CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE
Research on voting behaviour in the West started nearly forty years ago, when Merrium and Gosheel published their findings about the causes of non-votting in Chicago in 1924. Since then, new strides have been made in this very fascinating field of political behaviour. In 1928, was published Stuart A Ricci's Quantitative Methods in Politics. It has been regarded as a classic. It is the first noteworthy attempt to connect the problems of social science problems, such as the study of social change and the determinant's of attitudes.  

The people's choice, by Paul f. Lazarfeld, Bernard Berleson, and Hazel Gandet, was first published in 1944. The book reports on the first sophisticated application of survey techniques to a presidential election, in connection with the 1940 contest between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willie.

In 1954, Bernard Berleson, Paulf. Lazarsfeld and William N. MePhee published their findings of the Elmira study of the 1948 contest between Harry S. Truman and Thomas E. Dewey. In the same year, Angus Campbell, Gerald Furin and W.E. Miller published their nationwide study of 1952 Presidential election, using interview techniques "The Voter Decides".

How People Vote, by Mark Benny, A.P. Grey, and R.H. Pear, is the first panel study of voting behaviour in England. There were many excellent election studies by the
Naffield College earlier. But the Greenwich study was the first of its kind.

Scholarly interest in the study of elections in India accompanied the first exercise of universal adult franchise by the people of the country in 1952. The attempt to study election by the Indian academics had their predecessors and also their stimulus in similar attempts made in the West, particularly in United States. The point needs emphasis because, notwithstanding the difference in terms of refinement and sophistication of the studies made abroad, in India, there is a striking similarity in the objective, design, methods and techniques of the two sets of studies. Again, in India also, as in the west the effort has been, with some exception, not so much to study electoral studies as to prove into voting behaviour. Finally, both in the west and in our country, the behavioural persuasion has led to a far larger number of voting behaviour studies than to empirical probes in other political processes: the former at times even implying the neglect of the latter.

The scholars of war-torn western societies, very much afraid of communist ideological advances, moved away in the early forties from evaluative theories in favour of casual theories through the trend in nascent form which can even be dated back to the works of Graham Wallas and Arthur Bently. With a priori assumptions about the inherent goodness and rationality of human nature and strength of
democracies in Germany as a result of rise of Nazism, and also the fear of communist advances, their started a quest of political behaviour of citizens and performance of political systems to enable the scholars to infer conditions favourable for the maintenance of democracies. The new concern gave a great fillit to the study of elections as they provided great opportunity for a bright scope into dynamic of political behaviour of citizens, all the more because the elections are concerned with expression of popular choices about man and means and their Government. As people make an unmake Government, they have to be both responsive and responsible. The provision of Universal suffrage was therefore, treated as an earnest attempt for democratization, orderly performance of the system and enhancement of social welfare.

One could also identify other factors which accelerated interest for studies in the field. First, elections constitute the most of political events bringing political relativity into sharp focus. Secondly, the voters who are subjects of study here both in identical and aggregative forms are not only more clearly identifiable but they are also more easily emenable to emperical study than are the political elities, political parties and political systems in their functional and behavioural dimensions. It should, therefore, not be surprising if stories of
elections almost accompanied the advent of electoral behaviour which can tended to transform the character and contents of political science in good measure.

Studies becoming more scientific the election studies have become more scientific both from methodological and substantive aspects.

Gradual Perfection of various research methods and techniques, emphasis on multivariate rather than univariate analysis, sharpening of statistical tools and measure, and finally, greater reliance on computer perogramming than manual handling of the data, have lent to refinement and sophistication to election studies from methodological angle.

The studies have also got enriched in substantive force, tending to cover newer dimensions from nomination to the stage poll verdict.

Determinatins in Orientation- The empirical studies express doubts about the capacity of the individual voters to make independent and rational voting preference. Instead voting preferences have been found to be an outcome of various cross pressures working on an individual in a social milieu. Two major sets or variable have been identified as determinants of voting behaviour. The studies undertaken by scholars of Columbia University
entitled "the People's Choice and Voting" would lay emphasis on social and environmental factors on individual voting choices. However, the studies by Michigan Survey Research Centre like "The Voters Decides" and the "American Voter" would link voting behaviour and party preference to psychological variables or to the subjective world of the individual voter, his interpretation of candidate and issues.

In his re-interpretation of Michigan SRC data W.O. Key (Jr.) refutes the contention that the voters pay no attention to issues or party programmes and are rather guided by emotive reactions. A citation from his work is given below:

"The perverse and orthodox argument of this little book is that the voters are not fools... In the large the electorate behave about rationally and responsively as we would expect, given the clarity of the alternatives presented to it and character of the informations available to it. In the American Presidential campaigns of recent decades the portrait that develops from the data is not one of an electorate strait-jacketed by social determinants or moved by sub-conscious urges triggered by devilishly skillful propagandists. It is rather one of the surprising findings of an electorate moved by concern about central and relevant questions of public policy of governmental performance and executive personality."
M. Janowitz and D. Marvick\(^6\) have re-examined on the basis of their study of 1952 presidential election in America. They have founded out a competitive theory of democracy in their research article "Competitive pressure and Democratic Consent."

Class voting has been analysed by Heinz Eulau.\(^7\) In his article he has tried to indicate recent development in reference to group theory on the relationship between social class and political party in decision making behaviour of the electorate. He has given more emphasis on the urgent need to analyse the consequences of the social mobility on the voting preferences of the electorate in America. He has concluded that social mobility among the electorates differed in accordance with difference in their social stratification.

In a work,\(^8\) E. Maccoby and her associates have tried to trace out the effects of upward social mobility among the young people of America in maintaining conservative orientation in their voting behaviour.

William Keef\(^9\) have brought out a critical analysis of the various works in this field has advanced some propositions which have relevance in constructing the theory of legislatie decision making.
Examination of the roll-call votes is one of the most important and useful devices developed for the study of legislative behaviour of the representatives. In this field the work of Duncan Mac Rae Jr. deserves special mention. K. Huitt has made an important analysis of the legislative committee. He has urged documentary analysis method to declincate the role which members play in the works of committee hearings on pending legislation.

Lot of researches have been done in the field of administrative and organisation behaviours, and adequate list of literature has grown up. Morton Grodins has made an assessment of the relevant studies from different disciplines and has indicated some problem areas which deserve research attention. In this research much have been stressed on administrative behaviour than on organisational behaviour.

Richard C. Snyder has analysed some important and recent formulations of the sociological theory and has recommended their applications in the study of organisational behaviour.

One of the various way of studying and analysing the administrative behaviour of administrators is the systematic investigation of the social origins and profiles of the administrators. Reinhard Bendix has applied this method to study the behaviour of the administrators. He has
attempted to find out how the decision making behaviour of the crucial elite may be understood with reference to their social-background and social cohesion.

Lipset\(^{14}\) has studied the political process which operated in a trade union organisation and has thrown light on the factor which explain the persistence of oppositional politics in democratic organisation.

A world-wide survey have been made in a work conducted under the auspices of the UNESCO.\(^{15}\) D.Waldo\(^{16}\) has presented a survey of the theory of political behaviour. In the inaugural lectures of two British Professors, D.W.Brogan,\(^{17}\) and Max Beloff\(^{18}\) we get acursory view of the study of political and voting behaviour in the British sense. David Easton has given an analysis of the essential problems inherent in the study of political behaviour in his book 'The Political System.'\(^{19}\)

In his famous book 'Politics, who gets, what when and how,' Harold Las Well\(^{20}\) has presented a discussion on political behaviour. He has written another book\(^{21}\) on political behaviour jointly with Abraham Kaplam.\(^{22}\)

Barbara Wotton has presented a scientific approach to social study in his book, "Testament for Social Sciences". It is a book on politics rather than on political behaviour. He has presented a systematic analysis
on the various aspects of political and voting behaviour.

In his famous work, 'Tools of Social Sciences', John Madge\(^{23}\) has provided a general discussion on politics. His approach is scientific. There is similar work by Stuart Chase\(^{24}\) also. Graham Walla's work, 'Human Nature in Politics',\(^{25}\) is a classic appeal for realistic approach to the study of politics. Arthur Bentley's, 'The Process of Government',\(^{26}\) is also of great significance. Recent American work like, The Policy Service,\(^{27}\) 'Political Behaviour',\(^{28}\) and 'The Language of Social Research',\(^{29}\) deserve special mention. Mattin Arrow\(^{30}\) has empirically analysed individual values and social choices of group of individuals.

The work of Bagehot\(^{31}\), Lord Bryce,\(^{32}\) M.Ostrogerski,\(^{33}\) Iver Jennings,\(^{34}\) R.T. Mecknsie,\(^{35}\) and Herbert Morrison provide extensive examples of descriptive method. In America, the works of Stephen K. Baitley,\(^{36}\) and H.D. Samuel, B.M. Gross,\(^{37}\) V.O. Key\(^{38}\) and Paul T. David, Malcolm Moss and Ralph M. Goldman are based on this approach.

Descriptive and analytical approaches to the study of pressure groups are well presented by David. B. Truman,\(^{39}\) and D. Stuart.\(^{40}\) While Truman has examined the role of pressure group in the governmental process in the American context, the role of pressure group in the British context has been examined by Stuart. The Naffield Election Surveys attempt a case study approach to political events. R.B.
Mcculam\textsuperscript{41} and A. Readman, H.G. Niclas,\textsuperscript{42} and D.E. Bulter,\textsuperscript{43} have done pioneering works in this sphere in which general elections in Britain have been analysed.

The pioneering American efforts to co-relate election data and census data have been made by Stuart Rice,\textsuperscript{44} C.E. Merriam,\textsuperscript{45} and H. Gosnell. Stuart Rice has presented detail description of quantitative methods which may be applied in the study of political behaviour. Merriam and Gosnell have statistically analysed non-voting in America. The same method has been applied on an international scale by H. Tinten.\textsuperscript{46} Louis Beam\textsuperscript{47} has applied the crop methods and has provided different types of analysis based on election statistics. John Bonham\textsuperscript{48} has provided the best analysis of the informations gathered about the British Public opinion polls. His approach is quantitative. The people's choice\textsuperscript{49} is a pioneer study of how far election effects voting behaviour. Further, important works done in this continuation are The Voting,\textsuperscript{50} The voter Decides,\textsuperscript{51} and American Voters.\textsuperscript{52} Greenwith study of Mark Banny, A.P. Gray and R.H. Pear,\textsuperscript{53} is the only British example of this type of work.

Sociological and psychological approaches to the study of political behaviour has assumed greater importance and several useful and significant findings have come to light. In this sphere, communication of idea has been examined by K. Katz and P.F. Lazarsfeld.\textsuperscript{54}
R.K. Merton has also done pioneer study in this field. The works of David Easton and Jack Denis, Fred. I. Greenstein, and Judith Torney are outstanding studies in this field of political Socialisation.

The works of Stuart Rice, William Diamond, Edwar Pessen, A.C. Mills Paugh, Orgourn and Jaffe, have one thing in common. They have assumed the significance of a proposition mostly on the basis of mere chance and they collect and order voting data in such a manner that the truth of falsity of the proposition may be demonstrated. The works of Hecock and Arneson may be characterised as mass tabulation case studies. Tingsten's Political Behaviour and Gosmell's, Why Europe Votes and Grass Roots Politics are example of comparative statistical survey. In their studies Ewing, Tibbits, Holcombe and Bean have adopted survey approach. They have usually been promoted by a single hypothesis, or by an interpretative assumption which is not very specific and they have been engaged themselves in trend analysis.

Ogburn, Gosness, Litch Field, Adderson and Davidson have attempted to prove one hypothesis or a few basic factors in voting behaviour, in a particular community.
Paul Lazarsfeld and Eric Country, Ohio presented dynamic interaction of many factors and variables in respect of voting behaviour. It is based on the preassumption that political behaviour is a total situation community phenomenon and to understand it one must analyse interaction of many determinants of political behaviour.

In India efforts to study elections began in the year 1952 itself when elections were held for the first time in this country after the independence. As a consequence of these efforts a substantial body of research on election and electoral behaviour has accumulated. It would be worthwhile to have at the outset a glimpse of some of the findings arrived at by the scholars in those studies. This would provide useful context and background for the understanding of the problem under investigation.

One of the most important and systematic efforts to study electoral and voting behaviour in India was by the scholars of the Delhi based centres for the study of Developing Societies. Their nation-wide sample survey during the parliamentary election of 1967 and 1971 have generated a long number of data based informations to provide a profile of the Indian Voting in terms of party identification, political knowledge, electorate involvement, sense of political efficacy and voting decision. While analysing the data in a comparative perspective, Elderveld and Ahmed maintain that virtually on most or all measures of
political development like knowledge about political interest, psychological involvement with the outcome of political actions, extent of political activity, belief in the party system and election, strength of identification with parties, and on the sense of political efficacy, the Indian system is clearly a developed polity. More importantly, their analysis suggests a consistent rise in respect of political awareness, sense of political efficacy, sophistication about politics and involvement in politics among voters from 1967 to 1971. Further the authors notice the association of some socio-economic variables, particularly education and income, with party identification, sense of efficacy, psychological involvement in the election of 1971, and observe that "Social status differences may be more significant in Indian mass political behaviour than previously."

The phenomenon of increasing politicization of the Indian electorate has also been noted by D.L. Seth. He suggests that an Indian voter manifests a relatively high degree of party identification, acceptance of the validity of electoral processes, as he also evinced an appreciable amount of understanding of the general framework of a democratic polity, and the same degree of cognitive awareness of his immediate political surroundings.

A report was prepared on the Indian General Election: 1951-52, which was jointly edited by S.V. Kogkar and Richard Park under the auspices of the Indian Political
Science Association. The reports gives state-wise account of electoral processes at work. This study is descriptive in style and covers such aspect as patterns of party alliances, selection of candidates, the campaign processes, and the role of press. Finally a summary of election results with their implications for the systems performance is furthered. The use of survey and statistical methods in the report is particularly significant. The data collected with their help throw significant light on the level of voters consciousness, party preferences and relevance of the vote theory.

Among the studies of 1952 election, the doctoral dissertation of Edward Robert 0, Sooner also deserve mention.

1957 election studies-strangly enough, unlike the 1952 election, there has been no planned study of 1957 election by any institution. The same is true at two-mid term elections held in Orissa and Kerala in 1959. The twentieth conference of the Indian Political Science Association held in december 1957 evinced interest in the studies in the second general elections. Different scholars read papers surveying the pattern of electoral processes in their respective states. The papers followed a familiar pattern, covering analysis of the manifestoes to identify party commitments and campaign issues, review of electoral alliances, nomination strategy and poll verdict.
Another effort was made by S.L. Poplai under the auspicious of the Indian Council of World Affairs. Besides reproducing party manifesto, the volume also has one paper from a valuable functionary of each national political party on the approach of his party to the election of 1957.

The anthropologists also study the elections. They were, however, interested in finding out how the new political institutions were percolating down to the isolated small communities and their simple socio-political organisations. From that point of view a number of social anthropologists studied the village power structure and changes occurring in it in the wake of universal adult suffrage. Baley's work is a pioneering effort in this field. It adopts a simple but comprehensive framework to approach its subject matter. His technique of describing political behaviour is a relatively simple one. It is like the map of a river. The mainstream is state politics, fed by the tributaries of political activities in the districts and revulets which fed their tributaries are 51,000 villages. He has given his analysis with the villages and, so to speak, floated with the current through the constituencies in the mainstream of politics. Some other studies are made on anthropological approach. A.C. Mayers' study of municipal elections in Dewas, a town in Madhya Pradesh, is a study of choice.
Pranab Mohapatra and Nityananda Pattanaik attempted for certain perceptive studies. 89

1962 Election Studies - The general election which came to be described as symbolizing India's Political 'takeoff' evoked great scholarly interest. The 1962 election marked the beginning of systematic work in the field from both substantive and methodological point of view. But the problem of institutional finance to support the studies also continue to be there. Due to lack of trained research staff and adequate finance, the burden of collecting data fall on raw hands. This naturally became a severe handicap in the case of voting behaviour studies which relied heavily on the questionnaire method.

S.L. Poplai 90 made a study which was a republication of a similar attempt made by him on the eve of the 1957 elections. In this edited volume also, as in the previous one, the contributions of key leaders of political parties have been included by way of articulation of the ideological position of their respective parties on various issues. Surinder Suri's 91 attempt is more comprehensive. However, the work is a largely a collection of articles published in different journals and, as such, does not follow any well planned scheme. "The work is never-the-less important from the point of view of conceptualisation as it attempts generalizations in terms of campaign styles, issues and factions influencing voting preferences... 92
Ramshray Ray, another scholar has studied the mid-term election of February, 1969 in four Indian states U.P., Bihar, Punjab and West Bengal. While exploiting the relevance of contextual factors he found the existence of electoral behaviour in the states studied by him. The broad conclusion arrived at by Ray could perhaps be best summarised in his own words: "The Syndrome of Political Attitude and Orientations and the objective conditions that shape these attitudes and orientations differ from state to state.

D.N. Pathak has studied the electoral behaviour in Gujarat during the Fourth General Elections of 1967. His findings indicate the high degree of campaign exposures, rising level of informations, awareness among the voters and his belief in the efficacy of the electoral behaviour in Gujarat. Further, while exploring the electoral behaviour differentials in terms of certain socio-economic characteristics of the voters, he demonstrates the definite impact of education, and income on media exposure, political informations, party identification and electoral involvement. The relevance of socio-economic variables in the explanation of electoral behaviour has also been explored in different other studies. Khanna and Deva in their study of electoral behaviour in Punjab and Haryana noted a positive associations of socio-economic status with political knowledge, party identifications and sense of
political efficacy.\textsuperscript{97} Allö Dastur\textsuperscript{98} in her Bombay study documents the impact of SES of various aspects of various electoral behaviour and points out that "The average score for most of the concepts increased with the rise in the SES scale of voters. . . .Kini\textsuperscript{99} in his study of the voters of Nagpur city shows a positive association of income and education with political involvement. Siriskar\textsuperscript{100} in his study of Poona Parliamentary constituency demonstrates a positive correlation between education and voting behaviour. Further Ganguly\textsuperscript{101} and Gangulu in their study of West Bengal noticed a positive association of respondent's occupation and income with party choice.

Prasad\textsuperscript{102} has examined the political maturity level of voters in a parliamentary constituency of Bihar along four broad dimensions: Awareness, involvement, judgement and adjustment. His findings suggest a positive relationship of political maturcation," With (I) inhabitance in a more modern (Urban) environment, (II) better education, (III) high income, (IV) higher caste; and (V) more frequent habit of political conservations."

Burma,\textsuperscript{103} Narayan and associates have studied electoral behaviour in Rajasthan. Their evidence indicate that it is the sense of political efficacy rather than socio-economic characteristics which motivate the electorate towards participation in voting. They\textsuperscript{104} report that "People who have faith in the efficacy of the political
system in general and the ballot box in particular who as such have a stake in both of them feel motivated to vote. Further, while analysing the voting preferences they observed a trend of waning grip of traditional forces and traditional based criteria in the mind of Rajasthan Voters. The declining influence of traditional forces in voting decision was again noticed in the 1971 Lok Sabha Elections in Rajasthan by the Scholars of the Department of Political Science, University of Rajasthan, O.P. Goyal has made a study on the municipal election in Haryana. These were a number of studies concentrating on national, State, District and constituency level. To avoid details one may only say at this juncture that the smaller the unit of analysis the more the inquiry has succeeded in approximating reality.

The following studies attempted aggregate data analysis in one way or the other. Devabrat Pathak, M.G. Parekh and Kirti Desai have enquired into political trends in Gujrat state through the analysis of election statistics against the contextual background. The study as the authors have pointed out, covers the analysis of "The Political and Socio-economic Background" of all the three general election. The voting and the results of the elections became meaningful in the context of the background. The elections are discussed in a variety of ways including seats and the votes with the party-wise percentage.
At the All India level the statistical analysis of 1962 election results has been attempted by Ramachandra Rao. He has discussed gains and losses of major national political parties against a comparative perspective of 1957 election. Ashok Mitra in his study of election in West Bengal also pursued the same focus on inquiry. In a serialized article, he has first compared the trends in 1952 and 1957 elections and then has extended the comparison to the 1962 election. Gopal Krishnas' is the first prominent and comprehensive work which takes into account the role of various socio-economic factors. Taking the help of classification of various districts on the basis of level of developments as evolved by Registrar General of India, Gopal Krishna has undertaken a study of political consciousness of voters, degree of political composition and performance of various political parties.

Of the studies using survey method V.M. Siriskar's "Political Behaviour in India" is the most ambitious. It is a penal of study built around a total of 1457 voters, selected through random sampleing, who are contacted three times—two times before and after the elections. The sample was drawn from four assembly constituencies which were part of the parliamentary constituency of Poona. Except that the constituencies were all urban, they represented different cross sections and income groups. "One ever, finds that all the questions raised in the introduction had not been operationalized in the schedules administered to the voters."
No effort has been made either to construct scales or use advanced statistical method. Still the work is a pioneering attempt inspite of these methodological limitations.  

Among other studies, "Elections and Political Consciousness in India" by S.P. Varma and C.P. Bhambri also deserves mention. It is one wave (Pre-election) study of voting behaviour attempted through a schedule. As far as the pattern of voting behaviour are concerned, it brings out that the tidel waves of fudalism under the leadership have variables such as age, education, caste, religion, etc. This study also indicates significant correlation among levels of electoral consciousness and variables such as sex, education, and urbanization.

Menon Vs. Kripalini by Allo J. Dastur describes attention, for its coverage of a parliamentary constituency where two political gairits had entered into the election fray. "While the study is significant for the use of the observational method, it is a weak from the point of conceptualisation and use of statistical techniques."

Among the prominent voting behaviour studies built around non-participant observation, one noteworthy attempt is "Indian Voting Behaviour" brought out under the editorship of Myron Weiner and Rajni Kothari. It contains seven case studies of urban and four of rural electoral
constituencies. The case studies bring out how and to what extent different socio-economic groups are involved into competitions for a share in political power.

The fourth general elections held in 1967 occupy a unique place in the history of electoral politics in India for a number of reasons. It witnessed unprecedented mobilisation of the people on the plank of dissatisfaction with congress policies and their implementation, thus giving an opportunity to the non-congress political parties to make a bid for political power.

The edited works of M. Pattabhiram and Ramdas G. Bhatkal, is of great importance. An academically fruitful attempt in this regard has been the publication of "Fourth General Elections in India" in two volume under the editorship of S.P. Warma and Iqbal Narain. The first volume consists of state-wise surveys of electoral processes by scholars. The surveys are comprehensive and cover various stages in the electoral process. This is the first major work of its kind after the one attempted by Kogekar and Park in 1952. "Context of electoral change in India : General Elections 1967" which consists of contributions of scholars located at the centre for the study of developing societies, Delhi, is a collection of articles published earlier mainly in the "Economic and Political Weekly" and the "Seminar". The contributions may be divided broadly into two categories. The articles in the first
category deal with the context of elections and their relationship with the larger political processes. Those in the second category give profiles of elections in various states. On the whole the essays are quite illuminating. Still the aclitist bias of the writings makes them some what one sided. An effort has been made to analyse the political system in terms of elite dominance only. The political parties which are expected to ensure people's meaningful participation have only worked as instruments in the hands of dominant groups to penetrate down to the local level and legitimize these rules. The book at times gives the impression that it is an effort to rationalise the real."

Coming down from national and state level to constituency level studies, one finds a welcome addition to the literature in Rashieduddin Khan's study of electoral strategy and behaviour of voters in an assembly constituency of Hyderabad. The author concludes that the sense of separatism or isolationism rooted in the peculiar problems of the Muslims is reinforced equally by the non-secular leadership image of the majority community and, surprisingly but understandably also, by the election systems itself. Mr. Rashiduzyman has made a study of electoral politics at micro levels in his article, "Election Politics in Pakistan Village." He has analysed the process of election politics in three undivided Pakistan villages situated 30 miles from Dhaka city. He observed that the village factors, personal rivalaries, tradition and religion had a
village life and the conditions and to the political norms of village community in order to gain political support.

K.S. Sayeed has examined the relevance of General Election in Pakistan in the context of the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 in his article, "Nineteen Sixty Five- An epoch making year in Pakistan-General elections and war with India." He has examined the election for the office of the President as well as for national and provincial assemblies held in Pakistan for the first time in 1965 which returned President Ayub and his party to power with considerable majority.

R.B. Stuffer has analysed the electoral dynamics of Philippines in his article, "Phillipines Legislators and Their Changing Univers." He examines the sample data on national legislators which a view to finding out to what extent either of the two types of political change occurs in case of adjustment to social change.

A.J. Wilson has studied the working on parliamentary institution in Ceylon in his article, "Factors in the Working of Parliamentary Institutions in Ceylon." He has analysed the role of political parties, the electorate, the Government, Parliamentary group and the cabinet in the working of the parliamentary system of government in Ceylon.
B.N. McLennan has studied the concept of representation in Indonesia in his article, entitled "Evolution of Concept of Representation in Indonesia." 133

"This is a particularly so with regard to political processes in rural India which have informal overtones which can be better studied through the observational than questionnaire method, the questionnaire method does not always succeed in eliciting free and frank responses. 134 "Most of the constituencies-studies would bring out how factional considerations would determine preference of local elites who, in turn, would influence the preferences of the voters. Thus it is found that factionalism is a key variable in electoral processes, 135 in general and in determining voting preferences in particular. "One could hypothesize that factions provide a better guide to the understanding of voting behaviour in India than the socio-economic variables. 136

P.R. Brass has analysed factionalism in the Indian politics in his book, "Factional Politics in India States: The Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh". He has analysed the process of tradition of the congress organisation in Uttar Pradesh from a mass movement to an effective political party. 137 He also examined the problem of exhaustion and adoption consequent upon interaction. In particulars, he discussed the emergence and working of factions within the Congress.
G.Krishna has examined the role and effect of one party dominance in his article, "One Party Dominence: Development and Trends." He has discussed the process of transforming the congress from a movement for national independence to the position of a ruling party since 1950 within the framework of parliamentary government. He has stated that the regional religions, ethnic, linguistic, social and cultural diversity of the Indian society has given rise to a multiplicity of political parties. He has also stressed the occupational background of political leadership. He has discussed the electoral support received by different parties.

In one effort, the statistical data for the various studies have been aggregated to delineate to portrait of the national voter. In another work the Project Directors themselves have produced summaries of the findings of their studies and they have been published in one volume.

The first attempt which was made at the behest of the Research Programme Committee of the Planning Commission is by N. Srinivasan and V. Subramaniam. In the words of the authors:

The plan of the survey was briefly as follows:

The basic unit surveyed was an assembly constituency. The selection of the units was purposive and was based on the criteria of political competitiveness. . . . . In the
states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra and Gujrat, one urban, rural, and one reserved state assembly constituency were surveyed. In Madhya Pradesh, each of urban, rural and reserved constituencies were surveyed.

Both in their scope and number of states covered in these studies were wider than any previous survey of elections in the country. But as compared with the survey of American elections of the SRC of the university of Michigan in the United States, Surveys of British Elections conducted by Nulfield College in England, they were somewhat limited in scope. They surveyed only a few selected aspects of the electoral process and the main focus of attention was the behaviour of the individual voter. They did not attempt to study in any depth psychological factors such as, the attitude correlates of voting and non-voting, the intensity of the involvement of the voter in the political pressure, his party preference, his sense of citizenship or political efficacy. Questions such as, social groupings, class interests and their economic antecedents, ideologies and issues and their effect on voting were only partially covered by the investigation. This study concern itself mainly with elucidating the influence of caste, religion, the level of education, age, sex and residence of voting behaviour.  

A reference may be made to the following studies. N.J. Kini's (women voting behaviour). Another study which has also been built around theoretical frame
work is that of Yogesh Atal’s "Local Communities and National Politics". He has correctly emphasised that political development should imply articulation of linkages between national politics and local communities, and he feels that they are emerging in the Indian context.

V.M. Sirisikar’s "Sovereign without Carowns" is a welcome edition to the voting behaviour studies in India. The academic significance of the book lies in the author’s effort to interpret and explain the emerging trends of the study in the context of the social milieu of Poona where the study has been located. The comparative perspective juxtaposing the responses of the elite and common voters further enriches the book academically.

While the 1967 election had witnessed wide coverages, the same is not true of the mid-term election of 1968 and 1969 held in the five States Haryana, Punjab, U.P., and Bihar. When the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), an independent body, was established, it could not only finance but also provided a forum for co-ordination of election schedule. Only a few studies were made. The momentum which was gained in the study of 1967 election was lost. As far as a state level studies are concerned a very significant contribution is that of Rabindra Pratap Singh entitled, "The General Election in Manipur: 1972." It provides a separate chapter on ecological profile of the state, anatomy of the
constituencies, analysis of party manifestoes, background of candidates, campaign processes, poll verdict, voting and its determinants. Alio J. Dastur, K.P. Modi, and R.N. Billmoria have also studied general elections in Bombay. The study has followed the following chapter scheme: "The constituencies," "The candidates," "The campaign," "The Process," "The Results." It has been based largely on secondary sources such as newspapers, and has been enriched in turn by observations, which provide close insights into the political processes at work. Methodologically the study is just descriptive and analytical.

Coming to constituency level studies,\(^{148}\) they largely relied upon observation. But if the fruits of their research is any guide, they were yet to acquire the skill and deftness in the use of the method which Baily, Mayer and others like them, could bring to bear on it.

The study of John O. Field and Marcus F. Franda\(^{149}\) is the first volume of a series of "Studies in Electoral Politics in the Indian State" brought out under the editorship of Myron Weiner and John. O. Field. The volume examines "major (in this case ideological) cleavages in Indian politics. In the same series another study of "Electoral Politics in Indian States," under the sub-title" "These Disadvantages Sectors."\(^{150}\) has been brought out.
With the common framework drawn at the behest of the ICSSR, the study by Bangendu and Mira\textsuperscript{151} had followed a multistage sampling procedure. At the first stage, the state was divided into three regions on the basis of the level of economic development. At the next stage, one parliamentary constituency was selected from each of the three regions. Finally, for the selection of sub, and sub-sub unit samples at assembly constituency, polling booth, and citizen-voter level, simple random method was used. Sampled voters were interviewed, in the post election phase. The authors have used multi-varied facto-analysis and the square test etc., as part of their efforts at methodological process in identifying voting behaviour trends.

Another study jointly undertaken by G. Ram Reddy and K. Seshadri is exclusively devoted to Panchayat elections with special reference to voting pattern of political parties, local leadership and its linkages with leadership of higher levels, and finally, to voters.\textsuperscript{152} The study has been built around observation method, administration schedule and tapping census data.

With some notable exceptions, a sort of adhocism to characterise the efforts at elections and voting behaviour studies conducted in the country so far. - "The result is that there are very few studies which can be said
to have been systematically planned and adroitly executed with a built-in potential for comparability and generalisation ultimately leading to theory building.\textsuperscript{153}

A study was conducted by Hazary (1978) to find out voting behaviour and level of Politics in Kakinada Constituency of Andhra Pradesh. The study reveals that the level of Political knowledge of the voters is very low in certain matters and quite satisfactory in certain other matters, that the contact between the voters and the candidate is limited, that a great majority of voters are apathetic and evince very little interest in the selection process though nearly 70\% of them are exercising their votes, that the impact of the mass media is insignificant even upon the urban voters in imparting political education and that voters preferred to vote for a party candidate and not to an independent, though he might have served the constituency for decades.

The study is concluded with two important observations. First, the study to light the prevalence of voting en bloc on the basis of caste identity. Second, the study reveals a striking difference in the voting behaviour of upper classes and weaker sections. While a major portion of voters of upper classes seemed to be behind Janata Party, the weaker sections were solidly behind Mrs. Gandhi’s Party. Political consciousness and charisma of a party leader
weight very much with electoral. This is a very healthy
indication of the prospects of democratic government on
party lines.

The study of election politics and voting
behaviour on the voters of Sambalpur Parliamentary
Constituency by Padhi et. al. revealed that Voting behaviour
was associated with age, education and reasons of the
voters. The analysis of election politics shows that there
was some impact of national politics upon the state
politics. The political events taking place at the centre
do influence the political performance of different
political parties at the state level. The analysis of data
reveals that voters from upper caste and minority
communities were politically more conscious than the voters
from tribe, Harijan and backward classes. The voters from
the formal groups took more interest in politics that those
of the latter groups. The participation of the Harijan and
tribal voters in electoral politics was very limited. With
regard to analysis of data by age groups suggest that young
voters took more interest in politics than the middle-aged
and the old voters. The former was more conscious than the
later. With regard to education, the educated voters vote
less in number than un-educated. But this does not mean
than they are less politically conscious than the latter.
In fact, their political knowledge is more than that of
un-educated voters, they did not want to participate in
voting. The political knowledge of illiterate voters is
very little. Urban Voters are politically more educated than the rural and tribal voters. Urban voters vote less in number than the rural and tribal voters. It does not mean that their political knowledge is scantily in comparison with that of rural and tribal voters, but they do not cast their vote because of the activities of political parties.

The study by Baral and Baral on political culture and Political modernization through analysis of Lok Sabha election in Orissa reveals that the voters of majority group gets spilt where as the members of minority group tend to vote enmass. Caste is still a symbol of identification and it influences electoral choice at the local level. But its potential as a vote getter is greatly undermined by other rival forces like party, regionalism and ideology. The caste is not the decisive factor of voting behaviour is demonstrated by the fact that most of the scheduled caste voters extended their support to the Congress I and not to Janata led by a Harijan. Urban people vote less in numbers than villagers.

An important anthropological study by Bailey (1963) in two villages of Orissa, Bissipara and Mohanpur revealed that in the developed village, the villagers treat state politics as a system of relationship in its own right, and in case where, the village politics are unconnected with state politics, it is a victory of representative institution. he has examined the politics and electoral process at the three
level including the campaign issues, consideration voting and the links between the candidate and their voters. Bailey concluded from his study that the constituency is merely an instrument for the preservation of village and in the elitist ways of life, the issue of state politics have to be translated into village idol.

The study of sub-regional Politics by Roy (1974) reveals that the descriptive political structure developed in Cuttack and Western Orissa have converged with increasing disappearance of the core based groups having emotional attachment to their rulers and leaders. The people in both the areas largely vote for their perceived interest rather than reverence for their rulers. The style of electoral politics evolved in coastal area over years has come to dominate Western Orissa.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


2. This narration is based on large measure on the treatment and of the subject by Iqbal Narain, K.C. Pande, M.L. Sharma.

3. Summing up the argument of these works, V.O. Key(Jr.) brings out that, the older tradition from practical politics may regard the voter as an erratic and irrational fellow susceptible to manipulation by skilled numbers... ... *The Responsible Electorates*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1966, Pp.4-5.


68. H.F. Gosnell, Grass Roots Politics, American Court of Public Affairs, Washington, 1942, P. 419.


77. Samual J. Elderseveld and Bashiruddin Ahamed, *Citizens and Politics; Mass Political behaviour in India*, (Chicago; The University of Chicago Press, 1978), Chap.19,

78. Ibid., P. 286.


81. Published by popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1956.


83. A brief summary of the papers presented at the conference appears in IJPS, 19(2), April-June, 1958.

85. Among them one may mention F.G. Bailey, Alan Bails, A.C. Mayer, Oscar Leuis, M.N. Srinivas, etc.

86. Ibid., Pp.23


91. n, 19., P. 29.


95. Ibid., Ppp. 66-71.

96. B.S. Khana and Satya Deva, "The campaign and voters behaviour in the 4th general elections to the state assembly in Punjab and Haryana" in ICSSR (ed.), studies in the 4th general elections, op. cit., P.166.


103. Ibid.,

104. Ibid., Pp. 367-68.


108. One may mention the contribution of Alio Dastur and Usha Mehta on Bombay, Swarnamala Dash and K.v.Rao on Orissa, V.M. Sirisikar on Maharashtra, and C.P. Bhambri on Rajasthan. These are included in a supplement to political science review, 2,(2), October, 1963.


116. n. 19., P. 36.
119. n. 19., P. 37.
120. Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1965.,


123. Orient Longman's, Delhi, 1968, "Originally the contributions included in the volume brought out in a special number of Political Science Review, 6(3-4) and 7(1-2), July 1967 June 1968.

125. n. 19., p. 50.


134. n. 19, P. 52.


139. S.P. Verma, Iqbal Narain and associates, Voting Behaviour in a Changing Society: A Case Study of the


145. (Mineographed) D.M. College, Imphal (Manipur). The project has been sponsored by the ICSSR.

146. Some of the articles that deserve mention are : Seito Esteves, "Election and one party-dominance : The pattern and causes of Congress triumph in Maharashtra",


150. The Voter and panchayat Raj, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1972.

151. n. 19., P. 138.

152. F.G. Bailey, Politics and Social Change : Orissa in 1959, University of California, 1963, P. VII.