
process and the roll of press. Although some more studies
have been conducted, they also do not go beyond. Providing
general informations about elections and descriptions of
obvious and broad trends. Although efforts were made in the
fifties to emulate the American model of voting behaviour
studies, in a sense, these studies came out to be generic in
character covering various aspects from nominations to poll
verdict. The unit of analysis have been the state or
nation as a whole, the generalisations are too sweeping to
bring out the intricacies of election politics.

Coming to the studies conducted after the 57
election, though very rare, are no way better. They are
sketchy and journalistic in character and fall for short of
even the level of academic excellence that was achieved with
the study of 1952 election. Some of these research works
gathered their data by analysing election manifestoes to
identify party politics, campaign issues, electoral alliances
nomination strategies and poll-verdict. There are some
attempts by some anthropologists to study elections but
their focus was primarily to find out how the new political
institutions were coming closer to the isolated small
communities and their socio-political organisations.

Reviewing the election studies of 57, Iqbal Narain
et. al observes that "the psychological studies in India
with regards to 1957 and 1959 election are inferior both in
substantive and methodological terms to the studies of 1952 elections. . . . "The few scholars interested in empirical studies were also held handicapped on account of lack of institutional financial support to their academical ventures. Thus the election studies were nowhere near the take off stage in the first decade of the democratic experiment of the India".

The 1962 election marked the beginning of systematic work in the field of election study both from substantive and methodological point of view. Of course a large part of studies which appeared during that period are generic in character and lack methodological rigour. Some of these studies analyse the political and socio-economic background of the election and the analysis of the election results. The use of statistics were at a elementary level.

During this period studies in the voting behaviour made considerable headway inspite of the fact that these studies have been rather weak from the point of theoretical perspective and methodological rigour. While the voting behaviour studies had in some form or other started in the early fifties, it made a meaningful beginning in India during this period only. The assumption underlying voting behaviour studies in early phase has been that "Voting" is a conscious and rational act in which an elector makes his preferences in the same manner in which a consumer would.
But soon the myth was exploded even in the U.S.A., where such assumption was largely advocated as philosophical postulates. After the myth was exploded relance was responded on socio psychological variable as the possible influence on voting behaviour. Thus the scholars came to look in to the immediate environment in which the voter was placed to understand his party preferences. But the role of invisible factors located some what remotely and yet determining the voters choice have beyond their perview. The fact of the matter, however, is that the common voter exercises little controll over selection about candidates which prove that the factor for determining voters' choice can not just end with socio psychological variables.

In fact, studies following 1967 and 1969 election got more and more refined with the use of advance statistical analysis and theoretical conceptualisation. The studies of voting behaviour in the way of 1967 election in India have focussed on social and socio-psychological correlation of the voting act which show that political process and consequently political science have no autonomy of its own if the studies focus only to socio-psychological co-relates of voting act. A number of political scientists reacted to these kind of research and began to have a fresh look at election researches. They started looking for political variables to which they would attribute a deterministic role than to socio-psychological variables. A
contextual background of 1971 election provided an opportunity to look at the political variables. The slogans on which the election were fought, a pace at which mobilisation took place in the wake of congress split and after the consequent increase in the consciousness of the votes provided an opportunity to examine whether the voter could make a rational decision or allow their choice to be manipulated.

As D.L. Sheth has noted, the 'Political development of voters can be observed at two levels: (the) collective level of the electorate and (the) individual level of voter; and he calls attention to 'the need to probe further into the elements of "Voter development" and to systematically conceptualise the collective and individual aspects of voter development as processes of independent variables influencing other elements of processes in the larger systems.'

To sum up most electoral and voting behaviour studies, in India as in other countries, have emphasised the collective aspects of voter's development. This is illustrated in India by the lengthy report of the Election Commission on every national election consisting mostly of aggregate statistical data and generalised analysis. Numerous studies of election in various states, again, rely heavily on aggregate data as well as on extensive survey.
research, and the more conventional and more historically oriented historical and descriptive studies. A vast amount of valuable material on the Indian voters as individual's participating in a particular political process in a particular, social, political milieus is available in these more general studies. Yet the available data are seldom used to throw light on the attitudes and behaviour pattern of Indian voters, as individual citizens in a given socio-cultural setting.

Although the response of the political Scientists to the study of voting behaviour was manifold, each study had its own merits with reference to the perspective. Many of these studies, seems to be limited to the analysis of sample, drawn from developed societies. As a result our knowledge on the voting behaviour in traditional societies are very limited. Keeping in view this inadequacy the focus of the present study is to study the pattern of electoral politics and voting behaviour in a traditional society largely bound by attachment of moral obligations.

FOCUS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The objective of the present study is to study the voting behaviour in a backward constituency in Kalahandi district, i.e. Khariar Assembly Constituency during 1985 assembly election. The objective of the present study are:
i. Study of Voters and their demographic and socio-economic correlates.

ii. Study of the process of voting decision bringing out various factors and motivations playing part therein. This involves the study of the time pattern of Voting choice, various issues and their influence.

iii. To identify the correlates of political participations and relationship of political participation and the voting pattern.

iv. To study the phenomenon of non-voting with a view to construct a profile of non-voter along with his demographic and socio-economic correlates and the reasons and motivations behind the act of non-voting.

v. To study the various campaign techniques, the efficacy and the impact of the campaign, voters exposure to campaign, mass media and the reluctant participation and involvement.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


5. Ibid., P. 620.


9. Ibid., P.2.


13. Its micro study has been made in the second part of the thesis of Bilaspur (M.P.) Constituency of Lok Sabha for the Elections of 1980.


17. Ibid.,


21. It is a semi-religious militant movement, it believes that the Adivasis were the Native of the land, and the Non-Adivasis were immigrants, the movement aims at establishing Adivasi Raj by driving out all the immigrants from this land.

22. W.H. Morris, Jones, 'India Elects for change and stability' As, August, 1971.


25. Ibid.