CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Overview

Inferences drawn in the body of the thesis are provided in the form of summary, findings and conclusion in this chapter.

Summary

The title of the thesis is voting behaviour in Tamil Nadu with reference to Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency. Therefore, it is necessary to provide the background of the voting behaviour of the electorate in Tamil Nadu. In the first chapter an attempt has been made to explain the voting behaviour of the electorate in Tamil Nadu.

A study of the past literatures would help us to understand the various dimensions of the present research problem clearly and would act as a guideline for carrying out the present study. Therefore, in the second chapter an attempt has been made to review the literatures relating to voting behaviour.

In the third chapter an attempt has been made to explain the statement of the problem, objectives of the study and methodology of the study.

In the fourth chapter an attempt has been made to explain the details relating to the segments of Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency, boundaries of Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency, Assembly Segments of Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency.

The details relating to the location of Tirunelveli, history of Tirunelveli, cityscape, etymology, geography, climate, courtallam, papanasam, demographics, economy, administration, transport, roads, bus stands, railways, airport, media and communication, cinema theatres, cable television, radio stations, sports facilities, religion, tourist places, education, science centre, language, halwa,
local dishes, major structures, Tirunelveli's twin City, software technology parks, Adichanallur and Koonthankulam are explained under the heading Tirunelveli Assembly Segment.

The details relating to the location, history, major harbour, origin of the name of thoothukudi, lok sabha constituency, economy, fishery, road facilities, railway facilities, airport facilities, thoothukudi port is a natural deep-sea harbour, bus stand facilities, hotels, religious importance, famous eatables, radio station, educational institutions, colleges, sports facilities, shopping malls, parks, favourite past time, main cinema halls and notables are explained under the heading Thoothukudi Assembly Segment.

The details relating to the location, history, monsoon and rainfall, road, airport and railway station facilities, educational importance, popular landmarks, important places, Science Centres, hospitals and other medical facilities, sports facilities, market facilities, supermarkets, special schools, transport facilities, important temples, educational institutions, jails, development of assembly constituency are explained under the heading Palayamkottai Assembly Segment.

The details relating to the such as location, climate, peaceful little town, geography, etymology, demographics, economy, educational institutions, entertainment facilities, expectation and health institutions are explained under the heading Vilathikulam Assembly Segment.

The details relating to the location, historical importance, railway facilities, main attractions, main agricultural plantations, member of the legislative assembly and the number of schools are explained under the heading Ottapidaram Assembly Segment.

The details relating to the location, population and literacy rate, places of interest, educational institutions and Assembly
Constituency are explained under the heading Srivaikuntam Assembly Segment.

In the fifth chapter an attempt has been made to explain the details relating to the political parties and independents contested in Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency and the performance of political parties from the first general election held during 1951 to the latest general election held during 2004.

In the sixth chapter an attempt has been made to analyze the personal particulars of the respondents, political, social and other reasons stated by the respondents for their political apathy and political, social and other factors that influenced the voting behaviour of the respondents in the Parliamentary Elections held in Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency.

**Findings of the Study**

The details furnished about the voting behaviour of the electorate in Tamil Nadu have been analyzed in the first chapter in macro perspective. The real reasons for the political apathy and political involvement of the electorate could be analyzed more effectively by detailed analysis at micro level. Therefore, the researcher thought it appropriate to take up a research study on the voting behaviour of the electorate in Tamil Nadu with reference to Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency.

Under the heading voting behaviour a number of works relating to voting behavior such as Political Science, Bhartiya Rajnitik Vicharak, Rural Sociology, Introduction to Political Sociology, General Sociology, A Dictionary of Sociology, Economic Growth, Governance and Voting Behaviour: An Application to Indian Election, Political Parties, The City Voter in India, Voting and Election, Elections and Political Development: The South Asian Experience, Report on First General Election in India, Indian Government and Politics, Theory and Government and Politics, Political Science Indian Government and
researcher thought it appropriate to take up this research study for detailed analysis.

The details relating to the profile of six Assembly Segments of Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency reveal that three Assembly Segments of Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency viz., Tirunelveli, Palayamkottai and Thoothukudi form part of Tirunelveli Municipal Corporation area and Thoothukudi Municipal Corporation area. Therefore, the electorate in these Assembly Segments consists of more literates, Government employees, business people and private employees. The other three Assembly Segments namely Vilathikulam, Ottapidaram and Srivaikundam of Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency form part of agricultural area. Therefore, the electorate in these three Constituencies predominantly consists of less educated, agriculturists and agricultural labourers. As a result the selection of respondents in these six Assembly Segments of Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency could reflect the voting behaviour of the electorate belonging to rural and urban areas.


The results of the Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency elections held 14 times between 1951 and 2004 reveal that Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in alliance with other political parties have won six times, Indian National Congress of its won has three
times and with alliance one time, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in alliance with other political parties has won two times, Swatantra Party in alliance with other political parties has won one time and Communist Party of India in alliance with other political parties has won one time. The details relating to the runner up position of the political parties reveal that Indian National Congress has held runner-up position one time, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam has held runner-up position six times, Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam has held runner-up position three times, Swatantra Party has held runner-up position two times and Independent candidates have held runner-up position two times. The details relating to the winning and runner position of the political parties indicate that Indian National Congress has been powerful in Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency in the first three general elections before Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam parties were emerged. After the emergence of Dravidia Munnetra Kazhagam and Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam Parties the victory of the political party has been decided on the basis of alliance with the above parties. Thus regional parties have gained great influence in deciding the victory of a candidate in Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency.

The details relating to the majority of the respondents indicate that about 65% of the respondents below the age group of 35 years; about 61% of the respondents are males; about 63% of the respondents belong to Backward Community; about 79% of the respondents are Hindus; about 65% of the respondents are married; about 52% of the respondents have above high school education; about 49% of the respondents are agriculturists and agricultural labourers; about 69% of the respondents have income below Rs.1,00,000.
The respondents who did not vote in the Parliamentary elections were asked the political reasons for their political apathy. Majority of the respondents said that political reasons such as absence of party identification is the reason (about 78%), poor leadership image (about 80%), inefficient Government and programmes (about 93%), absence of principles in party alliance (about 82%), absence of principles in seat adjustment (about 77%), inefficient candidates (about 85%), inefficient campaign (about 77%), absence of nationalism (about 87%), importance given to regionalism (about 70%), absence of youth involvement (about 93%), ineffective party manifesto (about 92%), absence of clear ideology of the political parties (about 85%), lack of accessibility of the candidate (about 87%), absence of service mindedness of the candidates (about 68%), loyalties to cinema action (about 81%) and domination of privileged candidate (about 70%) are the political reasons for their political apathy and not voting in the Parliamentary elections.

The respondents who did not vote in the Parliamentary elections were asked the social reasons for their political apathy. Majority of the respondents said that social reasons such as too much importance given to casteism (about 66%), too much importance given to religion (about 74%), absence of importance given to language (about 89%), the existence of poor class (about 83%), absence of representation of tribes (about 75%), lack of literacy (about 93%), too much importance given to women (about 66%), rural urban difference (about 76%), the gap between the rich and the poor (about 68%), too much influence of the landlords over the tenants (about 72%), family influence (about 81%) and friends influence (about 90%) are the social reasons for their political apathy and not voting in the Parliamentary elections.

The respondents who did not vote in the Parliamentary elections were asked the other reasons for their political apathy.
Majority of the respondents said that other reasons such as inefficient mass media (about 64%), influence of money in the elections (about 57%), practice of muscle power (about 61%), practice of rigging (about 63%) and practice of booth capturing (about 75%) are the other reasons for their political apathy and not voting in the Parliamentary elections.

The respondents who voted in the Parliamentary elections were asked the political factors that influenced their voting behaviour. Majority of the respondents said that political factors such as party identification (about 85%), leadership image (about 92%), issues and programmes of the Government (about 68%), inter party alliance (about 85%), seat adjustment (about 77%), candidates influence (about 78%), influence of campaigns (about 80%), nationalism (about 93%), regionalism (about 82%), youth involvement (about 87%), party manifesto (about 81%), ideology (about 70%), accessibility of the candidate (about 93%), service mindedness of the candidate (about 68%), merit of the candidate (about 87%) and loyalty to cinema actor (about 77%) influenced their voting behaviour.

The respondents who voted in the Parliamentary elections were asked the social factors that influenced their voting behaviour. Majority of the respondents said that social factors such as caste (about 66%), religion (about 74%), language (about 89%), class (about 83%), tribe (about 75%), literacy (about 93%), sex (about 66%), rural urban difference (about 76%), income (about 68%), land lords influence over tenants (about 72%), family influence (about 81%) and friend’s influence (about 90%) influenced their voting behaviour.

The respondents who voted in the Parliamentary elections were asked the other factors that influenced the voting behaviour. Majority of the respondents said that other factors such as (about 64%), mass media, money (about 57%), muscle power (about 61%),
rigging (about 63%) and booth capturing (about 75%) influenced their voting behaviour.

**Conclusion**

The various literatures reviewed in the second chapter reveal the factors that influenced the voting behaviour of the electorate. According to H.R. Mukhi voting behaviour is influenced by caste, religion and region. Rajendra K. Sharma considers caste is the main factor that influences the voting behaviour of the electorate. According to Sachdeva voting behaviour is influenced by performance of political parties and Government. J.L. Kachroo and Vijay Kachroo opine that some electorate belonging to illiterate and lower classes category are politically apathetic and do no vote in the elections. Arvind Viramani views that independent or floating voter is more likely to be affected by economic conditions. N.G.S. Kini considers that community decides the voting behaviour of the electorate. Rose and Mossavir voting is the only single act of political participation by majority of the adults in a country. The Election Commission of India in its Report has pointed out that majority of the Indian population consists of illiterates and the illiterates may not be able to exercise their votes intelligently and freely. Manoj Sarma views that caste, religion, regionalism, ideology and community are the important factors that influence the behaviour of voters. Ghoshal points out that some voters are influenced by local influential or political brokers. Prem Arora has pointed out that voting behaviour in India is decided on the basis of personality of the leader, religion, regionalism and muscle power. Rumki Basu opines that voters are influenced comparatively little by policy consideration. Meenu Roy opines that voters have no choice in selecting candidate. Powerful political parties impose their candidates from above. So the voters do not show the interest in casting vote. There are other two categories of non voters. Firstly the privileged people do not vote because they know they will
get what they want any way and the second stay away because they know they will never get what they want. Yudhisthira Das opines that big money in India has led to corruption and distortion of political process of the electoral system. Alan R. Ball and B. Guy Peters consider that voting behaviour is influenced by promises and performances of a candidate or party. M.P. Singh and Rekha Sexena point out that political factors such as party identification, leadership image, issues and government programmes, inter-party alliance and seat adjustment, candidate etc., influence the voting behaviour. According to R.C. Agarwal people caste their vote for the party whose programmes and policies impress them. R.C. Prasad opine that educated cast their vote on their own accord, uneducated mostly need to prompted, helped or persuaded to go to the polling booth to vote. J.K. Chopra, S. Sen and G.S. Mansu Khani opine that election has done much to encourage the caste system because people are asked to vote for their caste candidate and this casteism is maintained by the elected leader even after election. Hari Hara Das has pointed out that factors like religion and race significantly determine the voting behaviour. Heinz Eulau, Eldersveld and Morris Janovitz have pointed out that voting behaviour is a community phenomenon. Padma Chandran Dhal has pointed out that voting behaviour has two principal dimensions. They are preference and activities. Preference refer to the degree of approval or disapproval of particular political parties, candidate, laws, policy proposals or what so over. On the other hand, activity implies what they do about their preference. Arun Kumar considers that change in the environment, increase in literacy, gender consciousness, assertion of voting rights by the deprived sections of people, uncanny discern between the propaganda and discretion to exercise one’s franchise also have impact on voting behaviour. Dipali Saha opines that political information, media, psychological perception and individual opinions create complex
patterns of social communication which affect the voting pattern. Shell, C. Nana has pointed out character of political parties influence the voting behaviour. S.R. Sharma has pointed out that most people vote either because they are strongly against some candidate or party or because they feel themselves under a personal obligation to someone to vote. N.K. Sahu points out that people judge a candidate from many angles. A local candidate is mostly favoured over an outsider and some times the voters ignore the outsider issue. According to Judith Bara and Mark Pennington there are number of interrelated reasons as to why people decide not to vote in many countries. Among them the main reasons are modernization, social change and dissatisfaction with political parties or government. B.B. Goswami and Jayanta Sarkar have pointed out that election manifesto and money are used by the political parties for buying votes from the people and for motivating electors the political parties express the plans and programmes which they want to fulfill if they come to power. According to Paul Wallace and Ramashray Roy Tamil Nadu’s electorate prefer an alliance including the Congress or Contress Off Shoot in all the parliamentary elections, although the Dravidian parties are the major forces in the State level competitions. They imply that alliances of political parties has affected the voting behaviour of Tamil Nadu voters. According to Partha Chatterjee for the most people voting is a habit. The children tend to inherit their parents and grand parent’s politics and reflect upon the voting behaviour. Braham Singh has pointed out that every vote is given not for the whole but for a particular cause. Shiv Lal opines that the communal bias is the cause for the political apathy. Sanjay Kumar pointed out that political factors play a significant role in voting behaviour. M.Roy has pointed out that caste politics, regional influences, defections, etc, which usually are the very basis of the battle of ballot. The above literatures reviewed in the second chapter have pointed out one or few factors are
responsible for political apathy and one or few factors have influenced the voting behaviour.

An analysis of the our study on voting behaviour of the majority electorate in Tamil Nadu with reference to Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency reveals that a combination of all political, social and other reasons such as absence of party identification is the reason, poor leadership image, inefficient government and programmes, absence of principles in party alliance, absence of principles in seat adjustment, inefficient candidates, inefficient campaign, absence of nationalism, importance given to regionalism, absence of youth involvement, ineffective party manifesto, absence of clear ideology of the political parties, lack of accessibility of the candidate, absence of service mindedness of the candidates, loyalties to cinema action and domination of privileged candidate, too much importance given to casteism, too much importance given to religion, absence of importance given to language, the existence of poor class, absence of representation of tribes, lack of literacy, too much importance given to women, rural urban difference, the gap between the rich and the poor, too much influence of the landlords over the tenants, family influence, friends influence, inefficient mass media, influence of money in the elections, practice of muscle power, practice of rigging and practice of booth capturing are the reasons for not voting in the elections and for their political apathy.

An analysis of the our study on voting behaviour of the majority electorate in Tamil Nadu with reference to Tirunelveli Parliamentary Constituency reveals that a combination of all political, social and other factors such as party identification, leadership image, issues and programmes of the Government, inter party alliance, seat adjustment, candidates influence, influence of campaigns, nationalism, regionalism, youth involvement, party manifesto, ideology, accessibility of the candidate, service mindedness of the
candidate, merit of the candidate, loyalty to cinema actor, caste, religion, language, class, tribe, literacy, sex, rural urban difference, income, land lords influence over tenants, family influence, friend’s influence, mass media, money, muscle power, rigging and booth capturing have influenced the voting behaviour.

The various research studies on voting behaviour have revealed that one or few reasons are responsible for political apathy and one or few factors have influenced the voting behaviour of the electorate. According to our study a combination of all political, social and other reasons are the causes for political apathy and a combination of all political, social and other factors influence the voting behaviour of the majority of the electorate.