

BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH TO PARTIES COMPARISON

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ABSTRACT

The definition of meaning for political parties that isolates their specific characteristics and is readily applicable to comparative empirical research has been challenging to come up with in the last several years. However, the endeavour to cast light on the institution under investigation is a precondition for conducting a thorough investigation. A number of factors, including the fluid interaction of parties with their environment, their frequently diffused organisational structures, and the variety of cultural arenas in which they operate, in addition to the unusually large number of activities they engage in, make it difficult to define them. As a consequence, some students claim that the quest for a trustworthy definition is premature and that, if the difficulties in defining one are arbitrarily addressed, the outcome would be too limited for the goals of the current investigation. It follows that the most accurate definition of meaning is not a definition in the conventional sense, but rather a description of the state of affairs. & According to V. O. Key (1964), the nature of parties & “must be explored via dialogue. An understanding of their function in governance was downloaded from cps.sagepub.com at PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIV on February 20, 2016 and stored there. In their comments, commentators should address the agencies that are usually acknowledged as parties and the actions that they engage in. This is a common way in which authors treat political parties in the United States. They begin their efforts by establishing an organisational framework that will allow them to better combine their resources. When it comes to political parties, the most frequent differences mentioned are those between those who represent them in the electorate, those who represent them as an organisation, and those who represent them in administration or in the legislature.

INTRODUCTION

One of the approaches' shortcomings is that it reflects the deficiencies of the existing research. It does nothing to stimulate the use of comparative research methods. Unless explicitly stated, the party is seen as a living force of independent relevance in combining the various facets of its activity, and only in passing. Another unfortunate consequence of this presenting style is that it draws focus away from issues that have not been addressed in prior research. It is concerned with what has been done, which is in turn a result of an individual researcher's interest and the availability of data in the context of that interest—which is one reason for the expanded concern with aggregate patterns of electoral behaviour and group support.

A more constructive approach to the issue would begin with the specification of criteria for a definition that is at the very least minimum acceptable. These should include an attempt to isolate, to the extent that they exist, uniformities in structure and behaviour among political parties, i.e., the identification of dimensions common to the phenomena and the boundaries, as well as the characteristics that distinguish them from other social institutions and their environment. To paraphrase Riggs (1968), the definition should also be able to adapt to changing circumstances. As a result, it should be both inclusive and selective in the sense that it distinguishes near-parties or interest groups from parties while also including all of the agencies that people normally think of when they talk about parties, whether authoritarian or democratic, electorally successful or unsuccessful, and geographically, socially, or economically representative or not, among others. Furthermore, it should be amenable to empirical investigation: it should be operationalizable. It is

tough to satisfy all of the requirements. Possibly, a starting point can be established; if a mistake happens, it should be in favour of a broad generalisation: "it is less likely to dull the imagination" (McDonald, 1955). 'Specific Aspects of Human Behavior'

These facts serve as a backdrop for the definition of political parties, which may be characterised as structured organisations present in all civilizations that share certain features of behaviour. Both the common objective—to influence and, if feasible, dominate government decision-making—and related techniques, which are defined by the use of mostly nonviolent means intended toward assuming authoritative positions—are included in this category of tactics. Party objectives should be distinguished from the more limited efforts of interest groups to influence issues and policy makers in areas of direct concern to them, as well as from the goals of minor parties, or personal collectivities, such as the Best Party, American Christian Party, and Socialist Labor Party, that may be recognised as political parties in the United States but whose goals appear to be more dramaticization of issues (prohibition, bingo) than contesting for elected office in the United States. In both circumstances, the difference is a question of degree, and a small party or interest group, such as a labour movement, might eventually rise to the status of a major party. Those revolutionary movements determined to toppling the existing system by force are purposefully excluded from the discussion of nonviolent measures of overthrowing the order. The divide is one of tactics alone; it does not include considerations of philosophy. Whether in Italy or elsewhere, a Communist party may be dedicated to fundamental reforms within the political system, but it may choose to achieve these changes via traditional attempts to gain electoral dominance.

Parties Behave in Three Different Ways

Rational choice theorists have created a number of theories of competitive party conduct that are referred to as competitive party behaviour theories. According to the stated purposes of political parties, we may differentiate between three types of party behaviour: (1) vote-seeking, (2) office-seeking, and (3) policy-seeking. There are several other types of models, each of which may be further classified, that have been constructed for various theoretical goals and have had an impact on the study of parties that extends well beyond the formal literature. Let us take them one at a time and examine them.

The Vote-Seeking Party is a political party that seeks to gain electoral power.

This model is derived on Downs's (1957) initial work on electoral rivalry, in which parties are represented as "teams of men" competing to get the greatest amount of electoral support for the aim of controlling government. As a result, Downsian parties are not just interested in garnering votes, but also in maximising votes. This is the sole goal that Downs assigns to political parties, and it serves as the foundation for his theory of electoral competition, which is based on the concept of electoral competition. Downs's argument for the vote-seeking assumption, on the other hand, is still in its early stages. In part as a result of this omission, other theorists have altered Downs's work in a number of ways. Assuming that voter participation is unpredictable and that vote-seeking ultimately serves political goals, it makes more sense to maximise pluralities rather than votes in a particular district (Hinich and Ordeshook 1970). When contesting many districts, the rational party leader seeks to maximise his (or her) chances of capturing a majority of the seats up for election (Robertson 1976). These alternative models, on the other hand, are all members of the family of vote-seeking political parties. In geographical models of electoral rivalry, the ramifications of these factors have been thoroughly investigated (Enelow and Hinich 1984; Ordeshook 1986).

The Office-Seeking Party

Parties vying for political power strive to increase their influence over political office rather than their number of votes. In this article, the term "office perks" refers to private goods given to those who have been appointed to politically discretionary positions in the government and subgovernment sectors. Office-seeking conduct consists in the pursuit of such commodities above and beyond the worth they have in

terms of political or policy considerations. While holding political office may very well contribute to electoral success or policy effectiveness, for the purposes of this discussion, action motivated by such expectations is not considered office seeking behaviour (Budge and Laver 1986). While the concept of a vote-seeking party is well-known from research on electoral competitiveness, the concept of an office-seeking party has emerged primarily from the study of governing coalitions in democratic parliamentary systems. According to coalition theorists such as Riker (1962) and Leiserson (1968), the office-seeking party seeks to maximise its control of elected office, which is frequently operationally defined in terms of government portfolios.

The Policy-Seeking Party is a political party that seeks to influence public policy.

The policy-seeking party seeks to have the greatest possible impact on public policy. It is mostly drawn from coalition-building studies, just as its office-seeking counterpart is taken from coalition-building studies. Within the field of electoral competition theory, a lesser body of work on policy-seeking parties has arisen (Chappell and Keech 1986; Hanson and Stuart 1984; Petry 1982; Wittman 1973, 1983). Specifically, the assumption that all admissible coalitions are equally feasible was a response to the "policy-blind" axioms of the first generation of game theoretic studies of government formation. As opposed to this, policy-based coalition theory holds that coalitions will be formed by political parties that are "linked" (Axelrod 1970), or at the very least near to one other, in terms of policy space. While policy pursuit is often portrayed as a complement to, not a replacement for, administrative drive, this is not always the case (Axelrod 1970; Browne 1973; De Swaan 1973; Lijphart 1984; Luebbert 1986). Policy-oriented coalition theory often presupposes that parties also seek election office, at the very least instrumentally, since it is assumed that elective office is a requirement for policy influence in the first place. This means that both government portfolios and the ideological orientation of the coalition in which it participates are important concerns for the policy-seeking party (Budge and Laver 1986). Because the trade-off between these aims has never been satisfactorily addressed, the policy-seeking party continues to be the least well developed model of competitive party behaviour in the political arena.

BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Overview

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

Indian National Congress

Indian Political Party, founded in 1885. Its founding members proposed economic reforms and wanted a larger role in the making of British policy for India. By 1907, however, the Congress had split into a moderate group led by Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who sought dominion status for India, and a militant faction under Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who demanded self-rule. In 1920 the Congress began a campaign of passive resistance, led by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, against restrictions on the press and political activities. Although the Congress claimed to represent all Indians, many Muslims, fearful of the vast Hindu majority, began to withdraw from the Congress. The Congress was divided on approaches to economic reform; the conservatives favored cautious reform while the leftists, of which Jawaharlal Nehru was a leader, urged socialism. The great strength of the organization was shown in the provincial elections of 1937. At the outbreak of World War II, the Congress voted for neutrality. When India came under Japanese attack, the Congress demanded immediate concessions from Great Britain toward a democratic Government in return for cooperation in the war effort. The British responded by outlawing the organization and arresting its leaders. In the 1946 elections to the Indian constituent assembly, the Congress lost the Muslim vote to the Muslim League; it reluctantly accepted the partition of the Indian subcontinent and the formation of the state of Pakistan. After partition the Congress, as the largest party,

governed India under Nehru's leadership. The Congress successfully adjusted to its new role as a political party and won the majority of the seats in the next election. It retained this support into the 1960s. After Nehru's death, the party began to lose support. The leadership of Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, who became prime minister in 1966, was challenged by a powerful right-wing group within the Congress, and in 1969 the party formally split into two factions; one led by Morarji Desai, the other (New Congress) by Indira Gandhi. In the 1971 national elections and the 1972 state elections Gandhi's faction won strong victories, but, in a reaction against her emergency rule, it lost the election of 1977. It was the first time the Congress had lost Government control since independence. Gandhi returned to power in the 1980 elections, called when the opposition coalition disintegrated. After her assassination (1984), her son Rajiv Gandhi succeeded to the leadership. Although he led Congress to reelection in 1984, the party was defeated in 1989 because of scandals and became the major opposition party. Following the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi during the 1991 election campaign, P.V.Narasimha Rao became head of the party and, after Congress won a plurality in parliament later that year, prime minister. In 1996 scandal again led voters to reject Congress at the polls, but Rao remained party leader. Leadership soon passed to the ineffectual Sitaram Kesri, but in 1998 Rajiv Gandhi's widow, Sonia Gandhi, a political newcomer, was elected head of Congress and had some success in rebuilding party support among Muslims and the poor. Congress nonetheless did poorly in the 1999 elections. In 2004, however, Congress returned to power, but the foreign-born Gandhi declined to lead the new coalition Government; Manmohan Singh, a former finance minister, became prime minister; the party remained in power, with a larger plurality, after the 2004 elections.¹

Socialist Party

Socialist Party has been the name of several political parties in India, all of which have their roots in the Congress Socialist Party formed during the freedom struggle. The original Socialist Party had its roots in the Congress Socialist Party (CSP), the socialist caucus of the Indian National Congress, which fused in 1948 with the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, Ceylon and Burma (BLPI). Hector Abhayavardhana of the BLPI became General Secretary of the new party. The Socialist Party was founded not long after India's independence when Jayprakash Narayan, Basawon Singh (Sinha), Acharya Narendra Dev led the CSP out of Congress. At the time, Congress's leader Jawaharlal Nehru was a democratic socialist whose sentiments were widely admired by the rank and file of the CSP, but they objected to his apparent unwillingness to act decisively in favour of democratic socialism or to renounce his dependence upon the conservative Hindu wing of the party represented by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel or C. Rajagopalachari. Despite Jai Prakash Narayan's personal popularity, the Socialist Party won only 12 seats at the 1951 Indian general election, and its electoral fortunes did not improve. The SP merged with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, which had recently been formed by J.B. Kripalani, to form the Praja Socialist Party in Haryana.

Communist Party of India

The Communist Party of India (CPI) is a national political party in India. In the Indian communist movement, there are different views on exactly when the Indian communist party was founded. The date maintained as the foundation day by CPI is 26 December 1925. But the Communist Party of India (Marxist), which split-off from the CPI, claims that the party was founded in 1920. CPI is recognized by the Election Commission of India as a 'National Party'. To date, CPI happens to be the only national political party from India to have contested all the general elections using the same electoral symbol. On the national level they supported the Indian National Congress-led United Progressive Alliance Government, but without taking part in it. The party is part of a coalition of leftist and communist parties known in the national media as the Left Front. Upon attaining power in May 2004, the United Progressive Alliance formulated a programme of action known as the Common Minimum Programme. The Left bases its support to the UPA on strict adherence to it. Provisions of the CMP mentions to discontinue disinvestment, massive social sector outlays and an Independent Foreign Policy. On July 8, 2008, Prakash Karat announced that left front is withdrawing its support over the decision by the Government to go ahead on the United States-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act. The left front had been a staunch

advocate of not proceeding with this deal citing national interests.² Communist Party of India (Marxist Leninist) Liberation

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Liberation is a communist political party in India. Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was formed in 1969 by the All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, who had split from Communist Party of India (Marxist) in 1967. CPI(ML) advocated armed struggle and condemned participation in parliamentary elections and work in mass movements. Initially the party leaders were Charu Majumdar and Kanu Sanyal.

In 1971 the party was split in two, when Satyanarayan Singh revolted against Majumdar's sectarianism. CPI(ML) Liberation has its roots in the faction that remained loyal to Majumdar. Later Majumdar's CPI(ML) was split in pro- and anti-Lin Biao-factions. CPI(ML) Liberation is the party that evolved out of the anti-Lin Biao faction. In 1975 Vinod Mishra was elected general secretary. From 1977 a reform process took place in Mishra's CPI(ML). The party conference in 1979 declared that mass organizations ought to be created in every front (which the original CPI(ML) had condemned as "economism"). Mishra's CPI(ML) also maintained good relations with the Communist Party of China, whilst most other Indian ML-factions condemned the reorientation that was pushed through by Deng Xiaoping after the death of Mao Zedong. In 1982 the Indian Peoples Front was formed, and the party started contesting elections under the name of IPF. In 1989 IPF was able to win a Lok Sabha seat from Ara, Bihar. IPF contested a Municipal election from South Dum Dum constituency in Kolkata in 1982 under the leadership of Bikash Dasgupta, but lost to the much stronger CPI(M). Subsequently the movement died in Kolkata while it was still intact in other places like Ara. In 1991 the Ara seat was lost, but the party won a seat in Assam through the mass movement Autonomous State Demand Committee. In 1994 IPF was dissolved and the party started contesting elections under its proper name. However it continued to contest elections under the banner of ASDC until 1999.

Janata Party

The Janata Party was an amalgam of Indian political parties opposed to the state of emergency (1975–1977) imposed by the Government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her Indian National Congress (R). In the general election held after the end of the state of emergency in 1977, the Janata party defeated Congress (R) to form the first non-Congress Government in the history of the Republic of India.

On the morning of March 24, Jayaprakash Narayan led the newly-elected Janata MPs to Raj Ghat, where the ashes of Mahatma Gandhi were laid, and administered a pledge to continue Gandhi's work and preserve honesty in serving the nation. Immediately afterwards, the Janata party faced a serious challenge in choosing a leader to become India's new Prime Minister, where the rival bids of party leaders could divide the party and weaken its majority before it took power. Janata party chairman Morarji Desai, Charan Singh and Jagjivan Ram enjoyed the support of a significant number of Janata MPs and the activists brought from their own political parties into the Janata organisation. To avoid a potentially divisive contest, Janata leaders asked Jayaprakash Narayan and Jivatram Kripalani to select the party's leader, pledging to abide by their choice. After a period of deliberation, Narayan selected Morarji Desai to become the chairman of the Janata Parliamentary Party on May 24. Although some leaders such as George Fernandes and Jagjivan Ram hesitated to support Desai and criticised the undemocratic method of selection, Desai's position was soon confirmed and consolidated. Taking office as Prime Minister, Desai also took charge of the Ministry of Finance. He sought to carefully distribute important posts to satisfy Janata's different constituents and the most powerful party leaders who were rivals for his own position of leadership. Both Charan Singh and Jagjivan Ram were accorded the title of Deputy Prime Minister. Charan Singh became the Minister of Home Affairs, the second-most important position in the Council of Ministers, while Jagjivan Ram took charge of the Ministry of Defence. BJS leaders Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani were respectively given charge of the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Raj Narain was appointed Minister of Health, Madhu Dandavate was to head the Ministry of Railways and trade unionist George Fernandes was made the Minister of Communications. Jurist Shanti

Bhushan was appointed Minister of Law and Justice. Congress (O) veteran and Janata candidate Neelam Sanjiva Reddy won the presidential election to become the 6th President of India on July 25, 1977. The results of its election defeat considerably weakened and diminished the Congress (R). Significant numbers of Congress (R) MPs and activists condemned Indira's leadership and left the party. As a result, MPs still loyal to Indira Gandhi renamed their party to Congress (I) – "I" standing for Indira. Although no longer an MP, Indira Gandhi continued as the president of Congress (I), which remained the largest opposition party.

Objectives of the Study

1. To examine the details relating to the political parties and independents contested in Hisar Parliamentary Constituency and the performance of political parties during the study period 1951 to 2004; and
2. To explain the voting behaviour of the electorate in Haryana;

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

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

Sources of Data

The data for this study have been collected both from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources of data have been collected from the schedules furnished to the respondents selected from six Assembly Segments of Hisar Parliamentary Constituency. The secondary sources of data have been collected from the Books, Articles, Reports, Acts and Monographs.

Study Design

The primary purpose of the study is not the testing of any hypothesis. Being an exploratory-cum-descriptive study, its basic thrust is to gain familiarity and insight into voting behaviour of the electorate in Haryana with reference to Hisar Parliamentary Constituency from the view point of the responses of the respondents selected from six Assembly Segments of Hisar Parliamentary Constituency.

Method of Data Collection

Personal interview with the help of the structured interview schedule was the main method used for the collection of primary data from the respondents. This approach in data collection helped the researcher in many ways. The researcher got an opportunity to stay with the respondents during data collection. It was a very helpful exposure where he got an ample chance to observe and discuss the various issues relating to their voting behaviour.

DATA ANALYSIS

In this section an endeavor has been made to examine the individual specifics of the respondents, political, social and different reasons expressed by the respondents for their political lack of care and political, social and different elements that affected the democratic conduct of the respondents in the Parliamentary Elections held in Hisar Parliamentary Constituency.

Individual Particulars of the Respondents

The subtleties connecting with the individual points of interest of the respondents, for example, age, sex, position, religion, conjugal status, instructive capability, occupation and yearly pay are given in the accompanying pages.

Age of the Respondents

The subtleties connecting with the age of the respondents are given in Table 1.

Table 1 Period of Respondents

Sl. No.	Age of Respondents	Number of Respondents
1.	18 Years to 25 Years	180 (30%)
2.	26 Years to 35 Years	208 (35%)
3.	36 Years to 45 Years	112 (19%)
4.	46 Years to 55 Years	60 (10%)
5.	56 Years and Above	40 (7%)
Total		600 (100%)

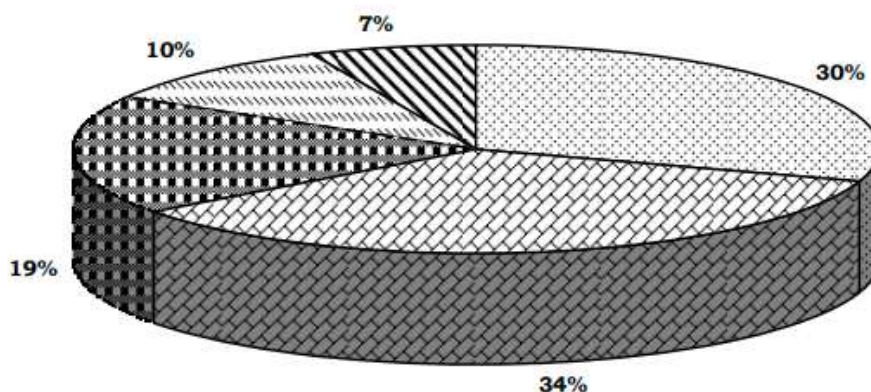


Diagram 1 Age of the Respondents

The subtleties connecting with the age of the respondents gave in the above table show that around 30% of the respondents have a place with the age gathering of 18 years to 25 years; around 35% of the respondents have a place with the age gathering of 26 years to 35 years; around 19% of the respondents have a place with the age gathering of 36 years to 45 years; around 10% of the respondents have a place with the age gathering of 45 years to 55 years; and around 7% of the respondents have a place with the age gathering of 56 years or more.

Sex of the Respondents

The subtleties connecting with the sex of the respondents are given in Table 2.

Table 2 Sex of the Respondents

Sl.No.	Sex of the Respondents	Number of the Respondents
1.	Male	368 (61%)
2.	Female	232 (39%)
Total		600 (100%)

Diagram 2 Sex of the Respondents

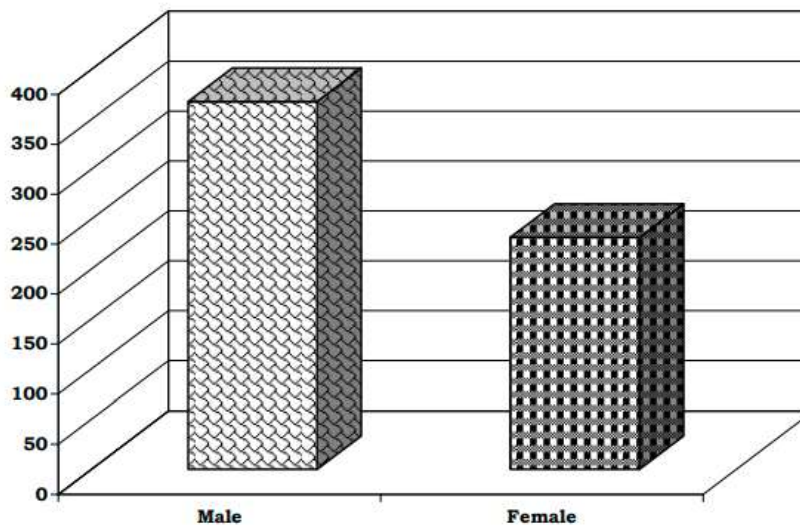


Diagram 1 Age of the Respondents

The subtleties connecting with the sex of the respondents gave in the above table show that around 61% of the respondents are guys; and 39% of the respondents are females.

Rank of the Respondents

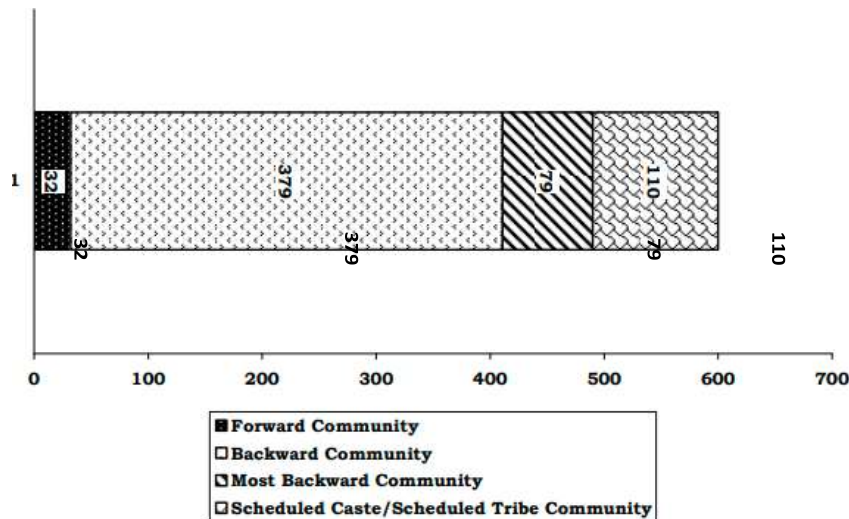
The subtleties connecting with the rank of the respondents are given in Table 3.

Table 3 Rank of the Respondents

Sl. No.	Caste of the Respondents	Number of the Respondents
1.	Forward Community	32 (5%)
2.	Backward Community	379 (63%)
3.	Most Backward Community	79 (14%)
4.	Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe Community	110 (18%)

Total	600 (100%)
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Diagram 3 Caste of the Respondents



The subtleties connecting with the standing of the respondents gave in the above table show that around 5% of the respondents have a place with Forward Community; around 63% of the respondents have a place with Backward Community; around 14% of the respondents have a place with Most Backward Community; and around 18% of the respondents have a place with Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes Community.

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.

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