Chapter 6

VOTING BEHAVIOUR: A CASE STUDY OF THREE CONSTITUENCIES
Chapter VI

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In the early history of mankind voting was simply the communication of approval or disapproval by tribal members of certain proposals offered by the chieftain, who himself held elected office. Eventually, in political voting, the ballot came into use, a sophisticated form of which is the voting machine. In modern democracies voting is generally considered the right of all adult citizens. In the past, however, voting was often a privilege limited by stringent property qualifications and restricted to the upper classes, and it is only in recent times that universal suffrage has become a fact.\(^1\) Although free elections and democratic government have existed for only a short time and only in nations representing a minority of the world’s population, the election and the referendum have been widely used by the rulers to establish or reinforce their legitimacy, their title to rule. Currently elections continue to be held in various authoritarian systems, both Communist and non-Communist.\(^2\)

Every individual is constantly faced with the problem of choice—a choice out of several alternative actions. The range of actions that are available to him will be determined by his environment, but given this range he has to decide the course of action to be adopted.\(^3\) There should be public decisions in which citizens make an explicit choice between alternative courses of public action. This can be done in


practice only through forms of procedure generally accepted as binding within the political society. Voting is one of these procedures. Usually, the act of voting is voluntary. The percentage of persons of voting age who participate in elections varies considerably from country to country.

Vote is an individual expression of choice in the making of a group decision. The decision may be the answer to a question or the selection of an officer or a group of representatives. The process of voting is called an election. With the increase in population size, the voting public has also grown over the years. Voting is the base of the political pyramid in democracy. The decisions made at the base have the capacity to topple those at the apex. Thus, voting could be looked upon as the basic decision-making process in a democracy.

Voting refers to the function of electing representatives by casting votes in elections. Voting is the method of registering collective approval or disapproval of a person or a proposal. The term generally refers to the process by which citizens choose candidates for public office or decide controversial questions submitted to them. However, it may also describe the formal recording of opinion of a group on any subject. In either sense, it is a means of transforming numerous individual desires into a coherent and collective basis for decision. It is in the voting returns

5. The Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. 10 (New York: America Corporation 1829), p. 120.
that people can regularly discern the mood of the electorates. Voting in elections is the most obvious and direct way in which a whole population can affect government, sort of mass revolution.

Polls give regular information on who supports whom, and on the relationship between voting intentions and opinion on political issues. Methods of voting may vary, depending partly on the object to be accomplished. The simplest kind of object is the selection of one out of two possible alternatives, e.g. the vote in a meeting as to whether or not a particular motion shall be adopted. Another is the election of an officer where only two have been nominated. For this sort of decision each person qualified to vote is ordinarily given one vote and the alternative which receives more votes is adopted.

Sometimes in voting there are special restrictions. In public legislative bodies a proposed law usually has to receive the votes of more than half of all the members, otherwise it is defeated even if there are more votes for it than against it. In certain cases a vote of two-thirds of the members is frequently required for approval.

Voting is not limited to public office, of course, such private organisations as social clubs, trade unions, professional societies, and corporations choose their

officers by procedures which resemble the elections of public officials. Shifts in the relative popularity of contending parties have been considered the result of changes in the strength of various interest groups, or the emergence of new needs or interests.13 Men are called by different kinds of elections to different offices in different societies.14 Election is the best method of giving or taking power by citizens to their representatives. Voting as such is a function of immense significance for the voters, the candidates and the students of politics.

Choices that citizens make in an election have effects on public policy, either over the course of a government's term in office or over longer periods.15 The voters are the backbone of the success or failure of a democracy, the formation of either a single ruling or a coalition of ruling group is the reflection of the choice of voters. To influence the choice of voters, the political parties, candidates and campaigners have used varieties of techniques. Thus, in the electoral process, voters are the main actors.16 For a good number of citizens, voting is the only mode of participation beyond which they are neither interested nor involved in any game of politics.

Even if people are not aware of a personal involvement in the electoral decision, they may still be induced to vote by social pressures and inner feelings of

social obligation. The extent and nature of political participation reflect other factors which determine far more decisively the system's chances to develop or survive. Major differences in the political allegiances of different age groups within different social classes, educational, religious or ethnic groups have been reported by voting surveys. The opportunity for involvement of the general population through elections forms the basis for most current definitions of democracy - certainly those most widely accepted at the present time. The understanding of voting and party competition is of interest for its own sake as well as for what it may reveal in the way of improving or defending democracy. Voting may be by paper ballot, by voting machine, by computer punch card or by dropping a marker in a designated container. In many countries votes are counted by election officials at the precinct polling places, often in the presence of authorised party workers.

The voting behaviour of the people determines periodically, continually or frequently the taking or giving of power in various senses of the term on various scales. In this sense, voting behaviour may be said to be a very basic feature or attribute of political behaviour. Thus the study of voting behaviour has come to be regarded as an important aspect of contemporary political research.

The term voting behaviour is not new. But it is used of late to describe certain areas of study and types of political phenomena which previously had either

18. Ibid., p. 122.
not been conceived or were considered irrelevant. Voting behaviour is not confined to the examination of voting statistics, records and computation of electoral shifts and swings. It also involves an analysis of individual psychological processes and their relation to political action as well as of institutional patterns, such as the communication process and their impact on elections.

In the early years of the growth of behavioural movement, the subject matter to which the approach was applied was largely in the area of voting behaviour. Many courses were developed - and still exist - with the title “Political Behaviour” and the designation of the field of voting behaviour studies as political behaviour continued.\(^{21}\) The first studies of voting behaviour were made by historians and political scientists seeking to explain past elections. Their basic data were election results, and other information about the geographical units for which election data existed. More recently, improvement in data collection methods and the application of statistical techniques have given rise to two general methods which have come to predominate in the field, the ecological approach which co-related social characteristics of areas with voting results and the survey method which analyses the behaviour of voters using data collected through interviews with sample of the electorate. Survey investigations have been particularly important since many people rather than scholars have collected such materials.\(^{22}\)

The term voting behaviour has recently been expanded in meaning and is taken as one major and broad area of study subsumed within the broader designation of


political behaviour. It involves a study of human political behaviour in the context of voting in elections. As a result of subsequent studies the myth that voting is a conscious and rational act is exploded even in U.S.A., where the assumption is largely advocated as a philosophical postulate. Large scale studies and experiments have been carried out explaining the nature of voting behaviour.

The meaning assigned to voting behaviour differs from one frame of reference to the other. Voting behaviour for example, can be regarded as (a) a mode of legitimizing democratic rule (b) instancing participation in the political process involving integration into the political community (c) instancing an act of decision making (d) a role-action involving definite political orientation imbedded in a particular type of political culture, or (e) a direct relation of the individual citizen to the formal government. However, at the micro-level, voting behaviour of individuals is not only a consequence of the impact of the rate of social change but in its turn directed to modify this rate of change. At the macro-level, the voting results of an election on a given date are regarded as reflecting the state of the system with reference to the pattern of alignments between various sub-sets or groups within that system. Such an approach of voting behaviour permits it to be viewed in the processual as well as systemic context. Only then, studies in voting behaviour which at present suffers from a lack of any connection with the main body of political theory of analysis can be integrated with other types of analysis, thus making possible a greater unity of knowledge than the present state of our studies in voting behaviour.  

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The study of voting behaviour constitute an important area of political science in which theory can be systematically and qualitatively measured and tested. The voters’ intention to vote is a dynamic changing and even fluid mental situation which is subject to influence and manipulation by factors which can be internal as well as external. The complex role of elections in the political system is underlined by an examination of the voting behaviour of electorates. The classical liberal view of a rational elector choosing between the competing programmes of several candidates and selecting a representative on the basis of his, the elector’s economic self-interest, his appreciation of what he rationally deduces to be the national interest, or what he believes to be his own political values, no longer can be substantiated.24

The analysis of voting behaviour must always include an awareness of macro-environment-political, economic and social - which interacts with micro level and influences upon the choice of individual voters. Thus, voting behaviour is a behaviour which indicates the voter’s choices, preferences, alternatives, agreements, concerns, ideologies, programmes and so on in respect of the various questions of issues on which the various elections are fought. Thus, the voting behaviour apart from being an individual choice and aptitude indicates the dynamic role that one plays in the achievement of a collective end. It implies the essential assertion of his rights and commitments of the society and the nation. It is concerned with the ways in which people tend to vote in public elections and the reasons why they vote as they do.

Determinants of Voting Behaviour

The process of voting behaviour is a complex one. Diverse influences, political and non-political affect it. The voting behaviour of individuals are determined by various factors. Some of the prominent determinants of voting behaviour are analyzed as follows:

Religion. Religious affiliation and race may account for more important determinants of voting behaviour in some political systems, and not only may they be more important, but polarisation along these lines instead of along class divisions may be more dangerous to the stability of those systems, since there is less to bargain over in the political marketplace. However, the dividing line between class, religions and ethnic origin is not a firm one. Voters very often vote on religious considerations. The selection of candidates is done with an eye upon the presence of a religious majority in a particular constituency. Religion and class are the preponderant visible sources of differences among developed countries in Europe, North America and Australasia, although ethnic differences also enter in multi-ethnic nations. The candidate do not hesitate to seek votes by playing the religious card with co-religious voters and the secular card with members of other religious communities.

Personality factors. Personality is another factor which influences the voting behaviour of individuals. Strong and charismatic personality of leaders play an important role in determining voting behaviour. The organisation of political parties

25. Ibid., pp. 129 - 130.
around the personalities of charismatic or popular leaders is a standard practice.
The personality of the leader at the top of party has always been a remarkable
factor of popular support. A positive image of a party’s candidate is a source of
popular support for the party. A voter prefers to vote for a candidate who is approachable
and who can help him in any way. Even at times when a sympathy or support wave
in favour of a party is in existence, a candidate belonging to a party other than the
one which has a support wave behind him, can certainly win an election. The fact
that a number of independents are in a position to win their seats also reflects the
role of the public image of a candidate as a factor of voting behaviour.

"Party loyalty. Voting behaviour is more easily explained by emphasising party
loyalty." In most countries, there are relatively permanent party alignments between
higher and lower orders in status, income and power and also among specific
groups that differ greatly in their view about the good society. One may usually
predict the vote of the majority of the electorate by asking the voters how they vote
last time. Such loyalty rooted in the consistency of structural links to parties, may
seem to be destructive of free choice. In fact, however, it helps to preserve it, since
if most voters are so fickle as to readily change parties from one election to another,
parties would completely disappear whenever they make an obvious major blunder.
To survive, the parties must have a loyal group of supporters. Almost unthinking
party loyalty by a part of the electorate helps to maintain the competitive party
system."


pp. 127A - 127B.
In developed political systems like the American and the British, political parties have their committed and known affiliations. These play a deterministic role in the determination of voting behaviour of the people. These determine an individual's choice of representatives and his view on key national and international issues. In India also, the parties have their committed supporter who always accept the views and actions of their respective parties. However, in India, people do not hesitate to shift their votes from one party to another and thereby party identities are not very strong. If party loyalty is taken as one of the key indexes of political considerations, it may be assumed that the parties play a marginal role in determining the preference of the voters. 29

Money factor. Money also plays a vital role in determining voting behaviour of the people. A rich candidate or party has always better chances of winning the elections. Vote bribing is an open secret. Candidates, affluent ones or belonging to an affluent party, are alleged to have offered money to the voters. Poor voters are reported to have received money. Postal ballot-voters are said to have been offered money. Businessmen are said to have entered into a deal, or an agreement with a dominant party to throw their weight in favour of it. This varies on the estimates or anticipations of poll prospects of the political parties. Various other interest groups also enter into the bargaining counter. Sometimes it shifts its alignments, moving primarily between the different political parties. But, it is to be pointed out that it happens only in normal circumstances and not during a wave-election or when other key issues are involved.

Election campaigns. In most countries active campaigns are waged by well-organised political parties, which carry with them from one election to another a loyal body of supporters who almost invariably vote for the same party. Each party launches a rigorous election campaign for influencing the voters in its favour. Such campaigns are designed to make a voter believe that his interest can be best served by the party or the candidate of the party contesting from his constituency. Poll eve campaigning plays a role in influencing the choice of the voters. A party which is in a position to create an impression through its election campaign that it has a chance to win, can earn some additional voters as several voters try to side with the side which they perceive to be a winning side. During election campaigns, committed voters are disposed to consider information reaching them from parties rather than their own as propaganda.

Issues. Changes in the predominant issues from one election to another may affect voting behaviour greatly. Local issues always influence the choice of the voters. Political parties tries to identify itself with local issues and thereby secures for itself popular local support. Issues which are directly relevant to class position, such as those involving the extension of the welfare state, nationalization of industry, or the right of trade unions, will presumably increase the correlation between economic class position and voting. On the other hand, issues involving civil rights, civil liberties, public morality, or foreign policy are not easily linked with the economic class position. Evidences from many countries indicate that the better educated people tend to be more internationalist, less jingoistic or xerophobic, more tolerant in comparison with those people who are conservative. At the same time, they are

31. Ibid.
not so concerned with the issues of religion or racial fanaticism. They are rather concerned with the administrative problems.\textsuperscript{32}

The electorate is constantly being replaced, and the personality of candidates and issues may be factors in persuading the voter to change his party allegiance. However, issues are difficult to separate from party support for the elector often invests his party with his own views on certain issues even if this is patently to misinterpret the party position in regard to those issues. Moreover, the role of issues in an election tends to be more in the nature of a post-mortem on the consequences of policies, not a consideration of the electoral promises contained in the party programme.\textsuperscript{33}

**Social factors.** Social factors such as caste, community, language etc. also influence the voting behaviour from time to time. Since the people have emotional attachment to these social factors, they easily get influenced whenever there comes up any issues relating to them. Caste has deep roots in the society and constitutes an important basis of social relations at all levels. Despite the adoption of several provisions which prohibit action and discrimination on its basis, caste continues to be a determinant of political behaviour in India. Politicisation of caste in politics has been a natural reality of the Indian Political system. Caste is the main language of voters particularly of voters belonging to rural India. However, it must be stated that the role of caste as a determinant of voting behaviour has been undergoing a change, at least in the urban areas. There is decreasing dimensions of caste influence in voting behaviour nowadays.\textsuperscript{34} Linguism also serves as a factor of voting

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.
behaviour. The organisation of states on linguistic basis fully reflects the importance of language as a factor of politics in India. There have been problems in states like that of status of one particular language in that state, or relating to the quality of the status of a language of a state. Since people have emotional attachment for their language, they easily get influenced whenever there comes up any issue relating to language.

**Sex factor.** Analysis of voting behaviour is often linked with religion and sex. It has been claimed that women voters are more likely to be religious and therefore show a greater tendency to vote for right-of-centre-parties. 35 Women voters tend to be more wavering about their intention to vote as also in the voting act itself than the male voters. 36 However, the commitment is more to candidate than to party both among males and females. Village consensus and advice of village headman work more with female voters than with male voters, while merit of the candidate attracts more males than females, as do on the local issues. 37 Women as a class are relatively more apathetic politically than men as a class. The roots of this apathy spring from no other reason than their deep involvement in the private, familial sphere. In the ideal case, a women to whom her home is the abode of self-sufficiency and constitute the entire universe, is perfectly apathetic politically. If some women are politically active, it only means that they have transcended this situation defined by the idea case. 38 Sex provide a base for diversity where modernism is a significant

37. Ibid., p. 308.
issue, since in most societies women's role are more involved in religious institutions and less in modern economic ones. Consequently, where there is a difference between the voting patterns of the two sexes, women tend to support traditionalist parties more than modernising ones.\textsuperscript{39}

\textbf{Age factor.} Age is a difficult factor to treat as an independent variable, but even if we can resolve such methodological difficulties, other problem of explanation remains. Older voters tend to vote for conservative parties but this may be simple reflections of the historical period when the electors' voting habits were being formed. Age may be less important than the strength of the voters' attachment to a political party, and it is this allegiance that hardens with age.\textsuperscript{40} Moreover, it is the candidate orientation which dominates in all the age group.\textsuperscript{41}

\textbf{Illiteracy.} Literacy and education broadens the political vision and perspective of the voters and gives a secular orientation to their voting intention. Thus, there is a positive correlation between literacy status and purpose of voting. The positive reference in terms of choosing one's representatives and assertion of one's right to vote is on the increase, as we move from the group of illiterate voters to voters in the higher literacy group. The higher literacy group also prefers voting for party reason than for caste consideration.\textsuperscript{42} Because of mass illiteracy of the people, the political parties, communal groups and militant outfits are in a position to exploit the sentiments of the people in the name of caste, religion, region and other such

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{Encyclopaedia Britannica,} Vol. 23 (Chicago : William Benton Publisher, 1971), p. 127A.
  \item Ibid., pp. 301 - 304.
\end{itemize}
factors. The voters of the illiterate constitute a big proportion of the votes polled and hence it plays a big role in determining the outcome of election.

Now, in the light of the above factors, we can study the voting behaviour of the Manipur electorate of the Assembly elections held in the state from 1990 - 2000. However, a reference is made to electorate behaviour of the people from 1948 - 1984.

**Voting Behaviour in Manipur, 1948 - 1984**

In Manipur, the first election was held in 1948 under the Manipur State Constitution Act, 1947. The Manipur State Congress secured the highest number of seats, as most of the voters were influenced by its ideology. On the other hand, the influence of the personality cult was also evident from the fact that twelve independent candidates were elected on this basis.

In 1952, the first General Election under the Constitution of India was held. The said period witnessed the social movements and political movements. Such social movements had a great impact on the formation of the electoral behaviour of the voters. On the other hand, there was also an interaction between the national and local forces; consequently they joined hands together in demanding for a responsible government in Manipur.

The second General Election was held in 1957. In this election also, the voting behaviour of the electorate was greatly influenced by the political movement of that time, which demanded for the establishment of a responsible government. The third General Election was held in 1962. It had the same impact on the voting
behaviour of the voters. However, the Territorial Council seats in the hill areas were not reserved for the scheduled tribes still the elections were fought on the tribals lines there. The political parties had set up only tribals as their candidates except in Jiribam, where half of the voters were non-tribals.\textsuperscript{43} In the valley too, the same phenomena was noticed.

The next General Election was held in 1967. As the Assembly Elections were held for the first time, the people of the State were very enthusiastic, and the political parties keen on forming the government of their own. It is supposed to be the most keenly contested election in the annals of the state. The Congress party gave a crushing defeat to the left party which secured about half of the Congress votes and less than one-third of the Assembly seats. The reason was, the absence of the electoral understanding among the various opposition parties. The electioneering was quite brisk except in the cease-fire bound northern hill areas where it was restricted to a whisper campaign for fear of underground Nagas who boycotted the elections.\textsuperscript{44} Besides, the demand for the full fledged Statehood in the state also influence the voting behaviour of the people.

In 1972, Manipur was granted statehood and election of the Assembly was held in the same year. This period had witnessed the emergence of an important regional party i.e., Manipur People's Party. As a result, the political mindset of the people had reoriented towards parochial regional outlook. The anti-India wave had swept the poll and the Congress suffered a setback in the 1972 election. Maybe,


\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., pp. 40 - 41.
the voters might have also wanted a change. Or the people were fed with the Congress's rule.

In 1974, Manipur went through a mid-term poll. The regional parties as a whole had put up a better show in this election mainly because of their regional appeal. In this election, most parties gave emphasis on the local problems. The inclusion of Manipuri language in the Eight Schedule of the Indian Constitution was the main social and political issue of Manipur before the 1974 mid-term election, and this issue determined the voting behaviour of the people.

In 1980, the next Assembly election was held. This time money factor was very much involved. As Indira Gandhi wave was revived in the early eighties, the Janata Party Government collapsed at the Centre. As such its impact too was felt in Manipur also. The impact of personality of the candidates was also felt among the people, as shown by the election of 19 independent candidates.

In the Assembly election of 1984, slight change of voting behaviour of the people was witnessed. Due to the assassination of Indira Gandhi, a strong sympathy wave swept in favour of the Congress. On the other hand, the charming personality of Rajiv Gandhi was another factor for the success of the Congress. Other factors like money, religion etc. too counted to some extent but the sympathy wave of Indira overwhelmed the political scene. However, some sections of the electorates were always committed to the ideology of other parties that they still managed to win some seats inspite of the sympathy wave.

45. Ibid., p. 179.
Voting Behaviour in the Assembly Election, 1990

Generally, the voting behaviour of the voters are influenced by various factors. The objective of this investigation is to find out the way how a voter reaches his or her own voting decision. In order to ascertain the motivational factors responsible for influencing the voting behaviour in 1990, Assembly Election, a questionnaire was administered on the 100 selected voters each in the urban, rural and hill areas respectively. The sample electorates were asked about what type of factors have been involved before they decide to give votes to a particular candidate. The results thus obtained were tabulated, analyzed and interpreted. The following table shows the responses of the sample voters.

Table No. 25

Voters' Knowledge about the Factors which mainly Influence the Voting Behaviour of the People in the Assembly Election, 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Determining factors</th>
<th>Valley</th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th>Total percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality factor</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party loyalty</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money factor</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Issues</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family factor</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election Campaign</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, from the data in the above table, we can see that 16.7% of the voters were influenced by personality factor, 16% by party loyalty, 15.7% by money factor, 13.3% by local issues, 20.3% by family and 18.0% by election campaigns. Thus the family as a determining factor of voting behaviour of the electorate shows the highest percentage of number. Most of the voters were influenced by the elders or head of the family to vote for a particular party or candidate. Voting decisions are usually arrived through joint discussions. According to the table 18% of the urban, 22% of the rural and 21% of the hill voters voted for a particular party or candidate as a result of family influence. But, it is the female voters for whom other members of the family have taken decision to a larger extent. The influence of the family as a determinant of voting behaviour is the highest in the rural areas, whereas most of the family members make their voting decisions on the advice of the elders or heads of the family. This view was expressed by a senior voter, aged about 60 years, living in a rural area.\textsuperscript{46}

As expressed by a former Member of Parliament of Manipur, in a rural society, where the rate of illiteracy is very high and traditionalism still exercises firm hold over the people, many voters do not know or care to think about their voting decision. So, majority of the voters are inclined to take their voting decision through discussion in the family. Besides, the voting decision are very much impressed upon the majority of women by men folk.\textsuperscript{47}

Regarding the urban areas, as most of the people are educated, the influence of family on the voting behaviour is low, compared to the rural and hill areas. The


role of the elders or heads of the family as decision-makers is on the decline in connection with more literate voters as larger number of them take their own decisions.

In the hill areas, the influence of family in the formation of vote-decision is quite high. Owing to the bad communication system and lack of proper education facilities in the hills, the people cannot take their own vote-decision. The influence of family is very much there. This view was expressed by a Project Officer from a hill constituency.\textsuperscript{48}

Regarding the personality factor, as a determinant of voting behaviour, we can well give an opinion as shown in the above table that 17\% of voters in the urban areas, 16\% voters in the rural areas and 17\% voters in the hill areas are influenced by this factor. The personality of a candidate is one that attracts the voters in the early stage of every election. As most of the voters in the urban areas are educated and politically conscious, they are rather concerned with experience and educational qualification of the candidates. Therefore, the candidates cannot be so easily swayed by mere propaganda. However, the voters of the rural and hill areas give less importance to personality factor.

Party loyalty i.e. the political commitment of the voters and their identification either with the political parties or the candidates, is given the highest importance in the hill areas, the percentage being 20\%. On the other hand, one can imagine a voter who because of his deep and long time involvement in politics makes up his mind long before the election campaign starts. Such types of voters are likely to be

loyal to their party. According to the view of a former Minister, the high percentage of party loyalty in the rural areas is mostly due to lack of political education and political communication on the part of the electorate.49 As there are political awareness and effective political communication in the urban areas, the impact of party loyalty on the voting behaviour is marginal. Therefore, there is only 13 percent. On the other hand, in the rural areas the percentage is quite high i.e. 15%. Maybe the communication system is very bad.

It is found from the above table that 18% of the urban voters, 16% of the rural and 13% of the hill voters in the selected sample electorate had accepted money or, was influenced by the money factor at the time of election. Some voters even demanded money before entering the polling station while some waited for the highest bidder till the last minute of the polling. Thus, before or after the date of nomination till the election results are out, a candidate spent money as a major instrument for winning elections. From the table above, we know that the influence of money on urban voters during election times is the greatest. Most of the urban voters are influenced by money during election times, and the amount of money accepted is also high in comparison to the rural and hill areas. Purchase of voters on the basis of money has become an open secret. Candidates very often offer money through his workers to the voters. As opined by some party workers, the amount of money offered to the voters by the candidates ranges from 100 - 300 rupees per voters.

Regarding the rural areas also, money plays a very important role in the elections. The decision once taken by a voter may later on be changed through the

pressures of material inducements or money. The two or three days before the
date of election are the most crucial period for the distribution of money to the
voters. The amount of money offered to the voters by the candidates ranges from
Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. The non-committed voters continue to wait for money from the
candidates till the polling day. A rural voter stated that money lenders have great
potentials to influence the people who are depending on them.\textsuperscript{50} There are also
cases where money is taken from both the parties, the vote being given not to the
highest bidder but on the basis of other considerations.

On the other hand, as the data in the table no. 25 clearly shows, money
factor also exerted pressures on the voters in the hill areas too. Money has become
an important means of bargaining between certain sections of the electorate, though
the percentage of money received by voters in the hill areas is low in comparison
with the urban and rural voters. Here, the money received by a voter ranges from
Rs. 50 to 100. This is supported by a view of an educationist from a hill district.\textsuperscript{51}

Further, the data in the above table clearly shows the influence of local
issues as a factor on the voting behaviour of the electorate, for example, it is, 15%
in the urban, 13% in the rural and 12% in the hill areas. The greater percentage in
the urban areas is due to the higher percentage of political awareness among the
urban voters. As the people are fully aware of the day-to-day happenings in the
state, they have a better idea of the issues, and this determines their choice for
candidates at the time of election. On the other hand, the lower percentage in the
rural and hill areas are the result of less political awareness among the voters in
these places. As most of the voters in these places are illiterate, they are not fully

aware of the political issues. This view was expressed by a candidate from a rural constituency.\textsuperscript{52}

The voting behaviour of the electorates are also greatly influenced by the election campaigns conducted by the various political parties in this election of 1990. The influence of the election campaign on the voters' choice for candidates at the time of election in the hill areas, however, differ from the valley areas. The percentage of influence of election campaign as a determinant of voting behaviour are 19% in the urban areas, 18% in the rural and 17% in the hill areas respectively. When the election campaign starts, conflicting loyalties starts working upon the minds of voters. In these conflicting loyalties, the voters chooses the one which best served their interests. The influence of election campaigns on voters is much higher among the urban and rural voters as compared to the hill voters. As the polling day draws nearer and nearer the campaigns would grow more hectic and intense. But the women are found to be more susceptible to such campaign stimuli. However, the low percentage of the influence of election campaign on the hill voters are attributed to the size of the electorate and its scattered location with bad communication system. It is not possible to make door to door campaign in the hills, on a wider scale because of bad communication system.

\textbf{Voting Behaviour in the Assembly Election, 1995}

A questionnaire was administered on 100 selected voters each in the urban, rural and hill areas respectively, the voters were asked what type of factors have influenced them in the exercise of their franchise. The data found in the process of

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{52.} Statement by Dr. M. Nara, \textbf{Personal Interview}, August 5, 2004.
\end{flushright}
interview are tabulated, analysed and interpreted. The following table shows the responses of the sample-voters.

**Table No. 26**

**Voters’ Knowledge about the Responsible Factors Involved in the Voting Behaviour of the people in the Assembly Election, 1995**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Determining factors</th>
<th>Valley</th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th>Total percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality factor</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party loyalty</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money factor</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Issues</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family factor</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election Campaign</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see from the above table several factors play role, in influencing the voters, i.e. 15.3% by personality 14.7% by party loyalty, 22.3% by money, 14.3% by local issues, 19.7% by family and 13.7% by election campaigning respectively. Thus, money as a determinant of voting behaviour is the highest among all the factors. In this election of 1995 the money factor was considered to be significant. The above table further shows that 24% of the urban voters, 22% of the rural voters and 21% of the hill voters are influenced by the money factor while making their decision to vote for a particular party or candidate.
Thus, from the table no. 26, we can see that the urban voters are more guided by the money factor during the election than the rural and hill area ones. In urban areas the amount of money received by the voters ranges from Rs. 300 to Rs. 500. Sometimes, voters openly demand money from the candidates. Some voters even go to the candidate's house to demand money, and money is accepted from the candidates by the voters. They even make promise putting their hands upon religious books, that they would cast their votes in favour of the said candidates. The candidates also organise various election feasts, and Shumang Lila, Thabal Chongba, etc. in order to get votes in their favour. This statement is supported by an active worker of the urban areas.  

In the rural areas too, the money factor greatly determines the voters' choice of a particular candidate. In these places, the amount of money accepted ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. Sometimes the payments are either in the form of cash or kind. In the hill areas, the acceptance of money from the candidates ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200.

Further, from the table above, we can see that 16% of the urban voters, 14% of the rural and 16% of the hill are respectively influenced by the personality factor. The importance of personality of a candidate is very much considered among the voters of the urban and hill areas.

From the table, we can see that 12% of the urban, 15% of the rural and 17% of the hill voters are influenced by party-loyalty. In the urban areas the percentage of party loyalty is low, as the voters are influenced by other factors also. Maybe, the

voters are politically aware. On the other hand, local issues also play a great role in determining the voting behaviour of the urban areas. The above table also shows that the 16% of the urban voters, 14% of the rural and 13% of the hill voters respectively are influenced by the local issues, during the election time. The high percentage of voter's knowledge about local issues in urban area is attributed to the higher percentage of literacy among the urban voters than among the rural and hill voters. The urban voters being more literate can follow the political issues in the state and thus, these issues greatly shape the voting behaviour of the voters.

Regarding the role of family as a determinant of voting behaviour, 17% of the urban voters, 21% of the rural and 21% of the hill voters respectively are influenced by the same. The low percentage of the urban voters may be because of their exposure to political awareness, communication and education. A former Chief Minister of Manipur has supported this view. However, in the rural and hill areas, the degree of political communication is not upto the expectation. At the same, the degree of political awareness of the voters is also very low.

The above table clearly shows the real picture of the election campaign as a determining factor of voting behaviour. For example 15% of the urban voters, 14% of the rural voters and 12% of the hill voters are influence by it. The high percentage in the urban areas is because of the good communication system.

Voting Behaviour in the Assembly Election, 2000

A number of 100 selected voters from the urban, rural and hill areas respectively were interviewed and asked if they were influenced by any other factors

mention below in the table no. 27. The results thus obtained are tabulated, analysed and interpreted. The following table shows the responses of the sample-voters.

Table No. 27

Voters’ Knowledge about the Factors Influencing Voting Behaviour of the People in the Assembly Election, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Determining factors</th>
<th>Valley</th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th>Total percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality factor</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party loyalty</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money factor</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Issues</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family factor</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election Campaign</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, after analysing the above table it may come to the conclusion that certain factors are involved in reading the voting behaviour, e.g. 15.7% voters are influenced by personality, 13.3% by party loyalty, 23.7% by money, 20.3% by local issues, 16.7% by family and 10.3% by election campaign respectively.

Thus, money as a determining factor of voting behaviour is the highest in this election too. Elections have become a costly affair. Further the above table
shows that 26% of the urban voters, 23% of the rural voters and 22% of the hill voters are apparently influenced by money factor. The influence of money factor on the voters is the highest in the urban area. The amount of money received by the voters from the candidates in exchange of voters ranges from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500. On the eve of election, various clubs, organisations etc. also take money from the candidates in the name of undertaking developmental works. Sometimes, even the heads of a family demand money from the candidates or their workers for their kids (whose names are included in the voting list) in the name of casting their votes in favour of the particular candidate.

In the rural areas, the amount of money received by the voters from a candidate ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 300. In the rural areas, the exchange of vote for money is very much practised. In the hill areas, however, the amount of money exchanged for votes ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. In all the three areas of urban rural and hill, the floating voters are usually swayed by money power.

The table also presents a picture showing the responses of the voters regarding the personality as a factor. In the table it is shown that 17%, 16% and 14% of the urban, rural and hill voters are respectively influenced by the personality factor. As opined by an MLA, the higher percentage of personality influence on the urban voters is mainly a result of effective political socialisation.55 At the same, they are politically aware and concerned with the personality of the candidates. Even in the rural areas, the candidates’ personality is also one of the factor in determining the voting behaviour. However, the percentage is low as compared to the urban areas. Besides the process of political socialisation and its impact on the voters is

very slow. Most of the people are occupied in their own personal affairs and have no time for their political involvement. Thus the voters are not much aware of the personalities of the candidates. On the other hand, in the hill areas due to the sparse population of the area, growth of the political awareness of the voters are hindered. The voters are thus confined to a particular area and have no knowledge about other affairs. They are politically not involved, and there is lack of political communication.

Regarding party loyalty, the percentage of voters influenced by the same is 13% in the urban, 12% in the rural and 15% in the hill constituencies respectively. In the urban areas, as most of the people are literate, they are politically conscious. Moreover, they do not usually stick to a particular party, but keep on changing with time. However, in the rural and hill areas, people usually keep faith in those parties supported by their forefathers and remain loyal to the same.

The voting behaviour during this period was also influenced by local issues of the time. The percentage of voters influenced by local issues is 22% in the urban, 20% in the rural and 19% in the hill respectively. The higher percentage in the urban areas can be explained in terms of higher literacy rate, better communication facilities and greater concentration of electioneering. This is a view expressed by a former MLA.  

The percentage of voters influenced by the family factor is 10% in the urban, 19% in the rural and 21% in the hill respectively. In the urban areas, most of the families are nuclear families and there are less family ties. Besides, the influence of the head of the family is less here. Most of the voters are also committed voters

and are not politically involved in practical politics. On the other hand, the rural and hill voters are more influenced by the family factor. Family ties in the rural and hill areas are relatively high compared to the urban areas. Hence, the influence of family as a determinant of voting behaviour is very high in these place. This view was expressed by a former MLA.  

As far as the influence of election-campaign on the voting behaviour is concerned, it is found that 12% of the urban voters, 10% of the rural voters and 9% of the hill voters respectively are influenced by the same. Thus, from the above table, it is seen that campaigning has been more intense, and consequently political education more effective in the urban constituencies than in the rural and hill constituencies. It is needless to add that, it is easier to campaign in urban constituencies than in rural and hill constituencies just on account of a geo-physical and communication difficulties. It is a fact that political parties have better organisational nucleus in rural and hill constituencies.  

In order to have a better idea of voting behaviour in the state, let us examine the Assembly Elections of 1990, 1995 and 2000 respectively in three constituencies i.e. Thangmeiband Assembly Constituency in the urban area, Moirang Assembly Constituency in the rural area and Phungyar Assembly Constituency in the hill area respectively.

**A Case Study of 9-Thangmeiband Assembly Constituency**

Thangmeiband is one of the sixty constituencies to the State Assembly of Manipur. It is located in the main urban tract of Imphal (the capital of Manipur). It

also forms a part of the Inner Manipur Parliamentary Constituency and is the home constituency of the former Chief Minister of Manipur, Koijam Radhabinod.

The 9-Thangmeiband Assembly Constituency lies in the Imphal-West District. Earlier this was known as the Uripok-Lalambung-Thangmeiband Constituency, during the Territorial Council Election of 1957. This constituency was renamed as Uripok-Thangmeiband Constituency in the time of Assembly Election of 1967. The 9-Thangmeiband Assembly Constituency was formed only after Manipur attained Statehood in the year 1972, by way of delimitation.

In the Assembly Election of 1990, the Manipur People’s Party candidate Ng. Kumarjit succeeded in capturing the Assembly seat of this constituency.\textsuperscript{58} In the Assembly Election of 1995, the Indian National Congress (INC) candidate Radhabinod Koijam won by getting highest votes i.e. 7,666. The total electorate was 20,644, but only 16,800 voters involved.\textsuperscript{59} In the Assembly Election of 2000, the INC candidate Radhabinod Koijam once again declared elected by a big margin of 5,983 votes. Out of the total 22,664 only 18,053 people had voted.\textsuperscript{60}

In order to analyse the motivational aspects of the factors responsible for changing the voting behaviour in these three Assembly Elections of 1990, 1995 and 2000 a questionnaire was administered on the 100 selected voters. The sample-electorates were asked if they were influenced by any factor under mentioned in


the table no. 28. The collected data are tabulated, analysed and interpreted. The
following table shows the responses of the sample-voters.

Table No. 28

Voters' Knowledge about the Factors which Influenced the Voting
Behaviour of the People in the 9-Thanmeiband Assembly Constituency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Determining factors</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>Total percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personality factor</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party loyalty</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Issues</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money factor</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family factor</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election Campaign</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in the above table indicate that the voting behaviour of 18.7% voters are influenced by the factor of personality 17% of party loyalty, 14.3% of local issues, 16.3% of money, 16.7% of family and 17% of election-campaign.

In the Assembly Election of 1990, the voting behaviour of 17% of the people of 9-Thanmeiband Assembly Constituency was determined by the personality factor, 16% by party loyalty, 17% by local issues, 15% by money, 19% by family and 16% by election-campaign. Thus, the data in the table indicate that the family factor was the highest among the others.
On the other hand, the personality of the candidate played a major role in determining the voters' choice for a particular candidate in the election of 1995. The candidate's personality which affected 19% of the voters was the highest among all the other determining factors of voting behaviour at that time. The percentage of voters influenced by party loyalty was 17%, 14% by local issues, 16% by money, 17% by family and 17% by election campaign respectively.

In the election of 2000, the personality factor which recorded 20% of the total voters again proved to be the main determinant of the voting behaviour. Besides, personality factor, 18% of the voters were influenced by party loyalty, 12% by local issues, 18% by money, 14% by family and 18% by election-campaign respectively.

The above table clearly indicate that the percentage of voters influenced by the personality factor was the highest in 2000. The reason is due to the charismatic leadership of the INC candidate, Radhabinod Koijam.

The good performance of the Indian National Congress and more affiliation of voters to the INC influenced the voting behaviour in a big way. As a result, the INC came out with flying colour in the elections of 1995 and 2000. However due to influence of local issues which was the highest in 1990, the majority of seats was captured by a regional political party i.e. Manipur People's Party (MPP). In all these elections, money played a very important role and a large number of voters were swayed by this factor. The influence of the family is also observed in these elections. As said by a senior voter from this constituency, the role of the family in shaping the voters' choice is on the decrease. The reason is mainly due to the change of political culture as process of political
communication. In all the three elections, each party vigorously campaigned. New methods of campaigning are used in every election.

A Case Study of 27 - Moirang Assembly Constituency

The 27-Moirang Assembly Constituency is also one of the sixty constituencies of the State Assembly Election of Manipur. It is located at Bishnupur district and one of the valley districts of Manipur. It forms a part of the Inner Manipur Parliamentary Constituency and is the home constituency of former Chief Minister of Manipur, Mairembam Koireng Singh.

In the Assembly Election of 1990, the Congress candidate Mairembam Koireng Singh succeeded in capturing the Assembly seat of this constituency by defeating other candidates. In the Assembly Election of 1995, Manipur People's Party's candidate Md. Heshamuddin won by a big margin i.e. 5,586, by defeating other five candidates. The defeated five candidates are, Hemam Bir (IND), Laishram Kerani (JD), Mairembam Monindro (INC), K. Deven (Congress-S) and Moirangthem Panchom (CPI). The total electorate was 24,229 and the total voters of 22,626 involved. In the Assembly Election of 2000, the Indian National Congress candidate Laishram Kerani Singh, won the Moirang Assembly seat by defeating eight other candidates. The eight other candidates are Salam Gopal Singh (FPM); Md. Heshamuddin (MSCP), Mairembam Mani (NCP), Md. Abdul Matalib (MPP), Mairembam Manihar (BJP), Hemam Bir Singh (SAP), Soraisam Ibohal (CPI) and

Sagolsem Kulla Meitei (RSP). L. Kerani got 5,140 votes, out of total 27,357, only 24,887 took part in the election.⁶⁴

A questionnaire was administered on the 100 selected voters of this constituency in order to analyse the motivational aspects of the factors responsible for the voting behaviour of the electors in the Assembly Elections of 1990, 1995 and 2000 respectively. The sample-electorate was asked if they were influenced by any factors undermentioned in the table no.29. The results obtained are tabulated, analysed and interpreted. The following table shows the responses of the sample-voters.

Table No. 29
Voters’ Knowledge about the Factors which Influenced the Voting Behaviour of the People in the 27-Moirang Assembly Constituency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Determining factors</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>Total percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personality factor</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party loyalty</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Issues</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money factor</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family factor</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election Campaign</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the data clearly show that 16.3% of voters are influence by personality factor, 20.7% by party loyalty, 17% by local issues, 15.7% by money factor, 16.3% by family and 14% by election-campaign respectively.

The data in the above table further indicates that the voting behaviour of 15% voters in the Assembly Election of 1990 was influenced by charismatic personality, 21% by party loyalty, 18% by local issues, 14% by money, 19% by family and 13% by election-campaign respectively. Therefore it is prove that the electors are mostly guided by party loyalty.

The data in the table also indicates that the voting behaviour of 16% voters in the Assembly Election of 1995 in this constituency was influenced by personality factor, 20% by party loyalty, 17% by local issues, 16% by money, 17% by family and 14% by election-campaign respectively. At the same time, it is found that the voters are mostly influenced by party-loyalty.

In the Assembly Election of 2000, 18% voters were influenced by personality factor, 21% by party loyalty, 16% by local issues, 17% by money factor, 13% by family and 15% by election-campaign respectively. Thus, in this election too, party loyalty proved to be the main determining factor.

The above table shows that the percentage of voters influenced by the personality factor was the highest in 2000. The voting behaviour of the electors are very much determined by the personality of the candidates. On the other hand, loyalty to a particular party is quite common. According to the view of a candidate from this constituency, the ideologies and principles of a particular party whether
national or regional, greatly shape the voters' political orientation. The voters are usually guided by the political parties in which they are attached. Affiliation to the political parties of their forefathers are quite common among the voters of this constituency. Further, the voters are also influenced by local issues to a great extent. The role of money in determining the voting behaviour of the electorates in this constituency is also seen from the data. On the eve of the elections, voters were also influenced by money-lenders. As most of the voters are usually farmers, their incomes are very low. So, at the time of elections when money is distributed among the voters, the voters' attitudes usually change and give votes to those candidates who have given money. The family's influence in the voting behaviour of the voters are also observed in these elections. Election discussion is usually done in the family and such discussions greatly determine the voter's choice. This view was given by a candidate from this constituency. Election campaigning too guides the voters electoral behaviour. Different methods of campaigning are also observed in this constituency. Hardcore workers of the candidates carry out their election campaigning at night.

A Case Study of 43 - Phungyar Assembly Constituency

The 43-Phungyar constituency is also one of the sixty constituencies of the Manipur State Assembly. It is located at Ukhrul District, which is one of the hill districts of Manipur. It forms a part of the Outer Manipur Parliamentary Constituency. This is also a home constituency of former Chief Minister of Manipur, Rishang Keishing. When Manipur was a Union Territory of India, this constituency was known

as the Phungyar Phaisat Constituency. However after the attainment of Statehood in 1972, this constituency has been renamed as Phungyar Constituency. This constituency is fully represented by Scheduled tribes.

In the Assembly Election of 1990, the Congress (I) candidate, Rishang Keishing succeeded in capturing the Assembly seat of this constituency by defeating other three candidates. In the next Assembly Election of 1995, Rishang Keishing regained the Phungyar seat by defeating the four other candidates i.e. Solomon (MPP), Paul (JD), Ngathingkhui Hungyo (SP) and MC. Leishison (IND). Rishang got 7,467 votes. Out of 18,555 only 14,938 exercised their franchises. The 2000 Assembly Election proved to be another success for Keishing. All the other seven candidates were defeated by Keishing. Keishing secured 4,539 votes. The seven other candidates were Wungnaoshang Keishing JD(U), Somi Keishing (SAP), Mahongnao Ngaranmi (MSCP), Ramthing Hungyo (NCP), K. Paul (IND), Thangkhopao (RJD) and Hemson (IND). Out of the total of 21,345 votes only 14,808 cast their votes. Thus, the electors in this constituency had been increasing in every election.

In order to analyse the motivational aspect of the factors responsible for changing the voting behaviour of the electors in these three elections, a questionnaire was administered on 100 selected voters, each for the year 1990, 1995 and 2000 respectively. The sample-electorates were asked if they were

influenced by any factors undermentioned in the table no. 30. The results obtained are tabulated, analysed and interpreted. The following table shows the responses of the sample-voters.

**Table No. 30**

**Voters’ Knowledge about the Factors which Influence the Voting Behaviour of the People in the 43-Phungyar Assembly Constituency**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Determining factors</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>Total percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personality factor</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party loyalty</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Issues</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money factor</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family factor</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election Campaign</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in the table no. 30 indicate that the voting behaviour of 22% voters were influenced by the personality factor, 19% by party loyalty, 16% by local issues, 15% by money, 14.7% by family and 13.3% by election-campaign.

Further the data shows that the voting behaviour of 21% voters in the Assembly Election of 1990 were influenced by personality factor, 18% by party loyalty, 16% by local issues, 15% by money, 16% by family and 14% by election-campaign. Now it is very clear that the personality factors plays a greater role in determining the voting behaviour.
It was found in the Assembly Election of 1995, that the voting behaviour of 22% of 43-Phungyar Assembly Constituency was very much influenced by the personality factor again, while 19% voters by party loyalty, 17% by local issues, 14% by money, 15% by family and 13% by election-campaign respectively. It so happened, again, the personality of a candidate was a deciding factor in the election of 1995. In this election, Rishang Keishing was re-elected again.

In the Assembly Election of 2000, the personality factor as recorded 20% of the total voters again proved to be the main determinant of the voting behaviour. Beside the personality factor, the voting behaviour of 20% voters are influenced by party loyalty, 15% by local issues, 16% by money, 13% by family and 13% by election-campaign respectively.

This time also the data indicates the percentage of the voters influenced by the personality-factor was the highest in 2000. The charismatic personality of Rishang Keishing could win the election three times consecutively i.e. 1990, 1995 and 2000. On the other hand, the principles and ideologies of the Congress (I) could also attract the people. As a matter of fact, it played a great role in determining the voting behaviour of the people. This is prove when the Congress (I) got the highest number of votes in the State Assembly Election of 2000. However, we cannot deny the fact that the other factors like local issues, money, campaigning method, etc. do not play their roles effectively.