

**Political Participation and Voting Behaviour:
A Study of East District of Sikkim**

A Dissertation Submitted

To

Sikkim University



In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the
Degree of Master of Philosophy

By

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Date: 07/ 02/2020

DECLARATION

I, **Pankaj Rai**, hereby declare that the research work embodied in the dissertation titled "**Political Participation and Voting Behaviour: A Study of East District of Sikkim**", submitted to Sikkim University for the award degree of Master of Philosophy, is my original work and it has not been submitted earlier to this or any other University for any degree.

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This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "Political Participation and Voting Behaviour: A Study of East District of Sikkim" submitted to Sikkim University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Political Science is the result of bonafide research work carried out by Mr. Pankaj Rai under my guidance and supervision. No part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree, diploma, associateship and fellowship.

All the assistance and help received during the course of the investigation have been duly acknowledged by him.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|-------------|----------------------------------|
| BL | Bhutia-Lepcha |
| BJP | BharatiyaJanta Party |
| CPM | Communist Party of India Marxist |
| DPC | Denzong Peoples Party |
| HSP | Hamro Sikkim Party |
| INC | Indian National Congress |
| MLA | Member Of Legislative Assembly |
| NCP | National Congress Party |
| RSP | Rising Sun Party |
| SC | Schedule Party |
| SDF | Sikkim Democratic Party |
| SGPP | Sikkim GorkhaPrajatantrik Party |
| SHRP | Sikkim Himalaya RajyaParishad |
| SJEP | Sikkim Jan-Ekta Party |
| SJP | Sikkim JantaParisad |
| SKM | Sikkim KrantikariMorcha |
| SLA | Sikkim Legislative Assembly |
| SSP | Sikkim SangramParishad |
| TMC | Trinamool Congress |

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In modern democracies direct participation is not possible due to vast topography and population. To sustain these obstacles modern democracies run through Indirect Democracy or so called the Representative Democracy, where voters elect their representative on their behalf to execute their function in the legislature. Though there are numerous forms of democracy which are direct or indirect, representative, participatory or deliberative; one cannot agree with which one is the best democratic practice (Sartori, 1962).

Elections can be considered as one of the most integral part of democracy in the world. Where every individual has the right to exercise their voting rights. All the citizen living in the state cannot elect their representatives only those who are qualified under the 'Universal Adult franchise' have the right to vote or elect their representatives. An electoral system represents the system by which the voter has right to choose his/her candidate or political party out of those contesting in election. India in its constitution entitles the country into Socialist, Secular, and Democratic Republic. Thus it owns the largest democracy in the world with the Parliamentary form of Government and the heart of system lays a commitment to hold regular, free and fair elections. Elections are conducted according to the constitutional provisions supplemented by laws made by the parliament (Representation of People Act 1950, 1951).

Elections in democracy provides an opportunity to express about the issues in public and any citizen has the right to contest elections either independently or by launching

new political party, hence it is an vital supplement in modern democracies. Elections provide the ground to each and every individual to express and extent their support or dissatisfaction towards government. Government obtain their democratic mandate from people through elections which in return execute and implement policies, programmes and are accountable for their actions. Elections have been consider as an important medium to achieve the aspiration of people in a modern representative democracies and has been functioning since the 16th century BC. According to Micheal Brecher's , elections are the means of the "reutilization of political change" (Awasty, 2013). In representative democracies elections is considered as the central theme. Therefore, the electoral system, which frames and influences voting behaviour, is a crucial institution in any democracy (Gallagher and Mitchell, 2005, Nohlen, 2009). Political participation basically means that someone is taking part in the political process by making his or her opinions identified. The term political participation is frequently used to describe an action taken by a citizen to impact the outcome of political issues. In representative democracy, the concept of political participation simply means the activities taken by free and equal citizens to influence the government and such political participation is the heart of democracy (Dahl 1972).

In liberal democracies, no one can force any individual to take active part in politics but on the other hand democratic politics cannot survive if the large majority of citizens withdraw from their democratic responsibilities. Hence, for the proper functioning of democracy significant amount of political activity and participation of the people is crucial. The task of political scientist or scholars is to study (understand) why and how people participate and explain the process of political participation. Political participation involve a variety of activities, from communicating local

officials to engaging in acts of political violence, thus the patterns and dimensions of political participation, have been studied broadly since the 1960s (Deth 2003).

Among the many activities taken by which people can make their needs and interests count in political decision-making, casting votes at general elections has always been the key features. Since today it is the most extensively used and most democratic form of political action. Political participation is the core doctrines of representative democracy and is inseparable. It act as the important weapon that lies in the hands of citizen which empowers them to hold officials accountable to the will of the people along with the power to decide who suits best to hold power. It seems that electoral behaviour is one of the most intensely explored political phenomena (Falter and Schoen 2005, Lewis-Beck 2008).

One of the most interesting questions about election is not essentially concerned with who won or loss rather, with why people voted the way they did and what are the implications of those votes are and how voters in a democracy make their voting choice. According to Heywood (2002), he has taken two things into considerations, which is characterised by short-term and long-term influences. Influences that is specific only to a particular election and are vulnerable to large shifts from one election to another falls under short-term influences. However, influences that is more stable in the long run such as, caste, ethnicity, and loyalty towards party for a lengthy tenure is considered as long term influences (Hazarika 2015, Prysby and Scavo 1993, Heywood 2002).

According to Ayee (1997), elections are the most important features of democracies because they provide an opportunity for citizens to endorse or reject an incumbent. In democracies an election provides opportunities to each individual to elect their

representatives; such act which is fundamental to the exercise of legitimate authority. Additionally, one of the most genuine acts in democracy is to participate and most citizens view that participating in the democratic system through voting as the single most essential part and often the only political act that they will ever undertake. Therefore, free and fair elections are crucial in any democracy, as it empowers the common people to elect their ideal leaders (Erdmann 2004).

Political participation in a democracy offers citizens an opportunity to communicate, share messages or information to government officials about their concern issues, problems, preferences and are able to pressurised on them to respond (Verba, 1995).

Political participation is an indispensable feature of democracy and is relevant for any political system. 'Where few take part in decisions there is little democracy; the more participation there is in decisions, the more democracy there is' (Verba & Nie, 1972, p. 1).

Political participation along with voting behaviour is the most critical ingredients in democracy. When the nation is able to represent the entire citizen equally then it can reinforce a democratic system more efficiently. In democratic political system elections and voting is like two sides of a same coin which is inseparable, since it is the process by which people are elected into various offices for different assignments. Voting is an action of properly representing one's own choice of candidate or political party at an election (Erdmann, 2004).

Political participation simply means that a person is participating in the political process by making his or her opinions and beliefs known. In the social sciences, the term 'political participation' is often used to describe an action taken by a citizen to

influence the outcome of a political issue. Participation means 'sharing in' or 'wrap oneself with' every dimension of life, of culture or of economy, our educational system, our political system, our decision-making process. But different scholars have their own views about the concept of political participation and are unable to come upon a one agreement. The conception has been very barely viewed as those political activities of private citizens or the roles played by the members of the society as private citizens (Milbrath, 1977).

The history of political participation by citizens can be traced on the accounts of democracy of ancient Rome. Participation in politics or engagement in the state was considered significant. The best kind of responsible government is one "in which public participation is as great as the general degree of improvement of the community will, Nothing less can be ultimately desirable than the admission of all to a share in the sovereign power of the State,"(Wass, 1984).

Individuals participate directly/conventionally or indirectly/unconventionally in the process of decision making or governance of the society simply means Political participation. When participation proceeds through the formal organs or institutions of the state, it considered as conventional, while individuals informally participate using the informal institutions to influence political decisions and activities of the government is termed unconventional (Almond and Verba, 1963).

India as a constitutional democratic country with a parliamentary system of government and at the heart of the system lies a commitment to hold regular, free and fair elections. Elections serve an important purpose of mobilization of public opinion, regulation of public policies, and institutionalization of political participation (Kothari, 1970). Participation by citizens in every sphere of democratic system is the

vital supplement of democracy and more the participant healthier the democracy. On the other hand, election is the main ingredient of democracy, which gives an opportunity to elect their representatives on their will. During the election voters cast their votes in the favour of or against off, such behaviour of voters needs to be studied under the concept of Voting Behaviour. Voting behaviour is the way that different people tend to vote. It is studied so that political scientists, or political psychologists, can understand why certain people vote for different political parties and so that political parties can calculate who might vote for them in the future, which helps them to plan the policies, communication and the people who might best represent them and convince voters to vote for them at the next election.

Voting is one of the most commonly used terms in age of democratic politics which has made this term a household name; in a simple sense voting means to elect leaders of their own. Voting in itself has taken a sphere of expression of people of their will, to choose, support or dislike the government's decisions, policies and programmes (Hazarika, 2015).

Voting behaviour is a form of electoral behaviour. Understanding voting behaviour is a central concern for political scientists and understanding voter's behaviour helps to describe how and why decisions were made either by public decision-makers or so on (Goldman, Sheldon, 1966). Moreover study of voting behaviour focuses on the determinants of why people vote in the way they do and how they arrive at the decisions they make. This suggests that the behaviour of a voter is influenced by several factors (Bartel, 2008).

According to Banski (2012), there are several factors responsible for determining individuals voting behaviour, for instance, he identified a combination of attitudinal,

social and psychological factors that act as a determinant. According to Bartel 2008, people vote as per their original political nature, while some others vote because of the candidate's personal characteristics, qualities and abilities etc. In an academic field the determinants of voting behaviour has been a part of much researched and debating issue. Different scholars have examined voting behaviour, over the years scholars have studied the subject from different theoretical approaches, utilizing a variety of data, and have arrived at several different answers. Human activity refers to voting behaviour in the context of elections which is set of one's related personal and electoral actions. Actions, which may include participation in electoral campaigns, choosing for whom to vote and voter turnout (Bratton, 2013). Thus, it contains both the actions and inactions of people regarding electoral participation, as well as for whom to support if one decides to participate in the voting process (Rule, 2014).

Therefore, the study of voting behaviour constitutes an attempt to pull off a cover of the environment in which voters make decisions about voting. In democracy, justice flows from the channels of politics, hence it is crucial to understand that the Electoral Politics is a soul of a Democracy without which it cannot exist in its true spirit (Babar, 2015).

Samuel S. Eldersveld in his Theory and Method in voting Behaviour research deals that voting behaviour is not new term but it was not much studied earlier; gradually it was used to describe certain areas of study and types of political phenomena around. Voting behaviour is not only about studying voting statistics, records and computation of electoral shifts and swings, but also involves an investigation of individual psychological processes, perception, emotion and motivation and its relation to the oriented actions. Voting behaviours studies the minds of the millions of people who

take participation in the political process as voters. According to Plana and Riggs, “voting Behaviour, is a study concerned with the ways in which people tend to vote in public elections and to find out reasons why they vote as they do” (Hazirika,2015). The behaviour of a voter is influence by several factors such as religion, caste, community, language, money, policy or ideology, purpose of the polls and extent of franchise are used by political parties to win the battle of the ballot box (Akhter and Sheikh, 2014). In understanding this Voting Behaviour, several models or approaches are applied. The three models to study of voting behaviour is done by three major research schools: the sociological model, often recognised as School of Columbia, with the main reference in Applied Bureau of Social Research of Columbia University, whose work begins with the publication of the book *The People’s Choice* (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944) and focuses on the influences of social factors; another model is the psychosocial model, recognized as School of Michigan, with its major work of Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes (1960) *The American Voter* and expects that party identification is the main factor behind the behaviour of voters; the third one is the rational choice theory, also referred as a model of economic voting, or School of Rochester, whose innovative work is done by Anthony Downs (1957) *An Economic Theory of Democracy* that puts stress on factors such as rationality, choice, information and uncertainty.

Voting behaviours ties to understand the Preferences of voters like *who* are people voting for and the socio-demographic determinants of these preferences *what* decides people vote or *why* do they vote for the particular parties or candidates. Voting behaviours also seeks to clarify the issue of Time of Vote Choice thatis, *when* do people set up their mind about who they are going to vote and *why* dothey make their vote choices *when* they do. For instance, there are many late deciders in Indian

elections and voting behaviour also tries to understand *who* are the people, *who* decide their vote early and *who* are the voters *who* do so at the last hour. Like the above said, voting behaviours tries to explain such questions and also tries to understand the determinants behind it (Sardesai and Mishra, 2012).

Voting behaviour is a set of people's election activities, including participation in election campaigns and the study of voting behaviour and its determinants (Bratton, 2013).

Voting forms the main part in liberal democracies where political participation cannot be ignored liberal democratic societies. The study of voting patterns consistently focuses on the determinants of why people vote as they do and how they arrive at the decisions they make. Political scientists have focussed on the influence of political factors such as issues, political programmes, electoral campaigns, and the popularity of party leaders on voting behaviour. Voting behaviour lean towards to look to the socio-economic determinants of support for political parties, observing the correlations between class, occupation, ethnicity, sex, age and vote (Harrop and Miller , 1987).

Elections are the important political events of a political system which is able to shape political behavior in different shapes which may be in long term and short term as well. "Man is a social being. He is born in a society, lives in a society, highly depends upon society for his/her needs and learns every behavior of society, colored with the norms of society" (Wilder, 1999).

Voting behaviour helps to learn about the nature of the democratic system and describes about the process of political system and the nature of change. "In a

democratic societies voting is the main form of political participation and the study of voting behaviour in political science is specialized in the sub-fields” (Cohen, 2003).

While going through the study of voting behaviours, the determinants behind why people vote and how they come up with the decisions are consistently focused. Sociologists mainly focused at the socio-economic determinants such as ethnicity, gender, relation between class, age and vote (Lednum, 2006).

Demographic factors do have the effects on voting behaviour or decisions of citizen like gender, race is more vital than socioeconomic factors like education. Social class plays a significant importance in voting behaviour, In the last few years determinants like ethnic and racial influences on voting behaviour were studied more than other issues because race and ethnicity had severe impact on voting behaviour (Birner & Qureshi, 2006).

Statement of the problem

Sikkim lies in the lap of Himalayas, surrounded by three international boundaries China, Nepal and Bhutan. Sikkim was one of the Himalayan kingdoms like Bhutan and Nepal before it was merged into Union of India as a 22nd State on 16th May 1975. Sikkim, under the Chogyal Dynasty enjoyed full sovereign over the land and people for almost three hundred and thirty three years, until Sikkim handed over her sovereignty to Union of India when it became the 22nd state of sovereign Republic of India. Along with the merger there was transition from monarchy to democracy, which set up democratic system and institution to govern the land replacing old tradition that prevailed under the monarch. Merger of Sikkim with India brought more changes in political developments that were more of participatory and slowly the

more inclusive political culture was set up. Political culture in Sikkim is an important factor in order to understand the political development of Sikkim, thus one need to understand the dynamics of political culture of Sikkim under the monarch. Political development in Sikkim was a slow process with various shifts during various reign of Chogyal. Role of political development along with political culture is essential to understand as it often determines the changes that come up in any sphere of state. Therefore in order to understand the political participation and voting behaviour one needs to have a somehow a clear picture of political culture and its political development of Pre- Post Sikkim. From the mid-1940s there was certain ups and downs in the political scenario, people had started to feel the unnecessary malevolent nature of monarch. As it was also the impact of Indian Independence which had ignited about the sense of freedom among the people of Sikkim. From mid 40s people started to demand changes on the system also there was the formation of political parties. Certain changes in political culture and development was waved across the Sikkim. Sikkim embraced a number of political transitions and disruptions before or after it became federal unit of India. Sikkim has been the part of political culture and practices under Indian constitution but it has a unique political culture unlike other similar counterparts in the country. Since its merger in 1975, Sikkim has experienced a number of democratic elections. But after the downfall of first elected government under L.D. Kazi there was certain changes in the political culture and development or we can consider it as the starting phase of one party dominance. Hence government under N.B. Bhandari was able to rule Sikkim for three consecutive terms. Though there were several other parties both regional and national they were unable to catch the attention of the voters and influence them to vote for them. Sikkim has witnessed dominance of single party despite a political system under multi-party political

framework. None of the political parties has been able to win five consecutive elections in the region leaving behind SSP party that successfully ruled for three consecutive years. It provided a space for ruling party monopoly in governance unaffected of opposition for quite a long time. Changes in the party in power are not recurrent which is practical in other part of the country. It is the variations in the voting pattern of the people that has made a change in government possible in the elections of 2019, when Sikkim Krantikari Morcha under the leadership of Prem Singh Tamang was able to break down the dominance of one party system. Though the electoral results from 1979 to 2014 show that the electorate voted out incumbent government's on consecutive terms. Hence, there has been several changes in the voting pattern or behaviour in the two consecutive elections 2014-2019 which can be seen and felt. The changes in the voting behaviour were able to bring the change in government of Sikkim and was able to break the one party dominance. With the collapse of one party dominance, the new political culture and political development can be felt, whereas on the other hand National party was able to maintain its position but was unable to win peoples mandate through election. Seeing the existing political activities in state, it holds importance in research the avenues to understand the voting behaviour of voters and determinants which acted as a factor in breaking down the rule of 25 years in Sikkim. This study will try to understand the nature of party politics as well as political participation and voting behaviour and its determinants. This study will try to understand the motive of voters like why do they vote, how will they come at the decision to vote for or against, when do people set up their mind about who they are going to vote etc.

Review of Literature

Politics of Sikkim: A Sociological study by A.C. Sinhala (1975) provides an analysis of political development in Sikkim and discusses about historical evolution of the significant social activities during the pre-merger period in Sikkim. Also highlights the Tibetan feudalism and how it got accommodated to the kingship in Sikkim. Also discusses about Kazi, bureaucrats who were pro king and the Nepali political leaders and the youth political leaders those who were struggling for democracy. Author in other part deals with the political development after India's Independence which shows clear mark that the influence of Indian freedom movement against the British had also reached the educated youths of Sikkim. It is only based on sociological aspect. People's participation and politics, political institutions and also the role of political organization are not well mentioned in this book.

The Politics of India since Independence by Paul R. Brass (2013), argued that the Indian polity has reached a turning point in its post-Independence history. The old political order dominated by the Congress has been decline because of the rise of Hindu Nationalism and the rise of BJP. This book also discussed about the destruction of Mosque in Ayodhya. Brass writes a move towards further centralisation and authoritarianism under the regime of militant Hindu nationalism represents the gravest danger to the Indian state, civil society and the ideology and practices of secularism.

Politics in India by Rajni Kothari (2014), brings the theoretical interpretation of Indian Politics. It analysis the existing and emergent paradigms of Indian political life and action. It also deals with the politics of party system and balance growth options, including India's challenges and the greatest role in envisages in sub continental and international politics.

Sikkim: Polity, History, Economy and Education by Mahendra P. Lama (1994) in this book different topics like society, economy, environment and polity is being highlighted. It mainly focuses on the polity of Sikkim. This book also discusses about how the newly formed political party SSP was able to win elections for three terms in Sikkim. It also gives account that due to lack of strong opposition in Sikkim unlike other states of India single party dominance was there for a long time. In this book of Lama however does not cover the political aspects of Sikkim. And only one chapter which deals with the government and politics of Sikkim and does not place more materials and information which really can be taken for further research work.

An article by Chakravorty (1994) *Government and Politics in Sikkim* analyses the development of parties and politics in Sikkim in which he shows how though there are similarities in structure between politics and society in Sikkim with other states of India.

Sikkim: Problems and Prospects of Development (1992) by Manas Das Gupta. The author discusses the problems of the region and the measures initiated by the state and the central government for the proper development of Sikkim especially after its merger with the Indian Union in 1975. The book highlights some of the major issues and achievements, continuance of SDF government since 1994. Their faith and trust upon the party and also the kind of stability the people witnessed in the state. The study is based on how the regional parties have been able to win the Assembly Elections for consecutive terms and maintain its hold in Sikkim.

Politics in India (1997) by Sudipta Kaviraj discusses about how political facts can have two initial forms; its purpose can be either to describe or to explain. It can either simply content itself by asking what happened or go on to enquire about why and

what did happen actually in that manner. The author also discusses political explanations are normally mixed in the sense that they try to combine the logic of both types of puzzle solving procedures, to understand correctly and what kind of action it was; it is essential to refer to the world of intentions.

Sikkim for Sikkimese (2009) by Jigme N. Kazi discusses the hopes and aspirations of the Sikkimese people: Lepcha, Bhutia, Nepalese and members of other communities who have been living in Sikkim for generations. It informs the readers the effort made by the people and their demands for restoration of their political rights; preservation of their distinct identity within the Union and within the framework of the constitution of India. The author highlights the methods adopted by the people to achieve their objectives. It provides an overview of the democratic movement taking place for the protection of rights in the state and the government's effort to control this movement. Questions related to identity issues and preservation of constitutional right are also being raised. Talking about the democratic movements and the protection of political rights of the people, the author neglects the role played by the political parties the movement.

The Sikkim Democratic Front: The Politics of popular mobilization in Sikkim (2004) by Genevine Syangbo discusses about the Sikkim Democratic Front and the politics of popular mobilization in Sikkim, and its role as a regional political party in the politics of Sikkim. It covers the period from 1979 to 2004 and more. This book specially focuses on the general question of the downfall of the Sikkim Sangram Parishad (SSP) which ruled Sikkim for more than a decade. The study further attempts on the origin of Sikkim Democratic Front (SDF) and the strategies it had employed in order to come to power and maintain power. The central focus of the

study is the support base of the party and the mobilizing strategies adopted by the party.

Sikkim Ethnicity and Political Dynamics A Triadic perspective (2011) Suresh K. Gurung is an attempt at understanding the cleavages between ethnicity and politics. The author contends that ethnic consciousness in Sikkim is brought through a historical process and that politics played a determine role in the creation of ethnic consciousness rather than ethnic communities creating the consciousness. Apart from that the book contains an exhaustive list of political parties and organizations of Sikkim. This will be useful to understand politics of State.

The Sikkim Saga 1983 by B. S Das, has explained about the crucial condition ever faced by Sikkim's society which was political revolution during 1973. Author was participant observer from Indian side who narrate through his writings that Sikkim was really in trouble and merging with India was remedy of miserable situation. Mention the political party of Sikkim was actively came out in field and king cannot control it the power of king was diminished there was violent reaction from people of Sikkim against the monarch. Here he wants to attract the readers towards the role of Indian government to settle violence in Sikkim and make it democratic state.

The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign by Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet (1944), initially assumed that voting was an individual act, affected mainly by the personality of the voter and his or her exposure to media. However, the study revealed that it is the social group to which people belong that determines for whom they will vote. The study found that social and cultural environments are the leading factors influencing voting behaviour and that the relationship between one's social group and electoral behaviour is fairly strong.

Models of voting by 2014 Sarlamanov and Jovanoski describes about the sociological model also asserts that family is the dominant agent of socialization influencing vote preference. Through political socialization, the political culture, values, and norms of the older generations are passed along to the younger generations this socialization is most intense in childhood, during which most of the political attitudes are formed. At this early stage, the basic values that determine the political lives of voters are learned within the family, primarily through the relationship between parent and child. Thus, people inherit their political preferences from their families, and tend to vote as their families do.

Conceptual Framework

Elections play a significant role in democracy and are the process of electing representatives through casting of votes. It is the major political events in a democratic system which shapes political behaviour of people; therefore voting behaviour is a system of political behaviour. Studies made on voter's behaviour can help to understand how and why decisions were made, which has been a central concern of studies for political scientists (Goldman, 1966).

The study of voting behaviour will help to explain and understand about the nature of political system and provides materials about the process of political system. Through voting behaviour we can understand the will of the people. Voting is the very essence of political participation in a democratic society and its study in political science is highly specific in the various sub-fields (Cohen, 2003). Not everyone have the rights to vote only the registered citizens under the universal adult franchise are only eligible to cast their vote. Universal Declaration of Human Right defined voting as "Voting is the fundamental right of all citizens over the age of eighteen". Voting allows the

people to express individual will or preference to elect candidate or a political party as well as the person's preference of one political system rather than other (Blais, 2004). The study of voting behaviour focuses on the determinants such as, why people vote and how they come up with the decisions. Sociologists tends to look into socio-economic determinants such as support of political parties, occasions, ethnicity and gender, correlation between the classes, age and vote in order to understand the voters choice. (Lednum, 2006). Political scientists or Scholars mainly focused on the determinants of electoral behaviour and factors such as political programs, electoral campaign, issues and popularity of leaders of the political parties that are contesting in elections (Jost, 2006).

Voting behaviour is studied within the three main models of competing and overlapping theoretical paradigms: the Sociological model, the Psychological model and the Rational-choice model of voting. Since the Sociological model focuses on the relationship between the individual and social structure. It places voting in a social context, and tries to examine the effects of variables such as area of habitation, social class, ethnicity, and religion. (Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet 1944 Harrop and Miller 1987). Other model is the Psychological approach and it examines voting decisions of the voter's choice through psychological tendencies and attitudes, such as people's party affiliation, attitude towards candidates and positions on issues (Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes 1960). The studies on electoral behaviour have shown that voting decisions do not take place unknowingly; instead they are based upon individual's life experiences. Research have shown that the electorate may determine their votes on the basis of one or more of the following considerations like the voters views on specific issues, candidates personality, performance of the

government in power, the identity or ethnic background, affiliation of party, state economic status (Prysby and Scavo 1993).

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba's most important work of political culture was *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* 1963, which surveyed 1,000-person samples in the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and Mexico. Thus they identified three types of political culture: a) Participant b) Subject c) Parochial. In Participant the citizens understand and take part in politics other voluntary association's subject, in which citizens obey but participate little is termed as Subject, and in Parochial, where citizens have neither knowledge of nor interest to take part in politics. Edited volume of Almond and Verba's *The Civic Culture Revisited* (1980), verified that political culture in each of their subject countries was experiencing major change, little of which was predictable from the original study, suggesting that political culture is more long-lasting than mere public opinion, is never stationary. Therefore the critics of *The Civic Culture* pointed out that political structure can affect culture in some way.

Factors such as, social class, party policies, ethnicity and region influence voters and may support a candidate of their own race or ethnicity based on the notion that a candidate who shares their racial or ethnic background also shares their basic political views (Besley, Timothy, 2006). Social class plays an important role in voting decisions like race and ethnicity had played a greater influence on voting behaviour (Birner & Qureshi, 2006).

“This may range from a number of social identities including class, religion, race, ethnicity, gender, language, occupation as well as political campaigns, affiliations with some association, peer groups, and support for specific

ideology, policy or agenda are also the factors that contribute towards the formulation of voting behaviour of electorates with varying intensities. But these cannot be claimed as the only forces that determines voters choice because experience, history, political culture, values or socialization through civic passages can also help shaping a specific voting behaviour of the individuals (Collier, Paul & Rohner, 2008). Also with the development and advancement in technology factors such as media boosted with ease of access, wider distribution and sophisticated techniques of communication. (Gallup, 2008). Mass media has also an influence over voter choice. The mass media, particularly radio, television and social media like facebook, whatsapp have grown increasingly important in influencing electoral outcomes and on voter's choice (Ball and Peters 2005).

Rationale and Scope of study

While the study of voting behaviour and its determinants that influences the electoral behaviour constitutes a very important area of empirical investigation. Man is considered as a rational creature in the philosophical sense of term, but not so rational in the realms of his economic or political behaviour. The study of the determinants of electoral behaviour can explain the behaviour of people who may be influenced by several irrational or rational factors such as pressure groups, religious and communal factors, influence of money or charismatic personality of a leader and other forces do have their definite influence on the minds of the voters. The main purpose of the present study is to focus attention on voting behaviour in Sikkim and to highlight the factors that determine the voting behaviour of people of East district of Sikkim. Sikkimese politics involve through various phases to reach present scenario. It has

witnessed many upheavals in the course of political development or political culture. The political conversions from feudal authority of monarchical and monarchical crown to democratic dawn add multiplicity in the pages of history of the experience of political culture, development and participation. The proposed study will focus on growth of political party and the participation of people in democratic process. The study will also try to look into the pattern of voting behaviour in East district of Sikkim and try to understand the factors or determinants that influence voter's choice. Also tries to study the people's participations towards suffrage rights in Sikkim as well as to look overview of regional parties and its dominants over the state. This study seeks to provide insight into the determinants of electoral outcomes in Sikkim. Determinants of voting decisions in Sikkim remain under-researched, therefore, findings from this study will try to add to existing knowledge and tile the way for future research on elections and voter choice. Currently, not much is known about how voters decide in the regions. As a result, this study seeks to add to the existing knowledge in the field. More generally, the findings may aid in improving our understanding, not only of electoral processes in East, but also in other districts where elections have been understood as the life line of democracy.

Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of the study is to understand the voting behaviour of the local people in east district of Sikkim and to explore the development of political parties during pre and post. The voting behaviour and the determinants that influence the people of East District will be studied in this research.

The specific objectives of the research are:-

1. To understand the nature of political participation and explore the development of political parties in Sikkim.
2. To study voting behaviour in Sikkim.
3. To find out and analyze the influence of socio-demographic determinants in determining voters choices.

Research Questions

With this study regarding voting pattern, this dissertation seeks the following question:

1. What is the importance of political participation and what are the factors led to the development of political parties in Sikkim?
2. How is the nature of voting behaviour of Sikkim?
3. What factors influence voting behaviour in Sikkim? What are the major determinants of voter choice in east districts of Sikkim?

Research Methodology

This study will adopt both quantitative and qualitative way of data collection but it will be more qualitative study, which includes survey interview. Primary data will be collected on the basis of field survey from east districts of Sikkim through a set of questions .The schedule will be both open ended and close ended. The sample size for the study will of 100 samples. In this research print as well as visual news records, focused group discussions with leaders of different political parties, political analysts, historians, local intellectuals, social workers will be sources of primary data.

Secondary data will include historical writings, vernacular writings, audio-visual record, books, article in journals etc. It will also include the electoral results published by the Election Commission of India/ Sikkim from 2009 to 2019. Secondary data such as books, journals, newspaper reports, articles (published and unpublished) will be studied with care to develop possible explanation. To gain further insights into the motivation of voter choice, voters will be asked regarding factors such as the economy, the personality of candidates, ethnicity and identity, member affiliation, and campaign issues which influence or determine voters when casting their vote.

Chapterisation

This work is divided into following five chapters dealing with various aspects of the research work.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The introductory chapter deals with the research outline i.e. statement of problem, objectives, research question and methodology.

Chapter 2 Political culture in Sikkim: Peoples participation during Pre and Post Merger

This chapter deals with the study of political scenario and democratic practices during both the phase, Pre and Post from Independent Sikkim to 22nd State of India. It also highlighted the democratic process and people's participation along with the emergence of political party, factors and the need of democracy.

Chapter 3: Voting Behaviour in Sikkim: Understanding determinants

This chapter deals with the study of voting behaviour and its key determinants, factors of voting behaviour that influence voters and will to understand various factors and model of voting behaviour. Also highlighted the brief summary of State Assembly Election of 2009-2019.

Chapter 4: Political Participation and Voting Behaviour in East District of Sikkim

This chapter presents and analyzes the survey data obtained from the selected area of study that is Gangtok, East District of Sikkim. The demographic profile and social affiliations of the participants is presented. This portion has highlighted the participants' political opinions and involvement in politics and views regarding the elections.

Chapter5: Conclusion

This chapter deals on summary of major findings and conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

Political culture in Sikkim:

Peoples participation during Pre and Post Merger

“What is problematical about the content of the emerging world culture is its political character. Although the movement toward technology and rationality of organization appears with great uniformity throughout the world, the direction of political change is less clear. But one aspect of this new world political culture is discernible: it will be a political culture of participation. If there is a political revolution going on throughout the world, it is what might be called the participation explosion.”

- Almond and Verba (1963)

2.1 Definition of Political Culture and Political Participation

a. Definition of Culture

English Anthropologist Edward B. Tylor was the first person to use or coined the word Culture in his book ‘Primitive Culture’ in 1871. According to Edward Tylor that culture can be denote to a universal human capacity. Culture is so dynamic and composites a whole set of ideas and concepts which includes knowledge, belief, art, ethics, morals, law, traditions, traits, custom, and any other capabilities and habits accepted by member in the societies. Culture is a powerful tool for the human existence, but it does not remain constant.. It is constantly changing and easily lost because it exists only in one’s minds. While the word culture can be logically be considered as an art of becoming cultured or civilized and cultivation of various domain of human life taken by individual under the process of time. Thus culture is a

derivative of the German word 'Kultur' indicating having a higher enlightenment value of society (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952).

Arnold, Powells, Patten, Burns, and Lowell, from the 1860s to the 1940s brought a humanistic outlook in relation to culture and believed culture to be an expression of individual personality rather than based on custom and traditions of society. The humanistic sense of the word 'culture' is ever found to be clashed with its anthropological sense and disciplinary structure: description or enumeration of content, the historical influence of old traditional custom and expressions of the life of a nation. The perfection, an absolute knowledge which they "inherited" as a hierarchy of values has been the part of humanists believed whereas the anthropologists made out of the original concept of values is a descriptive Category (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952).

American sociologist R.M. MacIver in 1931 He compared civilization with means and culture with ends. He perceived as the "apparatus of living" and ends as "the expressions of our life." MacIver views civilization where the individual is that which man develops a sense of an attempt to control his life and culture as the domain of values as the expression (MacIver, 1931)⁸

Linton, Ralph (1945) stated that in a society culture acts as a way of life for its members and a set of collection of ideas, habits they learn and passes on from generation to another generation.

Alfred, K. and Clyde, K. (1952) in "A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions of culture" identified that culture is most commonly used in three basic senses:

1. Excellence of taste in the fine arts and humanities, known as high Excellence of taste in the fine arts and humanities, also known as high culture
2. Pattern of symbolic thought and social learning for human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon the capacity of individual.
3. It is the collection of set of attitudes, values, goals, and practices that portrays an institution, organization or group.

Paul A.F. Walter (1952) mentioned that culture is the ways of thought and action accepted and followed by a group of people.

Kroeber (1953) stated in his opinion that “Culture” is composition of setups attained from learning and sharing from one generation to another, and core of culture lies in traditional ideas and their attached values in a society.

Coon (1954) views that “Culture” is the collaborative of various methods used by men to survive and this knowledge has been shared.

Culture is the expression of nature, in means or living and thinking, inter course, literature, religion, enjoyment and recreation. Culture is the value of human beings including their own devices, techniques and power in the light of their valuations, hence, valuation that will form group and unites that narrow and widen the range of community and that organize the values and power of society to the service of all common ends (McIver 1970).

White (1974) in defined he term ‘culture’ means to understand all the spheres of life into organized knowledge which links to various things such as attitude and other symbols, thus culture can be transferred from one generation to another.

Hoebel and Frost (1976) describes culture as the sum total of combined system of learned behaviour patterns which are the characteristic of individual in a society and is not the result of biological inheritance. Culture is central to the experience and aspects of all of human lives. And cultures are shaped by the historical, political, social, and cultural contexts in which the people live.

The collective programming of the mind which is passed from generation to generation which differentiates the members of one group from another and it continues to change because each generation brings certain changes while passing it on to others (Hofstede (1980). Lundberg, C.C. (1990) mentioned that the social mechanism of behavior and to the physical and symbolic products of the human behavior refers to culture.

b. Definition of political culture

The emergence of the contemporary study of political culture occurred during the late 1950s and the early 1960s . For the first time the two American political scientists Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba coined the term "political culture" in the most famous study of political culture and the history begins with the term Political Culture. They stated that for them, the political culture was a part of a society's culture and it is connected with a particular political system, which lays down the values of political decisions, orders, institutions, and attached asocial meaning to individual actions (Almond and Verba 1963).

Almond and Verba, wrote that, when we talk about the political culture of society, we are mentioning the political system, internalized in the knowledge, feelings and assessments of its members or people in the society. The foundation of all political

activity or a factor that determines the nature, characteristics and level of political activity of an individual. It includes the experience from the past history, social groups or communities, Individuals involvement in politics and political activity, their orientation, skills, that influence the political behavior of an group or individuals.

Political culture refers to the political alignments and attitude towards the political system and its various segments and attitude towards the role of the one in the system. In Verba's work, he defined culture as "the system of beliefs of different outline of political interaction and political organizations" and such beliefs are fundamental, understood, and undisputable, expectations or claims about politics in a democratic system. He also established a parameter for political culture studies by distinguishing it from other specific political psychological constructs such as partisan affiliation and attitudes, beliefs about internal and global policy issues. Political culture is a distinctive form of political philosophy that consists of a set of widely beliefs, values, norms and assumptions concerning the ways on how governmental, political, and economic life ought to be carried out (Almond and Verba 1963). On the other hand political culture creates a framework for political change as culture consists of people's shared or learned beliefs about their political system and role within that system. Political culture influences the way people have perception , values and views about their political world. Political cultures can influence individual freedom and values of community, therefore political values shape people roles and behavior within their political world. Almond and Verba, 1963 they recognized five important factors of political culture:

a. a sense of national identity

b. attitudes toward one's self as a participant in political life

c. attitudes toward one's fellow citizens

d. attitudes or hopes regarding governmental output and performance

e. attitudes toward and knowledge about the political process of decision making.

In the Heuristic (Intuitional) definition, political culture involves attitudes, feelings, sentiments, beliefs, and values to the nature of people in political system or politics. According to Pye "Politics is a construct of pattern of psychological orientations that will predominant between populations to create or craft pragmatic pattern of liaison," (Pye 1965).

Political culture is specifically recognized as the pattern of individual attitudes, political orientations towards politics among the participants of political structure .Political culture consists of set of attitudes, beliefs, feelings about existing political situations in a nation, where the individuals have their own attitudes , demands and response . The construction of nations history through processes of social, economic, and political movement is ongoing through the process of political culture. Roles of individuals in political fields are affected by political culture as culture constructs the movements of people acting as part of political roles through political system. Opportunities and pressures can be recognized by the ongoing political structures which in later will form those cultures (Almond and Powell 1966).

International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968 defines political culture as "the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the basic assumptions or rules that administer the behavior of people in the political system". Political culture is thus the expression in cumulative form of the psychological and subjective politics and it is the product of

collective history of a political system and the life histories of the people of such system and thus it is present both in public events and private experience.

Many inter related factors, traditional as well as modern elements affects the political culture. Thus these factors influence and bring changes in political culture. In order to understand the political studying of these factors is essential. The political culture provides guides for political behavior, and for the society as a whole it constitutes a structure of values and norms which helps to ensure coherence in the operation of institutions and organizations. The stability of a political system is emphasized by the kin success or failure of the adjustment of new attitudes into the standing value and for this, there is the need to examine the effective transmission of the political culture from one generation to generation. The political culture is the product of the history of both the political system and the individual members of the system, and thus is rooted in public events and private experience. By having establish and develop political culture a nation will benefit in various ways, shapes, and forms. In this sense, the development of the concept of political culture is an attempt to bridge the gap between micro and macro sociological analysis (Dahl 1971).

Elkins and Simeon (1979) in their context the term political culture is ‘the property of a collectivity’. They came with a notion of collectivity by realizing several factors like nation, region and class, ethnic, formal, organization, community and so on.

Political culture is the characteristic of a particular societies, institutions, beliefs, values, knowledge, and skills of the people of a certain society adopted by the people (Inglehart 1997).

According to Sombat, 2010 explained that political culture is part of social culture and the process of culture development is necessary to understand first. He stated that culture is a social process, as a result from lifelong socialization (direct & indirect) where the people learn and accept (perception) the ways of life (knowledge) as philosophies of life in a society. Accepting of learned knowledge becomes the collective beliefs, values, and attitudes among the members of society which influence individual's behaviors. As the process they behave according to their beliefs, and behaviors become patterns and apparent identities of individuals and culture of that society emerges with the formation of social groups. Therefore the formation of political behaviors that resulted from the political beliefs, values, and attitudes of individuals becomes a Political culture.

Almond and Verba's work contributed lot in the field of political culture and involved generations of scholars who studied the findings, criticized the conceptualizations and they refined the theory. Almond and Verba made a three distinction between of political culture:

1. Parochial - In this political culture, the citizens are only indistinctly conscious of the presence of central government.
2. Subject -In a subject political culture, the citizen does not consider oneself as participants in the political process but as subjects of the government.
3. Participant- In a participant political culture, the citizens consider themselves as both that they can contribute to the system and that they are affected by it.

c. Definition of Political Participation

Political culture of society helps to understand different levels of political participation of different sections of society (Mahajan 2001).

Political socialization is the process in a society which shapes the political culture and determines the nature of political participation, which is further generated to future generation. Political culture is connected with the collective characteristic of society while political socialization is only concerned with the individuals of society. It also influences the development of political values and attitudes of a system (Macmillan 1968).

Through the process of political participation by the citizens in a country as it determines the influence directly on the democratic political system of the country. According to Singh political participation is not only about voting but also the means of sharing power through various institutions of the society, also taking part in collective decision making, contribution in policy making at all points of governance of the state (Singh 1992).

Political participation is an active role of the citizens in a political life of the country it is more than just voting during elections. According to Almond and Powell, political participation means the involvement of the individuals of a particular societies in the decision making process in a democratic system in order to influence the government. Political participation can participate in a number of ways in the political system, participation of people depends on the type and organizational abilities of the citizens who participate, the way they execute their activities, the level of pressure they can put on the government (Almond & Powell 1975).

Voting is only one part of political participation, since political participation comprises numerous activities taken by the citizens. Verba and Nie have mentioned four types of activities as indicators of political participation.

- 1) activities to the citizens participating in politics of the nation like voting
- 2) people campaigning activities
- 3) co-operative activities in societies
- 4) associates initiated by citizen (Verba and Nie 1972).

The above mentioned activities have been enhanced by Milbrath and Goel by arguing that protest and communication as a important part in politics. According to them, on the basis of their political participation by individuals in the society, they can be grouped into four categories.

Firstly, individuals who are not aware or have no interest in the political activities, secondly, others who are actively involved in activities, like voting and involved in informal discussions about political issues, thirdly, attending a political meeting or assisting a financial support to a political party, lastly ,those who enter the political sphere and participate in every political activities such as contesting for elections, holding public meetings and party offices (Milbrath, and Goel. (1965)

Political participation seems like a phenomenon that depends upon a number of different factors. It differs from one country or place to another, from time to time, from one type of individual in a society to another individuals. Milbrath stated that it differs in relative to four major factors:

- (i) the extent to which the single person obtains political motivations
- (ii) the individual's social characteristics
- (iii) the individual's personal characteristics
- (iv) the political setting or environment in which the individual finds himself (Milbrath 1977).

Whereas, Huntington and Nelson initiates that political participation has many different forms such as;

- (a) Participation includes voting, campaign, contribution, working in an election, outcomes of the electoral process.
- (b) Lobbying includes individuals or group efforts to stay in touch with government and political leaders in order to influence their decisions to affect large number of people
- (c) Organizational activity, it involves taking participation as the member or officer in an association in order to influence decision making process of the government.
- (d) Contacting includes an involvement of an individual's activities towards the government representatives, thus to produce benefits for personal or individual and only for the small sections of people (Huntington and Nelson 1976).

According to Woodward and Roper, stated political activities such as;

- (1) voting at elections
- (2) being a member and supporting pressure groups

(3) personal relations with leaders and legislators

(4) participating in political party activities

(5) engaging in discussion and meetings and making political opinion (Woodward and Roper 1973).

According to Powell voting is just the one aspect of political participation, he further describes that participation includes various process like discussion of issues, efforts to mobilize, election campaigns, involvement in groups in order to influence policy choices and keeping direct contacts with officials (Powell 1982).

Agger and Ostrom in their study of political participation which was executed in a small community have comprised different forms of behavior in the participation, which includes activities like voting, discussing public questions, linking with officials and public, attending meetings, concerned with community affairs, part of organizations and associations and taking an active part on public issues (Agger and Ostrom).

2.2 Political Participation in Sikkim Pre and Post Merger

There is a beautiful proverb “Ants have societies but not culture”. Human beings have societies along with culture, which is regarded as a phenomenon of society which includes knowledge, art, belief, law, custom and tradition other capabilities acquired by man as a member. Every societies shares a common human nature attitudes and believes and express natural set of emotions, values and custom etc. which are shared from one generation to another . In this process of sharing there is some modifications as per the age and time, with variations from one society to other.

While in the process of sharing and transformation forms the social relationship which shapes the culture. Such social relationships are all about the expression of human nature in a society.

In a human society no matter what, the presence of culture is a dominant factor of importance. Within the various aspects of culture in a human society, the Politics is a major unavoidable part in the existence of human societies. Not a single individual can escape from political culture; everyone in some sphere shares a political life in political system. Political culture is a mixture of values, morals, beliefs and attitudes of human nature towards the politics in a political system.

Actions and initiatives taken by people in politics, attitudes towards politics, having political ideologies and values are defined as political culture. Since political culture of people provides them direction of their polity and its processes. The processes of participation are the vital element of political culture in democratic system or political system. The political believes, values, ideologies which are attached with them provide to understand the political structure, system and culture.

Change in political culture has many inter-related factors, traditional as well as modern. Under the influence of these factors it affects and brings changes in political culture. While changes or transformation in political system comes through the political participation, voting is the main form of political participation in a democracy.

During the ancient times people had not acknowledged about the rights of oneself due to lack of education and poverty. They were not aware of their political or other civil rights. Politics were only limited Within King or his noble man. On the other hand the economic status of the people was out of the living standard, which was one of the factor that they were unable to think of their rights. Communication gap between the ruler and the ruled, consciousness of the people were also very low, as they were struggling for oneself. Due to illiteracy the people were unaware of their rights and remained isolated from the political life thus the political culture was very low (Kumar, 2008)

History has a great significant role in determining the culture of any societies of the world, likewise Sikkim, a mountainous state situated in the Eastern Himalayas that shares its boundary with Tibet in the North, Bhutan in the East, Nepal in the west and the Darjeeling hills of the west Bengal in the South has its own unique political culture and identity. Sikkim was the independent Kingdom before it merger, ruled by the Namgyal Dynasty for almost 333 years with its first Chogyal Phuntsog Namgyal in 1642. Sikkim has undergone several phases in political culture during pre and post. Like it was in the year 1890 when Sikkim became a protectorate of British Government with its first Political Officer J.C. White in the year 1887. And later it was again brought under the protectorate of India in 1950. In the year 1953 for the

first time State Council was established under the Chogyal. But the influence of Indian Independence brought a sense of freedom to the people of Sikkim who were against the rule of Chogyal.

Until it was in the year 1975 when Sikkim was merged into the Indian Union as the 22nd state, with its merger there came an end to Namgyal Dynasty and democracy was introduced in the state of Sikkim.

2.2. a Sikkim: A Protectorate Under British India

It was in the last 18th century there was the intrusion from Nepal and Bhutan following the Anglo-Nepal War of 1814 where the Gurkhas were defeated by the East India Company and occupied Sikkim as an ally. The British started to access the importance of Sikkim in order to make a commercial relationship with Tibet.

Treaty of Sighauli was signed between Company and the Nepal at the conclusion of war in the year 2nd December 1815 the Morang strip. Morang strip was part of Sikkim and later annexed by Nepal during 1788- 90 (Rahul, 1978).

Afterwards, on 10 February 1817 at Titalia, the British Government on the Pumea Frontier resolved into a treaty with the agent of Chogyal Tsungpsud Namgyal. On 7th April 1817, the Governor General Lord Moira returned all the lands, situated east of Meitche river and West of the Mahanadi, to the Raja of Sikkim had to recognize the supremacy of the British government over the land but it was under protection British control and it turned out to be a very costly deal for Sikkim P.K. Bhattacharya, Aspect of Cultural History of Sikkim (Bagchi & 1985).

The Lepchas kept on attacking western Sikkim which led to the disputes on several borderlines between Nepal and Sikkim. And this matter was referred to the East India Company by the raja of Sikkim in regards of 1817 Treaty. But these situations made a way for the British to step forward events in the area of Sikkim. The British intervention in 1828, settled the frontier issues and delegated J.W. Grant and Captain George William A. Loyd to Sikkim. During the Darjeeling visit the place attracted the British officials as the place was suitable health resort and political and commercial centre in future. Later with the lepcha invasion from Nepal in Sikkim (Rahul, 1978).

On February, 1835 on the other hand the British acquired all the land of south from the Rungeet river and Balasun, Kahil and little Rungeet river from the east and west of Rungpo and river Mahanadi (Shukla, Sikkim). The transfer of land was out of friendship of the raja of Sikkim with the British Governor General, an annual grant primarily of Rs. 3000/- per annum, and later raised to Rs. 6000/- in 1846 was fixed for the Raja of Sikkimese (Shukla, 1976).

But with the development of Darjeeling brought many disputes among the British Officials and Sikkim Raja as the development of Darjeeling led to the commercialization of markets, along with the enough forest land the place was suitable for agriculture in returned attracted many other populations. Such migration threatened the minor ethnics of Sikkim.

In 1847, therefore, Tokhang Namgyal popularly known as (Pagla Dewan or the mad chief minister) was appointed by the ruler of Sikkim a Tibetan of strong anti-British conviction as his chiefminister (Sinha, 1975).

During the eras of 1850 and 1860 there were numerous military expeditions in Sikkim as a result of hostility between the Tibetan-Bhutia aristocracy and the British. Such intrusions of British made the raja of Sikkim unhappy and internal conflict broke out between them in 1847 between the Bhutia faction led by anti-British Tokhang Namgyal and Lepcha faction led by pro-British Chebu Lama (Jha, 1985).

The relationship between India and Sikkim further aggravated in 1848-1849 when Dr. Joseph Hooker, was accompanied by Dr. Campbell on the second visit to Sikkim were arrested and brought back to Tumlongon reaching, Tibetan border while inquiring possible trade routes, as a result Raja of Sikkim lost Rs. 6000/- per annum that he was getting as compensation for Darjeeling (Basnet, 1974).

Following several incidents of kidnapping of British subjects in 1860, the Anglo-Sikkimese relation was further strained. Dr. Campbell led military expedition to Sikkim when Tokhang Donyar Namgyal and the ruler Tsugphud Namgyal fled to Tibet after abdicating in favor of his son Sidkyong Tulku (Rahul, 1978). Later article contesting of 23 articles peace treaty was signed at Tumlong, the then capital of Sikkim on 28th March 1861 (Basnet, 1974).

Though Sikkim remained independent, it had to stay at touch to the British. Since, the expulsion of Dewan Namgyal and his/blood relatives and inaugural of Sikkim for free trade with India. Sikkim also agreed to help the British to develop trade with Tibet. Thus Sikkim became a de-facto protectorate of British India and was guided under the Act according to the council of to-British faction (Sinha, 1975).

There was negotiation between the Chinese and British due to fear of losing influence over Tibet an Anglo-Chinese Convention was signed at Calcutta on 17 March 1890 (Basnet, 1974).

With this convention fixed the Sikkim-Tibet boundary and the British government's had the right to control over the internal and external affairs of Sikkim. In 1888, the government of India sends a political officer at Gangtok to look over the Tibetan frontier. The first political officer re-organized the administration system and set up a three-member state council to advise the king and conducted land settlement, forest and mineral surveys. The Pemiongchi Monastery was founded by Chador Namgyal, who was influenced by monasticism and made rule to send second one son among the two son of a Bhutia family to the monastery, the monks were also a part of the political scenario apart from religious part(Risley, 1894).

In 1874, records twelve Kazis and several other officials by J. Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling who had the rights to exercise over the specific land.(Kotturan,1983).

The king was the authority in all matters but the Kazis and officers enjoyed some "authority", as being the regional lords of the estates but had no exclusive right in the lands, except the hereditary title the Kazi were the royal class and the regional head who constituted the top position in bureaucracy (Sinha, 1975).

J .C. White was appointed as first Political Officer in 1888 with a task to counter the Tibetan influence along with the management of administration. He added new colours in the history of Sikkim. Within the course of time J.C. White became the de-facto ruler of Sikkim. He introduced the new administration by appointing an

Advisory Council in order to guide Thutob Namgyal. Which comprised of four Kazis, two Lamas and two ex-Dewans looking at the problems all around the country White felt the necessity to re-structure administration (White, 1983).

White scrapped all the tenancy regulations and introduced the lessee-system of land-tenure. He started the plans Of opening of roads, development of uniform law and justice and welfare schemes such as opening of schools, hospitals and many other developmental activities. Many political officers assisted the rulers of Sikkim, but the basic socio-economic structure as set by White remained the basic foundation of all the administrative policies. Though Thutob Namgyal was restored to power as a nominal head, after assuring good behaviour to the Government of India but the real power was assigned on the political officer. Thutob Namgyal was succeeded by Sideokong Namgyal, hence, full powers were restored to the ruler in 1918.

After the Claud White's other officer continued to keep the balance in order to protect the interest of the old settlers, lower rate of revenue, forbidding of sale of land to others and to stop the settlement of non-Buddhist in the lands of North Sikkim. The introduction of system of land lease was an event of immense significance from the socio-political point of view in the history of Sikkim. Thus with the passage of time and Sikkim became the Protectorate of India (Risley, 1894).

2.2. b Indo Sikkim Friendship Treaty Of 1950

The strategic location of Sikkim, surrounded by three international boundaries along with Tibet on the other side made it a vital link in border and the government of Independence India felt the necessary to defense oneself from the China, as the

relation between both the country were getting poorer. One reason was the India welcoming Dalai Lama after the Chinese took over the Tibet.

Shortly after the Communist regime in China had launched a military campaign against Tibet, Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru on 6th of Dec 1950 addressed in the Indian Parliament that attack on Nepal, Sikkim or Bhutan would be regarded as attack on India and will come in front to defense these three states. The Indo-Sikkim Friendship treaty was signed On December 5, 1950 (Moktan, 2004). By this treaty the status of Sikkim as a protectorate was washed away. According to this treaty all the responsibility regarding defense and security of Sikkim was vested in the hand of Government of India. With this treaty all external affairs and communication of Sikkim was to be looked after by India.

Indo-Sikkim was signed on 5th December, 1950 and with treaty kingdom of Sikkim entered into a new saga. Sikkim was ushered in a separate protectorate of independent space of India. Along with this treaty government of India was responsible for maintaining a sound administration and law and order within the territory of Sikkimese kingdom. A subsidy of Rupees 3 lacks yearly, would be given to Sikkim. The removal of the first popular government of the kingdom on 6th June, 1949 saw the appointment of the Indian political officer as an interim administrator. John C. Lal was appointed as the first Dewan/Sidlon of Sikkim on August 11, 1949 and functioned as principal administrative officer (Gazetteer of Sikkim, 2013).

2.3 Democratic Process and First Council Election of 1953

Himalayan kingdom Sikkim became the part of Indian union on 16 may 1975 which resulted the introduction of parliamentary democracy in Sikkim. It led to the

emergence of new era in the history of Sikkim. The transition from monarchy to parliamentary democracy it brought many changes in the political scenario of Sikkim. The movement against the monarchy was very much successful which ended the 333 years Namgyal Dynasty. There were various factors which was responsible for the establishment of democratic system in Sikkim. One of the important factors behind the successful establishment of democracy in Sikkim was the rise of democratic aspiration of Sikkimese people. Under the reign of Namgyal dynasty common masses were suffered a lot because Sikkimese society before 1975 was totally feudal in nature. There was the Kazis and Thekadars who always exploited the common masses.

Sikkim under Monarchical rule there were various forms of forced labour to which the common people were subjected; such as 'Kalobhari' 'Theki-bethi' (forced labour) etc. The rising voice of the people attempted to eradicate the Zamindari system that prevailed in Sikkim. The political renaissance in Sikkim began with the establishment of various political parties. The Sikkim Durbar and the Political Officer stationed in Gangtok had ruled the kingdom with an iron hand. However, the advent of the popular Government in India after the British withdrawal from the Indian sub-continent encouraged the aspiration of various politically motivated people of Sikkim. Initially, a number of organizations sprouted out in different parts of Sikkim mainly on the lines of welfare bodies (Sysngbo, 2012).

Various political parties and organisations emerged in during the 1946. A popular movement had ignited against the cruelty of king. A meeting was organised on 7th of Dec 1947 at Polo Ground (present Palzor Stadium) Gangtok by various political parties. Parties namely Praja Sudhar Samaj of Gangtok, Praja Mandal of Chakung and

Praja Samelan of Temi- Tarku and formed a political party called the Sikkim State Congress with a motive demanding:

1. Merger of Sikkim with India
2. Abolition of Landlordism
3. Formation of Interim Government

Tashi Tshering was elected the president of the party. There was the formation of new political party called the Sikkim National Party. A meeting was held at Rangpoo on February 8th of 1949, when the President Tashi Tsherin with five other persons were arrested on the grounds of sedition. There was a huge protest launched by the people on the basis of Sathyagraha. Finally a popular ministry was formed on May 8th of 1949 and Tashi Namgyal as the president of the Council of Ministers. With its failure the frustrated people out of frustration surrounded the Royal Palace. Later with the intervention from the government of India , on march 1950 a political meeting was organised with the representatives of the Durbar and three political Party and various points were made in order to form Advisory Council consists of all parties, Village Panchyat and election Council .In May 1951 agreement was made that the National Council should have 17members. Bhutia- Lepcha 6 seats, Nepalese 6 seats and 5 seats nominated by the king (Gazetteer of Sikkim, 2013).

Proclamation was issued by Maharaja in January, 1952 regarding rules about the electorate and method, on the basis of 1951 agreement.

The arrangement of the electorate process contained the safe guard for the Bhutia- Lepcha candidates and intended to remove Nepalis in determining electoral results

,thus offered no safeguard for the candidates contesting for Nepali seat (Gurung 2011).

Elections were held at Gangtok, North Central, Namchi and Pemayangtse in two different dates that was from March to May. Sikkim National Party also called the Durbar Party won all six Bhutia-Lepcha Seats, Sikkim State Congress won all Nepali Seats (Gurung 2011).

Table 2.2.1 First council election of 1953

| Sl. No. | Parties | Seats won |
|----------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1. | Sikkim state congress | 6 |
| 2. | Sikkim national party | 6 |
| 3. | Nominated | 5 |

Source: Gazetteer of Sikkim 2013

But with the executions of elections and the way the parity system was framed, the Nepelase people were unhappy. As they believed that this parity system was not in favour of Nepalese but was in favour to protect the rights of minority.

2.4. Aggression of 1973 and End of Monarchy

The civil society during the period witnessed a growing communal discord and mutual distrust among the ethnic groups, which was a matter of great concern for the political leaders. During the 1973 General Election of Sikkim, there was unrest among the public due to unsatisfactory election results. The Chogyal asked help from Indian troops to control the riots in Gangtok. According to a section of historians, the unrest was instigated by the Indian government to weaken the kingdom's machinery. Eventually, the Chogyal had to concede to have an administrator from India to control

the affairs of the kingdom. The subsequent election next year, made Lhendup Dorjee the Prime Minister by a huge majority. He played a key role in merging Sikkim with India (Rai, 2019).

With the escalation of freedom movement in India under the throes of the raj, a sign of similar aspiration apparently began to take root in the Sikkimese. It fell to the lot of the educated youth of the day in Sikkim to raise the voice in favor of democracy and democratic rule in the State rather than the dictates of the durbar. The waves of nationalist movements in India under the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru inspired many politically conscious people. The ruler of Sikkim could not provide the aspiration the larger mass. People began to believe that a democratic set up would overthrow inequality and injustice which had become the true essence of theocratic rule (Rummenes and Koen; 2010).

Sikkim witness many political uprising during the period of Chogyal, there was opposition monarchy in Sikkim and demand for written constitution, system of voting, electoral reforms, land and administrative reforms. Anti Chogyal riot at Gangtok took place on 28th March, 1973. Chogyal had to seek help from the Indian Government which lead to tripartite agreement between the political parties of Sikkim, the Chogyal and the Foreign Secretary of India, Kewal Singh. The agreement made the monarch a constitutional head and in April 1974 the first democratic election was held in Sikkim. A new historical development took place on 16th May 1975 when Sikkim merged with the Indian Union and it became the 22nd state of India. After the merger of Sikkim with India, Kazi Lhendup Dorzee Khangsharpa was sworn in as the first Chief Minister of Sikkim.

The first election of Sikkim Legislative Assembly (SLA) was held under the direction of the Election Commission of India in October 1979. Around seven political parties and independence candidates contested the election. The election was won by the Sikkim Janata Parishad (SJP), these parties was formed in 1977 by Nar Bahadur Bhandari. Democracy and socialism were its main objectives. Before the party could complete its first term office, the government was dismissed by the Governor in May 11, 1984 under Article 164 (1) of the Constitution of India. Bhandari was leveled with corruption charges by 13 legislators of his party including four cabinet ministers and expressed their lack of confidence in him. B.B Gurung, the financial Minister in the Bhandari cabinet became the third Chief Minister of Sikkim but the government could survive only for 13 days. As a result of the failure of the constitutional machinery, Sikkim was brought under presidential rule. In the meantime Bhandari formed a new political party, Sikkim Sangram Parishad (SSP) and return back to power in March 11th, 1985, his party secured 30 out of 32 seats. There was the domination of the single party in the state. This proved to be an advantage to the party in next state legislative Assembly and the 9th Lok Sabha election of 1989. Political parties like Indian National Congress (INC), Raising Sun Party (RSP), Denzong Peoples Chogpa (DPC) an unrecognized party and 20 others independent candidates contested the election. The election result went a favor of the SSP which won all the 32 seats in the state. The SSP swept the assembly elections for the three consecutive terms. SSP was successful in maintaining its strong hold from 1984-89; it was the only regional political party in the state which represented the people of all sections of society (Gurung, 2011).

But after his victory in 1989 Bhandari become different than what he was earlier. He was more powerful and confident and somewhat authoritative and autocratic. He

wanted complete submission to his authority and did not tolerate any kind of dissension and criticism from both within and outside the party. The right to press was curtailed, there were assaults, threats and constant pressure on press and the media and there was use of forces and commandos to suppress the opposition in the state. Bhandari lost vote of confidence in May 1994 in Sikkim Legislative Assembly and resigned from the government. Sanchaman Limboo became the next Chief Minister of Sikkim on 18th May 1994; his ministry lasted for only six months when the general election was declared to be scheduled in December 1994 (Syangbo, 2012).

On 1993 a new political party was formed under the leadership of Pawan Kumar Chamling and the Party called 'Sikkim Democratic Front' (SDF). Chamling was the minister in Bhandari government; Chamling was dismissed from the party and the cabinet on 16th June 1992. He was dismissed on the ground that he opposed the ruling government for its misgovernment and anti-people activity in the state. Dismissal from the government was like blessing for the Chamling. The main objective of the SDF was to fight against the anti-people policies pursued by the SSP Government and replace it by pro- poor policy and programme. The first priority in Chamling's political agenda was to restore the lost identity of the Sikkimese people and the economic and political development of the Other Backward Class (OBC) in Sikkim. It was the lone opposition party to the ruling SSP. The SDF party won 19 out of 32 seats in 1994 election. Chamling was able to hold the office from 1994 to 2019. SDF maintain the public hold by implementing various projects and schemes for the overall development of the state.

After the 2009 election one of the leader Prem Singh Tamang who act as a minister and MLA in SDF government came up with new ideology, he is opposing a SDF

government in various grounds and form a New political party called 'Sikkim Krantikari Morcha'(SKM). SKM allegation is that the SDF policies are not people oriented and they fail to secure the basic necessity of people like health, education and employment for the poor in its 19 years of government. In spite of being the member of SDF, Golay had opposed different policies of ruling SDF government in state Assembly several times. SKM was getting mass support from the public which in result was able to secure 10 seats in 2014 election. With the passage of time the SKM grew more strong on the grass root level and was able to deliver their ideology and thoughts for the betterment of people of Sikkim, which in resulted victory in 2019 election with 17 seats.

CHAPTER 3

Voting Behaviour in Sikkim: Understanding determinants

In the age of contemporary democratic politics 'Voting' is the commonly used term. Moreover this term has turned into a household name as due to its ever growing acceptance in democratic theory and practice. While in a democratic process every adult citizens uses voting as a means to express his/her consent or discontentment of government decisions, policies and programmes. Thus in an ever growing numbers 'Voting' is the only mean to select once representatives engaged in struggle to get the status of being the representatives of people and is used as the instrument to dislike or like every spheres of government decisions, policies and programmes. In a gentle term, the process of electing representatives by casting votes in elections is termed voting. Richard Roe and Harve Massaavir points out important functions of voting:

1. It contributes to the development or maintenance of an individual's commitment to the existing constitutional regime.
2. It has emotional significance for the individuals; and for some individuals it may be functionless, i.e. lacking of any significant personal emotional or political consequences
- 3 It involves individual's choice of governors or major governmental policies
4. It donates to the development and maintenance of a voter's dissatisfaction from the prevailing constitutional regime.
5. It permits individuals to participate in a equal and continuing exchange of influence with the office-holders and candidates (Akhter and Sheikh, 2014).

Elections in the very essence of Democracy and Voting behaviour denotes to human bustle in the context of elections. According to Bratton Voting Behaviour is defined as a set of personal and electoral actions that include participation in electoral campaigns, voter turnout, and choosing for whom to vote (Bratton 2013). Therefore, it includes views, opinions and actions of people about electoral participation, also whom to support if one decides to engage in the voting process (Rule 2014).

‘Theory and Method in voting Behaviour research’ by Samuel S. Eldersveld stated that the term ‘voting Behaviour’ is not new. Thus, the term was used of lately to define certain areas of study and types of political occurrences which previously had either not been considered or were considered irrelevant. Voting Behaviour encompasses an study of individual relation to political action as well as of institutional patterns, such as the communication process and their impact on elections and their psychological processes which includes perception, emotion and motivation to vote for. The examination of voting records, statistics and calculation of electoral shifts and swings is also the major part of the study. According to Plana and Riggs, “voting Behaviour, is a field of study concerned with the ways in which people tend to vote in public elections and the reason behind why they vote” (Akhter and Sheikh, 2014).

Therefore, the study of voting behaviour institutes an effort to feature the background of voters while making choices about parties and candidates. The studies on electoral behaviour remarks that decisions of voters do not take place in an uncertain ways or in oblivion manner, but it depends upon individual’s life experiences. On the other hand voter’s choices are influenced by several factors which determine their voting choices like:

- (1) Government which is in power and their performance.
- (2) Orientations or the voter's situations on precise issues.
- (3) Affiliation of party.
- (4) The personality of candidates.
- (5) Identity and ethnic background of the candidates.
- (6) Economic status of the state (Prysby and Scavo1993).

Uncertainty is the game of democracy, so does the election results, a lopsided victory for one party. Maybe followed by a landslide for the part. According to Heywood (2002) these deliberations are moulded by Short-Term and Long-Term influences. Influence's which are specific to a particular election and are prone to substantial shifts from one election to the other election is termed as Short-Term influences. The performance of the government's, personalities of the candidates or the state of the economy are the examples of Short-Term influences. Such kind of changes is the results of instabilities in factors that are specific to an election. Whereas, other factors, such as party loyalty are more stable in the long-run (Hazarika 2015, Prysby and Scavo 1993, Heywood 2002). On the other hand, Long-term shifts result from alternation in basic loyalties and represent changes that last beyond a particular election. The most substantial long-term change occurs when there is a critical realignment of the party system, which refers to a relatively rapid, fundamental, and durable alteration in the pattern of party loyalties held by the electorate (Burnham 1970, Sundquist 1983).

Mass media can be considered into Short-Term impact as it plays an important role in influencing voter. The mass media, like radio and television, social networks (face

book and whatsapp groups) have grown gradually important in influencing electoral results (Ball and Peters 2005). Utilization of social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter in contemporary times to convey their campaign messages, parties agendas to the public by political parties and politicians have been gradually grownup. As media plays a crucial role in assisting the information freely available to the voters, upon which they base their voting decisions (Popkin 1991).

Activities of political parties' deals with voting and voting behaviour can be regarded as political behaviour. While in the work of Goldman (1966) on political behaviour stated that it regulates decision making process particularly with public decision makers who are voted by the peoples. According to Deiner (2000) democratic principles and individualism are linked to voting behaviour. In this statement voters behaviour is determined by level of individual freedom in a society to vote, where right of individual is individual is secure and guaranteed, democracy will democracy will unquestionably take place (Ibrahim, Liman, Mato,2015).

Andreadis (2005) has denoted different levels of voting behavior. He has logically considered areas through which voters can choose differently in an electoral process. Further he stated that under legislative and presidential elections voters have the individual freedom to select their representatives on the basis of their political opinions and believes. Whereas he claimed that in a local election voters choose their candidates who can serve them better and are capable, as they vote for or against a certain policy, relying primarily on the effectiveness of the policies. The above voting behavior was recognized in Cypriot referendum of 2004 by Andreadis 2005. While going through the study of post war japan by Winkielman and Knuson (2007) found out that voting behavior was determined by "affect" factor. As Winkielman and Knuson discovered that the people residing in rural areas preferred socialist parties.

This showed that the people in rural areas are not affected by political ideologies, campaigns or party programs but psychologically have emotional ties exclusively of what affects them the most. Some of the determinant's which affect the voting behavior may include: surprise, anxiety, anger, fear and pride (Gomez, Hansford and Krauss 2007). Many scholars are of the view that Political sophistication and Political stimuli may result in an emotional political bias (Healy, Malhota and Hyunjung, 2010).

Researchers such as Miller (2011), Gomez, Hans and Krauss (2007) have highlighted that anger and frustration among people may not allow the voter to vote for the government in power whose policies or actions could not make them happy. As anger, is considered as one of the determinants of voting behavior. While the other factor like anxiety among voters would determine voting behavior in a manner, such that the voters may vote or prefer those candidates whose policy may suites best (miller, 2011). Some people with fear may need in-depth inquiry and justifications before they vote for a party or candidate (Ladd and Lenz 2011, Gomez, Hans and Kraus 2007).

Voting behaviour as the field of study of began in the late eighteenth century (Jensen 1969), but it could it could not meet the scholarly standard. Later on with the course of time it developed as an academic discipline, with two strands.

1. The first strand- it was aggregate Data Analysis which was categorized by the use of actual election returns accumulated from different geopolitical units such as wards, districts, and regions, which in later was equated with census data, providing a socio demographic profile of those areas. The school of quantitative historiography which was developed in the late nineteenth century, voting and census information was

represented in maps using different shades and colours (Andre Siegfried in France and Fredrick Jackson in United States). Interpretation and inspection of those maps by the Turner school were enhanced and then replaced by more dynamic statistical techniques, in particular correlation analysis, inspired by the sociologist Franklin Giddins at Columbia.

2. The second strand - Analysis of Survey Data Polling individuals about their voting intentions (straw polls) or past voting decisions started in the late nineteenth century. In one of the most extensive efforts of 1896 presidential contest between McKinley and Bryant, more than a quarter million returns from twelve mid-western states were tabulated by a Chicago newspaper. Straw polls conducted by newspapers and other periodicals in the 1920s, were quite common and popular. Therefore with the failure of the Literary Digest poll to foresee the landslide victory of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1936 election ruined their reputation. With duration of time, pioneers of modern public opinion researchers like George Gallup, Archibald Crossley, and Elmo Roper started to use more improved sampling methods as well as trained interviewers to confirm a proper representation of all strata of the people (Gallup 1944, 1948).

From the mid-1930s through the 1940s there was rapid development in studying voting and political behaviour. People concern towards mass communication, marketing strategies were also developing and the public's attitude toward World War II motivated the rapid development of modern survey research and the establishment of research survey centers in both the academic and commercial sectors (Converse 1986). Few among many centers that developed were the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago on the academic side the and Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion on the commercial side along with the Survey Research Center/Institute for Social Research (ISR) at the University of Michigan.

3.1 Voting Behaviour: Theoretical Models (Approaches)

Voting is one of the most important political participation in democracy. Different people utilise this essence in a different way in order for support of various or in contradiction of. Hence, number of different models (approaches) has been used to explain voting behaviour. The foremost approaches may be distinguished as structural, ecological, social-psychological, rational-choice and radical. But the three major research schools marked the scientific study of voting behaviour.

3.1. a. The Sociological or Structural model (approaches)

This approach started in School of Columbia(Applied Bureau of Social Research of Columbia University), whose work begins with the publication of the book “*The People’s Choice*”(Lazarsfeld, Berelson, &Gaudet, 1944) and focuses on the influences of social factors; Sociological model of voting behavior are defined in theoretical assumptions in three essential works *The People’s Choice* (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, &Gaudet, 1944), *Personal Influence* (Katz &Lazarsfeld, 1955) *Voting* (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954) was the major works in the field of voting behavior and emphasizes on social factors.

Paul Lazarsfeld, had focused on the study of the psychological mechanisms involved in the processes of choice and in the effects of publicity, advertising. He further stated that mass media on consumer behavior had two main objectives in the research: to study the effects of contact to the media, as to know how voters take their decisions and to understand the role of media in this process. The second was to check a new methodology of following interviews with a panel of subjects along with a control group (Rossi, 1964). Lazarsfeld was of the view that public vote is influenced by their social groups they belong and people vote for it (Lazarsfeld, 1968). “Voting was

considered as an individual choice, which is mainly affected by the personality of the voter and his contact to the media,” was the central hypothesis of Lazarsfeld (1944).

Moreover, this sociological model of theory primarily focused on the individual and social structure relationship in social context. Social factors like language, religion, rural-urban nationalism and social class that influence voting is the focal point of this approach and emphasizes on social class and party identification.

3.1. b. The Psychosocial model (approaches)

The Psychosocial theory of model also termed as School of Michigan, has its major reference in the work of Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes (1960) “The American Voter”, with the assumptions that main factor behind the voters behaviour is party identification along with attitudes to candidates. The beginning of this studies was first undergone during the U.S. presidential elections of 1948 by the Survey Research Centre at the University of Michigan, The results was examined by Campbell and Kahn (1952) *The People Elect a President*. The elections of 1952’s report were presented in “*The Voter Decides*” by Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954). Along with the elections of 1956, the previous investigated results were combined which was later published through books in 1960 “*The American Voter*”, (Campbell, Converse Miller and Stokes 1960). It was the beginning of a long series of studies conducted by the Survey Research Centre and more recently by the Center of Political Studies at the University of Michigan, which exist till now but it is under American National Electoral Studies (ANES).

This model considered the individual relation to party as a psychological sympathy. This model involved the psychological analyses among the voters belonging to different social groups that certain political parties represent. It invokes a concept

about the varied role in psychological theories of the relation of individual to individual or of individual to group. The concept was to illustrate the individual's affective position to an important group object in his environment. (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960). Campbell 1960, introduced the notion of partisanship in the study of voting behavior, as influenced by the concept of reference group (Hyman & Singer, 1968). The concept of reference group had similarities with the idea of anticipatory socialization which describe the situations in which individuals choose a reference group to which they do not belong and begin to act according to what they perceive as the rules of that group (Merton and Kitt , 1950). This model centered on partisanship which can be attained through a socialization process, and can be influenced by the values and attitudes (family, colleague) a process that was considered similar to that which leads subjects to identify with a religion (Miller and Shanks, 1996). Social-psychological model focuses on the relationship between voters voting decisions to the voter's psychological tendencies or voters attitudes.

3.1.c. Rational Choice Model (approaches)

It is also referred as School of Rochester, which originated with outstanding in the work of Anthony Downs (1957) "*An Economic Theory of Democracy*" that emphasis on social factors like rationality, choice, uncertainty and information. Anthony Downs (1957) in an "An Economic Theory of Democracy" submitted the theoretical background for an economic explanation of voting behavior and this model or theory was referred as rational choice theory. He explained the how the economic factors can influence political outcome in terms of people choice in voting behavior. It was an attempt by Downs to elucidate electoral behavior within the political economy a work done by Kenneth Arrow where the economic parameters resources, goods and

technology can influence voter's choice or political outcome. This model main theme of center was that if the market can be explained by model of rational choice, then they can explain the political functioning. Also tried to understand the relations between consumers and voters, enterprises and political parties (Arrows. K, 1951, 1986). While one of the most important part in theory of rational choice is the concept of rationality, which was assumed in Downs' economic theory where rationality was the assumption that voters and political parties act directly according to their own comforts. The term rationality is applied in the sense that the means used are appropriate to the goals, this follows from the definition of rational as efficient. Maximizing in output for a given input / minimizing the input for a given output. In normal usage all of these could be considered rational men (Downs, 1957). Rational choice theory or model attempts to clarify voting behaviour as the product of a series of instrumental cost-benefit calculations by the individual. This approaches presents an argue that voting behaviour is not/less administered by group loyalties or class position but by the individual's rational intentions of self-interest. This approach of voting behaviour considered voters have rational ability to think as an individual who is able in self to

This model of voting behaviour sees the voter as thinking individual who is able to understand the political issues and votes accordingly on one's own will. Rational model rejects that voting behaviour is not determined by class attachment or class socialization.

Like the above models or approaches there are other approaches which focuses from the different levels of observation like Ecological (aggregate statistical) approaches that focuses voting patterns of voters to the distinctive geographical landscapes like ward, constituency, state, etc. on the other hand Radical approach criticizes that

Structural or Sociological model is out-of-date and inadequate to explain contemporary developments. This approach advocated two main sources of influence

(a) The first influence is termed as sectoral cleavages which suggest that people separate into groups with different levels of interests and priorities like public and private sector.

(b) The second influence is termed as dominant ideology where the dominant ideologies messages are carried through the social media to the general and also in the form of political consciousness.

3.2. Voting Behaviour and its Determinants

One of the most important features of democracy is Voting, where the population has right to choose their representatives through election. The citizens have the rights to hand over their consent to rule over them. Among the political participation voting is the main form of participation in liberal democratic societies. While studies made from a sociological perspective on voting behaviour it mostly focuses on explaining who votes and how they vote and study of voting patterns highlights on the determinants of why do people vote and how they make a decisions.

Paul F. Lazarsfeld and with others in 1967, was the pioneer on early voting behaviour research and recognised that voting behaviour mainly depends on people socio-economic factors, people's location in social systems and their social class, occupation, gender, race, age, religion, ethnicity, family. Also other determinants like political socialization, memberships in voluntary associations such as trade unions, recreational clubs, political parties and civic organizations. Other means of influence over voting through political factors such as issues, political programmes, electoral

campaigns, party loyalty towards party and voter's feelings about particular candidates were also focused by other Political Scientist.

Studies on voting behaviour can be divided into two major categories; one school of thought has followed the sociological approach and strains the fact that socio-economic with ethnic status is related to the practise of the voter's choice. While the other school of thought is represented by the authors of the American voters. In contrast with the sociological approaches of the Columbia school the Ann Arbor group offered the psychological and political approach. This approach does recognize the role of social characteristics like socio-economic status, religion and influence of family (Akhter and Sheikh, 2014).

3.3. Voting Behaviour in India

India is the largest democracy with a parliamentary form of democracy in the world. Where all the citizens above 18 years have the right to participate in Indian elections. Though, despite the fact, nearly half of the citizens were illiterates during independence, they acted wisely in electing their representatives. India had its first general elections in 1952. Since the first election several studies were made but in the beginning these studies lacked methodological accuracy and sophistication, resulting the studies impressionistic and journalistic in orientation. As time passed on by, more studies on election, politics and voting behaviour made through sophisticated research tools were used and the quality of survey method along with observation technique were achieved in India. Source of inspiration for election studies in India were through the western studies on voting behaviour that had already done by the Columbia and Michigan studies in the United States. Such institutions highlighted several factors like Columbia university emphasized the factors like social and

environmental forces have influence on the choices of voters; Whereas the Michigan Survey Research Centre based on studies emphasized on the psychological variables or the subjective world of the individual voters. While extreme importance on social and socio-psychological variables by the above two schools led the other group of scholars to readdress new balance in studying voting behaviour and to find out more factors that can influence voters choice.

“Elections in India have mainly studied by political scientists, where one cannot ignore the contribution of social Anthropologists in this esteem. F.G. Baily and A.C. Mayer dealt with the studies about election at the very micro-level. They have explored politics and voting behaviour of the people, with the help of both participants and non-participants observation technique. They have stressed about the relation between local, state and national politics which is woven round patronage and highlighted the “Machine” character of election politics (Akhter and Sheikh, 2014).

3.4. Voting Behaviour and its Determinants

“Human behaviour flows from three main sources desire, emotion, and knowledge”.

- Plato

Most important part of voting is the studies of voting behaviour and how the determinants influence voter’s behaviour to vote for or against and how they come up with decisions while doing so. In this regard behaviour of voter is influenced by several aspects, reasons and features like religion, caste, community, language, money, policy or ideology, purpose of the polls, extent of franchise, political wave etc. The said above factors or variables are driven by political parties, groups in order to win the battle of the ballot box. Despite having enlightened about secularism,

political parties, groups and politician can be found haunting to religious and communal sentiments of the people. They make use of every inch to achieve their ballots despite making themselves involvement in unethical means through misusing factors like language, money, muscle power to achieve victory in the war of ballots and votes. As ballots are more powerful than bullets in democracy as believed by Abraham Lincoln. Use of ideology, policies and canvassing campaigns for the particular sections is also being carried on. The interest of voters and their behaviours during election is also influenced through the nature of elections and extent suffrage. Another factors like Charisma can be more influential and has its own range in influencing voters to vote for them. Use of influential slogans like **“Bari Bari Sab Ki Bari, Ab Ki Bari Atal Bihari”** , **“Apki Baar, Modi Sarkar”** and **“Achee Beti Panch Saal, Lage Raho Kejriwal”** etc. were the slogans used for influencing voters to vote for them. While examining the study of Indian electoral behaviour role of all these factors can be seen. Several other factors are responsible for voting behaviour in India, with political and socio-economic factors act as determinants of voting behaviours in our Democratic system (Hazarika, 2015).

In fact, studies conducted in voting behaviour and determinants of voting behaviour in India have recognized the following political and socio-economic factors which act as determinants in election.

3.4.a. Caste– As the caste system has is deep roots since earlier days and plays a central role in the society and institutes an important role in all social relations. A factor like caste still continues to be a major determinant of voting behaviour in India. It has resulted in social discrimination despite of several rules and laws which try to deliver equal status among the people living in societies and politicians use these

factors of caste or jats as an tool to gain caste based votes (Akhter and Sheikh, 2014). Political parties in India formulate their policies, programmes and election strategies keeping caste factor in mind and caste and casteism is always being politicised. Role of caste in politics has been studied by several scholars and stated various assumptions, according to Morris Jones he stated that caste is an important factor in politics and politics is important to caste. Democracy should be free from casteism but the role of caste is still dominant factor in Indian politics. Some way the role of caste is little bit on the low wave in urban areas but is still the major determinants of voting behaviour (Hazarika, 2015).

3.4.b. Religion -Indian constitution stated India as a secular country guaranteeing its citizen the right to freedom of religion and giving every religion an equal status. Though it sounds pleasant hearing but has not stopped the role of religion in politics, election as the instrument of gaining votes. Many political parties are backed by force of religion and have linked with particular religion like BJP, Shiv Sena, Muslim League etc. and has politicised the religion as a determinant of voting behaviour. In Indian political system, religious diversity is a major feature and selection of candidates is carefully done in the presence of a religious majority (Akhter and Sheikh, 2014).

On the other hand candidates use this religious card to gain religious votes and do not hesitate to seek votes on religious base. We can see the issues of Ram Mandir as a religious factor for political benefits during elections and can be said as a politicization of religion and religion is still a major determinant in voting behaviour (Hazarika, 2015).

3.4.c Language-Language has its own standard in Indian politics. Like religion, Language has its diversity in Indian society with 18 official languages and many other languages and dialects. Since people have emotional attachment with their language and language plays an important factor in determinants of voting behaviour in India (Hazarika, 2015). States in India were also carved out on the linguistic basis, which in return act as a major determinants in voting behaviour. Many states are facing problems in the states for status of one particular language in the state like, Haryana the demand for declaring Punjabi as the second official language but Punjabis wanted Punjabi should be the major language in Haryana. In Darjeeling, a state of west Bengal were the imposition of Bengali Languages in school level was tried but was opposed by the ethnic groups (Akhter and Sheikh, 2014).

3.4.d. Economic condition- Economic conditions of the people cannot be ignored and in this issues money plays an important role in politics which act as an determinants of voting behaviour. Since India is poor country use of money to gain votes are used by political parties and candidates in election though the limitation on the expenditure of money is made limited by the Election Commission (amendment in the representation of the people act of 1974). But somehow under the shadow money flows during elections which results in achievement of votes. Many funding is done by various big industrialists and capitalists which are unseen in forefront which can lead to victory (Akhter and Sheikh, 2014). Money plays an important role in determining voting behaviour, where the rich candidates have a better chance in winning elections but it is not always sure in many cases when the election wave is backed by key issues. It happens only in few circumstances, even the Congress (I) lost election in 1989 in spite of expensive election campaign (Hazarika, 2015).

3.4.e. Current Events- Candidates who is aware of the present(current) issues, problems and difficulties faced by the people as well as recent political developments or the poll eve developments also act as determinants of voting behaviour. Like the price rise, shortages and economic hardships faced by the people also determine the voting behaviour (Akhter and Sheikh, 2014). Like the case of fee hike in JNU along with the issues of CAA and NRC has brought instabilities in the politics of India.

3.4.f. Performance of the Party in Power- This is also one of the factor of voting behaviour, political parties contest election on the basis of an election manifesto and Parties that come into power after winning election need to fulfil the promises made by them during election. As people expects the fulfilment of the promises given to the people. Such manifestos and promises also influence the voting behaviour of the people in a big way. Fulfilment of promises made by the party has a huge influence over the voter's behaviours. India experienced such case in1989, the Congress (I), won the election with majority in 1984 election but was unable to secure its position in the very next election held in 1989 largely due to its failure to perform effectively. Such case happens due to floating or swing voters where majority is of young people as they are ready to shift their support according to performance of the party (Hazarika, 2015).

3.4.g. Election Campaigns-To Influence voters every party launches a enthusiastic campaign in order to impact the voters in their favour. Various means is used in election campaigning process in order to win elections like mass meetings, street meetings, personal contacts, posters, poster war, film stars, T.V and radio broadcasts, News Paper advertisements, hand bills, processions and propaganda are also used as means to secure their votes in order to win the election. Such election campaign makes impact on voter to believe that their interest can be served and secured by the

political parties or candidates contesting from their place. Therefore election campaign is also one of the determinants of voting behaviour (Akhter and Sheikh, 2014).

3.4.h. Local Issues- local issue plays an important role in the case of regional or local party as they are able to identify problems, issues and difficulties within the local sphere and tries to secure the local votes for them. Such case can be seen in the success Jharkhand Mukti Morcha in Jharkhand region of Bihar which highlights the role of local issues as determinants of voting behaviour. Local issues also affects the behaviour of voters and act as determinants of voting behaviour , therefore, all regional parties try to win elections on the basis of local issues (Akhter and Sheikh,2014).

3.4.i. Mass Illiteracy-It is the major threat for the country, as the illiterates are unable to distinguish the wicked side of the political parties or their agendas. Political parties utilise this illiterates population for their benefits, this weakness of the people is used by political parties, communal groups and militant outfits as they exploit the sentiments of the people in the name of caste, religion, region and others in order to pull votes. Hence, illiteracy plays a big role in determining the outcomes of elections (Hazarika, 2015).

3.4. j. Charisma- Important factor that determines voting behaviour is Charismatic quality of leadership. The exceptional quality of leader that becomes a source of attraction and admiration for the people and leaders having such charismatic qualities also plays a role in voting behaviour of individuals. While on the other side it can be a source of threat and terror that terrifies the people which results large numbers of people not to speak or dare to do anything against the wishes of the leader for e.g.

Kim Jong Un of North Korea, whose wishes are placed in a higher positions than that of citizens. In India there are no of Charismatic personalities like Nehru, Indira, Vajpayee, Modi whose charismatic leadership assisted in changing the mind of the voters in order to win elections.

The famous slogan of “Garibi Hatao” worked miracles in the election of 1971 and the personality of Mrs. Gandhi after India’s victory in the Bangladesh War had the same stunning impact on the mind of the electorates in the 1972 State Assembly elections. Personality of Modi led the BJP won election of 2014, with his famous slogan “Acche Din” (Hazarika, 2015).

Like the above determinants that impact the voters voting behaviour, others determinants includes: Education, which plays an important role than those of illiterate because the educated people can understand the importance of voting. The educated people cannot be fooled so easily as they can distinguish and compare the situations and sees voting as a medium to elect government of their choice.

3.4.k. Political Consciousness- Political consciousness developed from time to time in India and in turn political consciousness of the citizens acted as determinants of voting behaviour of Indians. While in the election of 1952 there were less participation to exercise right to vote but gradually the participation increased with the development of political consciousness in people.

Ideological Commitment- Another factor is ideology of parties or ideological commitment of the people which affects voting behaviour. Many voters are aligned with particular ideology and give special reference to the ideology of political party or candidates and cast their votes according to their ideology they commit. Like Leftist votes for left parties so does the rightist.

3.4.1. Personal Contact-Voters get influenced by the candidates who are in personal contact with them. Many of the voters get influenced by the personal visits of candidates with folded hands requesting them to vote for him during election.

Conclusion can be made that the voters voting behaviour in India is not influenced by one particular factors or determinants but by many force. Different determinants affect different regions at different times. The factors which influence voting behaviour of voters are never the same for each individual and state. Therefore the determinants of voting change acts according to different time and situations, hence different factors play significant roles at different times.

3.5. Demographic Profile of East District of Sikkim



Source: Maps of India

In 2011, East Sikkim had population of 283,583 of which male and female were 151,432 and 132,151 respectively. In 2001 census, East Sikkim had a population of 245,040 of which males were 132,917 and remaining 112,123 were females. East Sikkim District population constituted 46.45 percent. There was change of 15.73 percent in the population compared to population as per 2001. In the previous census of India 2001, East Sikkim District recorded increase of 37.31 percent to its population compared to 1991. Literacy of male is 88.47 with 78.50 literate females.

The density of population was found out to be 297 per square kilometres. The total sex ratio was 873 females to 1000 males.**East Sikkim District: Census 2011-2020**

Table: 3.1. East Sikkim Population

| Description | 2011 | 2001 |
|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Population | 2.84 Lakhs | 2.45 Lakhs |
| Actual Population | 284,583 | 245,040 |
| Male | 151,432 | 132,917 |
| Female | 132,151 | 112,123 |
| Average Literacy | 83.85 | 74.67 |
| Male Literacy | 88.47 | 81.20 |
| Female Literacy | 78.50 | 66.80 |
| Literates | 214,329 | 159,521 |
| Male Literates | 121,345 | 94,850 |
| Female Literates | 92,984 | 64,671 |

Source:<http://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/464-east-sikkim.html>

Overall Population of Sikkim 2011

As per details from Census 2011, Sikkim has population of 6.11 Lakhs, an increase from figure of 5.41 Lakh in 2001 census. Total population of Sikkim as per 2011 census is 610,577 of which male and female are 323,070 and 287,507 respectively. In 2001, total population was 540,851 in which males were 288,484 while females were

252,367. The total population growth in this decade was 12.89 percent while in previous decade it was 32.98 percent.

Table.3.2. Population of Sikkim

| Description | 2011 | 2001 |
|--------------------------------|------------|-----------|
| Approximate Population | 6.11 Lakhs | 5.41 Lakh |
| Actual Population | 610,577 | 540,851 |
| Male | 323,070 | 288,484 |
| Female | 287,507 | 252,367 |
| Population Growth | 12.89% | 32.98% |
| Percentage of total Population | 0.05% | 0.05% |
| Sex Ratio | 890 | 875 |
| Literacy | 81.42% | 68.81% |
| Male Literacy | 86.55% | 76.04 % |
| Female Literacy | 75.61% | 60.40 % |
| Total Literate | 444,952 | 318,335 |

Source: <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/sikkim.html>

Assemblies Seats of East District of Sikkim.

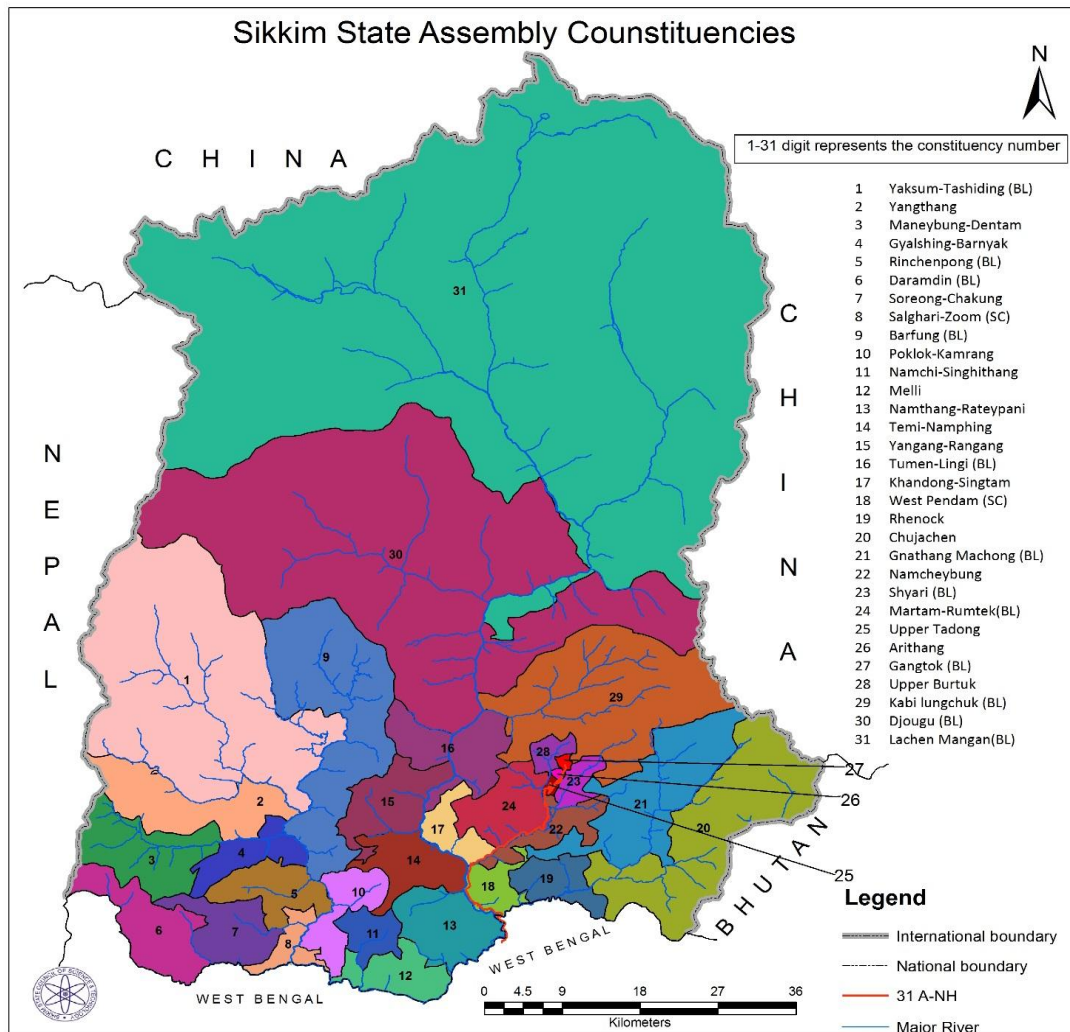
The district is divided into twelve assembly seats. But earlier Tumin Lingi Constituency was under East District of Sikkim but after the delimitation done in the year 2009, the constituency was under the South District the electoral.

Table: 3.3. Electoral constituency of East Sikkim

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 17- Khamdong-Singtam | 18- West Pendam (SC) |
| 19-Rhenock | 20- Chujachen |
| 21-Gnathang-Machong(BL) | 22- Namcheybung |
| 23-Shyari (BL) | 24-Martam-Rumtek (BL) |
| 25- Upper Tadong | 26-Arithang |
| 27-Gangtok (BL) | 28- Upper Burtuk |

Source: Election Commission of India

Map of Sikkim State Assembly Constituencies



Source: Maps of India

3.6. 1. Sikkim Assembly Election of 2009

The Sikkim Legislative Assembly election of 2009 took place in April 2009, concurrently with the 2009 Indian general election. The elections were held in the state for all 32 legislative assembly seats along with third phase of 2009 Indian general elections on 30 April 2009. The results were declared 5 May 2009. The Sikkim Democratic Front (SDF) further strengthened their majority in the Sikkim Assembly by winning all the seats. Incumbent Chief Minister Pawan Kumar

Chamling's Government returned for an unprecedented fourth consecutive term having won previous elections in 1994, 1999 and 2004. In the assembly election the total percentage of voter turnout was 83.78%

Table: 3.4. Parties and candidates

| Party Type | Code | Party Name | Number of candidates | Total |
|--------------------------------------|------|------------------------------------|----------------------|------------|
| National Parties | BJP | Bharatiya Janata Party | 11 | 57 |
| | CPM | Communist Party of India (Marxist) | 3 | |
| | INC | Indian National Congress | 32 | |
| | NCP | Nationalist Congress Party | 11 | |
| State Parties | SDF | Sikkim Democratic Front | 32 | 32 |
| Unrecognised or Unregistered Parties | SGPP | Sikkim Gorkha Prajatantrik Party | 27 | 53 |
| | SHRP | Sikkim Himali Rajya Parishad | 20 | |
| | SJEP | Sikkim Jan-Ekta Party | 6 | |
| Independents | n/a | Independents | 25 | 25 |
| Total: | | | | 167 |

Source: Election Commission of India

Result of 2009 Assembly Elections

The eight Assembly Election of Sikkim was conducted in 2009, and the result was declared on 16th May, 2009. In 2009 election the history of 1989 was repeated when SSP party led by N.B.Bhandari swept all 32 assembly seats. Likewise the party led by PawanChamling was able to seep all 32 seats. The SDF went from strength to strength and this time won even the single seat that had eluded them in 2004. With a clean sweep of all 32 seats in the state, Chamling was sworn in for his fourth consecutive term as Chief Minister by Governor at the Gangtok, Raj Bhawan on May 20, 2009. Neeru Sewa and Tilu Gurung became the first ever women Cabinet ministers in Sikkim.

Table 3.5. Result of election

| Party | Seats Won | Popular Vote | Vote Share |
|--------------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Sikkim Democratic Front | 32 | 165,991 | 65.91% |
| Indian National Congress | 0 | 69,612 | 27.64% |

Source: Election Commission of India

3.6.2. Sikkim Assembly Election of 2014

PawanChamling led SDF had already formed the previous four governments in Sikkim having first formed the government after the 1994 election, when they won 19 seats within a year of the party being formed and then again after the 1999 election, when they increased their tally to 24 seats. Chamling's third term began on 21 May 2004 after increasing his tally to 31. In the 2009 Sikkim Legislative Assembly election, the SDF had a clean-sweep winning all 32 seats in the state assembly and

Chamling sworn in as a Chief Minister fourth times on 20 May 2009. SDF is contesting for the fifth consecutive term. The Buddhist minority demanded Karmapa to contest from Rumtek monastery. Nepali community in Sikkim demanded tribal status. Sikkim Krantikari Morcha (SKM) was formed by Prem Singh Tamang in February 2013. Prem Singh Tamang alias P S Golay left Chamling's SDF in September 2014 and joined SKM. SKM contested from all 32 seats

Polling

There were 370,731 eligible voters including 1, 79,650 female voters. 538 polling stations were set up by election commission. There are two seats reserved for scheduled castes (SC), 12 for Bhutia and Lepcha (BL) communities out of 32 seats. SKM leader Golay contested from Namthang-Rateypani seat against SDF minister Tilu Gurung. SDF leader and the then chief minister Chamling contested from two places, Namchi-Singhithang and Rangang-Yangang.

Voter turnout of 2009 Sikkim Assembly Election

In the Sikkim Assembly Election of 2009 out of total 80.97% of electorate including 80.57% males and 81.40% females cast their vote. Voter turnout at each constituency of east district of Sikkim.

Table. 3.6. Voter Turnout of East Sikkim

| No. | Constituency | Voter turnout % |
|------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| 17 | Khamdong Singtam | 82.32 |
| 18 | West Pendam (SC) | 81.15 |

| | | |
|----|-----------------------|-------|
| 19 | Rhenok | 82.02 |
| 20 | Chujachen | 80.44 |
| 21 | Gnathang Machong (BL) | 81.40 |
| 22 | Namchwybong | 82.42 |
| 23 | Shyari (BL) | 78.14 |
| 24 | Martam Rumtek (BL) | 80.23 |
| 25 | Upper Tadong | 73.54 |
| 26 | Arithang | 71.14 |
| 27 | <u>Gangtok</u> (BL) | 65.94 |
| 28 | Upper Burtuk | 78.77 |

Election Commission of India

Table 3.7. Parties and candidates

| Party Type | Code | Party Name | Number of candidates | Total |
|---|------|--------------------------|----------------------|-------|
| National Parties | BJP | Bharatiya Janata Party | 13 | 45 |
| | INC | Indian National Congress | 32 | |
| State registered and recognized parties | SDF | Sikkim Democratic Front | 32 | 32 |
| State registered and unrecognised parties | TMC | Trinamool Congress | 7 | 39 |
| | SKM | Sikkim Krantikari Morcha | 32 | |
| Independents | n/a | Independents | 5 | 5 |
| Total: | | | | 121 |

Source: Election Commission of India

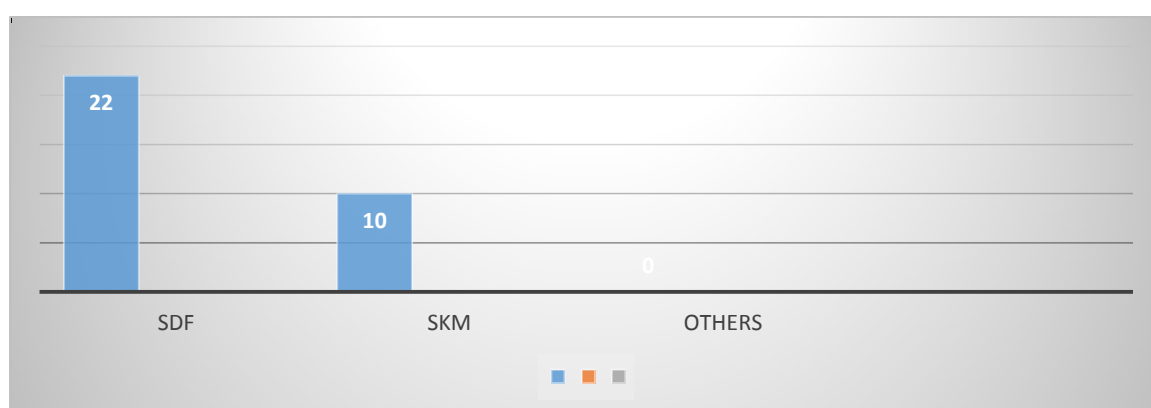
Results of Sikkim Assembly Election 2014

SDF led by Chamling secured majority by winning 22 out of 32 seats. SKM won the rest ten seats. Out of total voters of 80.97%, the SDF party was able to secure 55.0% votes, while the opposition party SKM was only able to secure 40.8% votes. Pawan Chamling was sworn in as the Chief Minister of Sikkim for the fifth time on 21 May 2014 by Shrinivas Dadasaheb Patil, the former Governor of Sikkim. He became

the chief minister fifth time, a record previously held by Jyoti Basu who ruled West Bengal from 1977 to 2000.

The Sikkim Legislative Assembly Elections were held simultaneously along with the Lok Sabha Elections. The Lok Sabha seat for 2014 has been retained by the Sikkim Democratic Front (SDF) candidate, Prem Das Rai.

Chart. 3.1. Election result of 2014 Sikkim Assembly Election



A total of 368,948 voters have made their choice by voting the Sikkim Democratic Front (SDF) to retain the office for the fifth consecutive time. Only three parties i.e. SDF, SKM and the Congress had put up candidates to fight all assembly seats. The campaign for SDF was led by the sitting Chief Minister and President, Pawan Chamling, who focused on peace, prosperity and development.

3.6.3. Sikkim Assembly Election of 2019

Legislative Assembly elections were held in Sikkim on 11 April 2019 to elect the 32 members of the eighth Legislative Assembly. The term of ninth Sikkim Legislative Assembly ended on 27 May 2019. Sikkim went on all Assembly and lone Lok Sabha seat poll 2019 at the same time in single phase on 11 April where percentage turn out

of voters from all four districts East, West, North and East Districts including Sangha seat recorded 78.19%, in 2014 election percentage was 80.97% as per ECI.

Table .3.8. Overall Voter Turnout of Assembly Election of Sikkim 2019

General Election to the House of People and the Legislative Assembly of Sikkim, 2019

Voter Turnout Report

| District | Male Voter Turnout % | Female Voter Turnout % | Poll Turnout % |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| WEST | 82.24% | 81.03% | 81.64% |
| SOUTH | 79.11% | 77.01% | 78.07% |
| EAST | 75.67% | 75.53% | 75.60% |
| NORTH | 81.51% | 81.95% | 81.74% |
| SANGHA | 68.18% | 62.32% | 68.05% |
| TOTAL | 78.55% | 77.81% | 78.19% |

Source: <https://voiceofsikkim.com/2019/04/12/sikkim-recorded-78-19-poll-turnout>

Table.3.9. Voter turnout East District Of Sikkim Constituency wise

| Constituency | Male voter % | Female voter % | Total % |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| 17- KHAMDONG-SINGTAM | 79.64 | 78.62 | 79.15 |
| 18- WEST-PENDAM (SC) | 77.75 | 75.84 | 76.83 |
| 19- RHENOCK | 80.28 | 79.23 | 79.76 |
| 20- CHUJACHEN | 78.76 | 75.69 | 77.23 |
| 21-GNATHANGMACHONG (BL) | 78.38 | 81.82 | 80.10 |
| 22- NAMCHEYBUNG | 79.35 | 80.01 | 79.68 |

| | | | |
|------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 23- SHYARI (BL) | 75.26 | 74.92 | 75.09 |
| 24- MARTAM-RUMTEK (BL) | 79.27 | 77.43 | 78.35 |
| 25- UPPER TADONG | 69.47 | 71.32 | 70.40 |
| 26- ARITHANG | 67.96 | 67.15 | 67.57 |
| 27- GANGTOK (BL) | 63.30 | 61.37 | 62.38 |
| 28- UPPER BURTUK | 74.23 | 74.93 | 74.58 |

Source: <http://ceosikkim.nic.in/>

Table.3.10. Parties Contested

| Contested | Won | | Votes | % |
|--------------------------|-----|----|----------|-------|
| | | | | |
| Sikkim Krantikari Morcha | 32 | 17 | 1,65,508 | 47.03 |
| Sikkim Democratic Front | 32 | 15 | 1,67,620 | 47.63 |
| Bharatiya Janata Party | 12 | 0 | 5,700 | 1.62 |
| Indian National Congress | 24 | 0 | 2,721 | 0.77 |
| Hamro Sikkim Party | 23 | 0 | 2,098 | 0.60 |
| Independents | | 0 | | |
| Total | 32 | | | |

Source: Election Commission of India

The ruling Sikkim Krantikari Morcha (SKM) of Sikkim and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which had entered into an electoral understanding before the bye elections to the three constituencies of Poklok-Kamrang, Gangtok and Martam-Rumtek, have won all three seats. While the Chief Minister and SKM candidate Prem Singh Tamang Golay won from Poklok-Kamrang securing 84 per cent of the votes, the BJP candidates Sonam Vengchungpa and Yong Tshering Lepcha won from Martam-Rumtek and Gangtok respectively.

The victory was crucial for Tamang, whose candidacy for the post of Chief Minister was under a cloud even after leading his party to a narrow victory over the Sikkim Democratic Front (SDF) in the Assembly election earlier this year on account of his conviction in a corruption case in 2017. However, with the (ECI) reduced period from six years to one year in September, Tamang was able to file his nomination for the bye election at the last moment.

After the bye election was over, the SKM has 19 seats, the BJP 12 and the SDF one, in the 32-member Sikkim Assembly. BJP, with the second-highest number of seats in the Assembly, has become an ally of the ruling party rather than the main opposition party. In August, 10 MLAs from the SDF, which had won 15 seats in the Assembly election, defected to the BJP, making the latter the main opposition in the State even though it secured only 1.62 per cent of the votes. With the two parties joining forces a month later, the SDF with its lone MLA former Chief Minister Pawan Kumar Chamling is at present the only opposition in the state. (frontline.thehindu.com/).

At present, the final seat numbers are: SKM 19 seats, BJP 12 seats and SDF 1 seat. Pawan Kumar Chamling ruled Sikkim for over 25 years, making him the longest-serving chief minister of the country, but he lost power in the recent polls.

CHAPTER 4

Political Participation and Voting Behaviour in East District of Sikkim

4.0 Introduction

This chapter analyzes and presents the survey data obtained from the selected area i.e. East District of Sikkim. This chapter is separated into three sections. The first section presents the demographic and social affiliations of the participants. The second section presents or try to understand the participants political opinions and involvements in politics. While the third section presents the opinions, views and specific issues participants consider while voting. The survey data is analyzed using a simple frequency distributions, tables and pie charts.

4.1. Demographic and Social Affiliations of Respondents

This section analyzes the demographic and social attachments of the respondents like their age, sex educational background , occupational status etc. The research participants in this survey were asked to indicate their age, religion, educational qualification, occupation and marital status in order to determine their social background. According to Dzorgbo (2006) mentioned that, the demographic characteristics of respondents are important as it could have some influence over the voters decision.

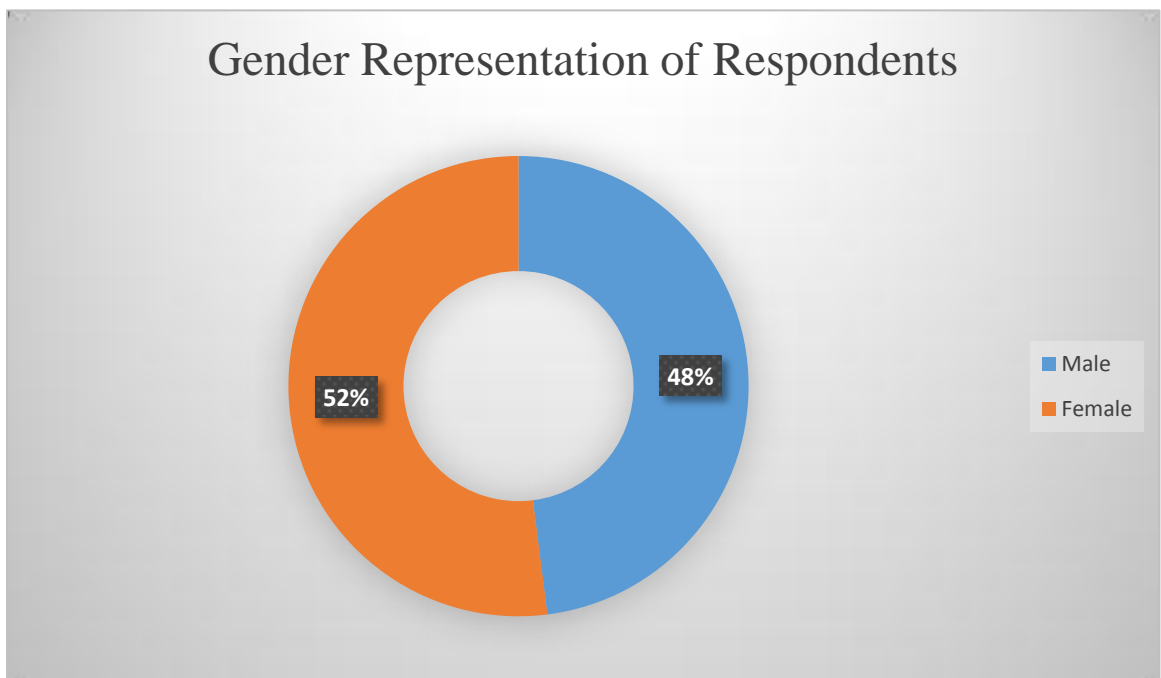
4.1.1 Gender

Gender representation plays an important role in most of the conditions. Men and women may rate and prioritize issues differently when making voting decisions. They may perceive and evaluate electioneering issues from different viewpoints. Therefore, gender can sometimes have an impact on electoral choice, Norris (2006).

The data relating to gender of respondent's has been presented in Chart 4.1.

Chart No 4.1.1 Gender representations of Respondents

Chart no 4.1.1 represents the gender representation of respondents



Gender representation of respondents and according to field survey from east district of Sikkim, the total numbers of respondents were 100 in which 52 were Female and 48 were Male. Female respondents were higher in numbers because of the concern which they show towards the political representation and voting behavior.

4.1.2 Qualifications of Respondents

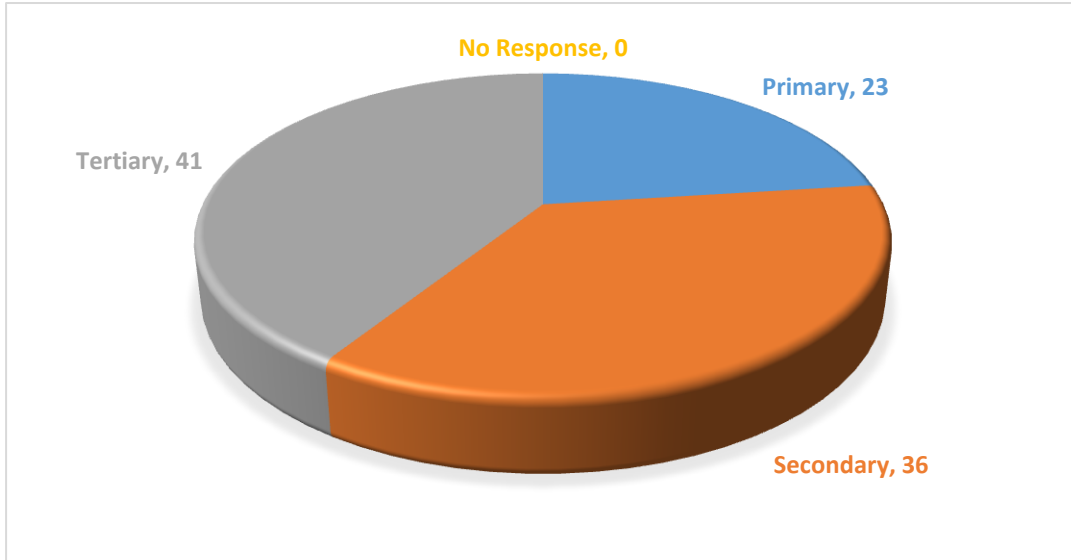


Chart no 4.1.2 illustrate the qualifications of respondents in which out of total respondents, 41% were in tertiary level of education which includes, Certificates course, Diplomas, Bachelor's degree, Masters and above. 36% completed their secondary level of education, 23% are from primary level and none of the respondents denied expressing their education qualification. The above chat shows that the highest numbers of respondents are from higher level of qualification, they are much more conscious about the political rights and the duties of citizens. Education plays an important role in determining voter's choice. As literate people do not fall an easy prey to propandas and other false issues as they are rational enough to choose wisely.

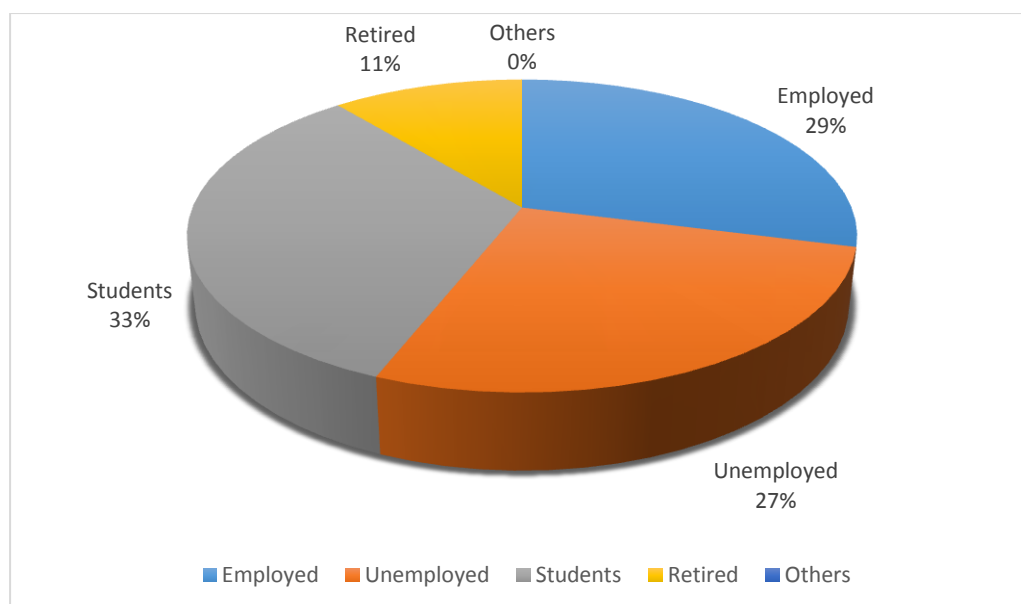
Table 4.1.1 Age Distribution of Respondents

| Age groups | Total no. of respondents |
|------------|--------------------------|
| 18-27 | 20 |

| | |
|-----------|-----|
| 28-37 | 28 |
| 38-47 | 23 |
| 48-57 | 16 |
| 57& Above | 13 |
| Total | 100 |

The above table No. 4.1.1 illustrates the age distribution among the 100 respondents from the east district of Sikkim. The age distributions of respondents have been categories in five sections with 10 intervals. The highest numbers of respondents are from age groups of 28-37 having 28% and the lowest numbers of respondents are from the age groups of 57 and above with only 13%. The age group between 38-47 is in second highest categories with 23%. The young age groups of 18-27 were 20% and 16% were from the age group of 48 to 57. The above table clearly shows that the middle age groups are conscious about the voting and are socially and are politically active and concerned about the exercise of voting rights.

Chart 4.1.3 Occupational Status of Respondents



The above mention Chart No 4.1.3 demonstrate about the occupational status of respondents. Out of total respondents 33% were students who studied in various colleges and Universities. 29% of the respondents were employed in various government, privates and other sectors and 27% were unemployed. Remaining 11% were retired personals from different sectors of jobs. The above chat shows that the employed who are working in different sectors willingly shares their perception towards the voting behaviors and political development in the state and it has exceptional political characteristics of Sikkim.

4.1.2 Caste Status of Respondents

The below table represents the caste status of the respondents in which 37% were belongs to Other Backward Classes, 35% were from General categories and 28% were from Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribes. The majority of the respondents are from Other Backward Classes followed by General. Hence, role of caste in politics is important as cast is also one of the major determinants of voting behavior.

Table 4.1.2 Caste Status of Respondents

| Caste Status | No of Respondents |
|--------------|-------------------|
| OBC | 37 |
| SC/ST | 28 |
| General | 35 |
| Total | 100 |

4.2 Political Participation, Opinions and Involvement of Respondents

In this section the respondents political participants, opinions, view, their attention and their level of involvement in politics is presented here and the extent to which they were interested in political and government issues. Political participation is an important part in a democratic system . Voting is the vital element of democracy where more the participation more the democracy prospers.

4.2.1. Attention to Political Issues and Government Issues of Respondents

| Frequency | No of respondents to Political issues | No of respondents to Government issues |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Everyday | 29 | 38 |
| Some of the Days | 31 | 21 |
| Once a week | 22 | 14 |
| Never | 18 | 27 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

The above Table illustrates the responses of the respondents in the issues of political and governmental activities in which 29 % of the respondents were engaged in everyday political activities, whereas 38% of the respondents were engaged and concerned towards the governmental issues. The majority of the respondents that is 31% are less concern towards the political issues in which they response some of the days towards the political issues whereas 21% were concern towards the governmental activities. This table clearly shows that the respondents are less

interested in day to day political and governmental issues. 22% of the respondents are concerned once in a week towards political issues and 14% responded that they are concerned towards governmental issues. Among all the respondents 18% and 27 % of the respondents were never concern towards political and governmental issues were respectively. Political conscious or concerns among the people is important in democratic system. When there is political consciousness among people it leads to more democratization in democratic system.

4.2.2. Interest in Politics and Support of Political Ideology of Respondents

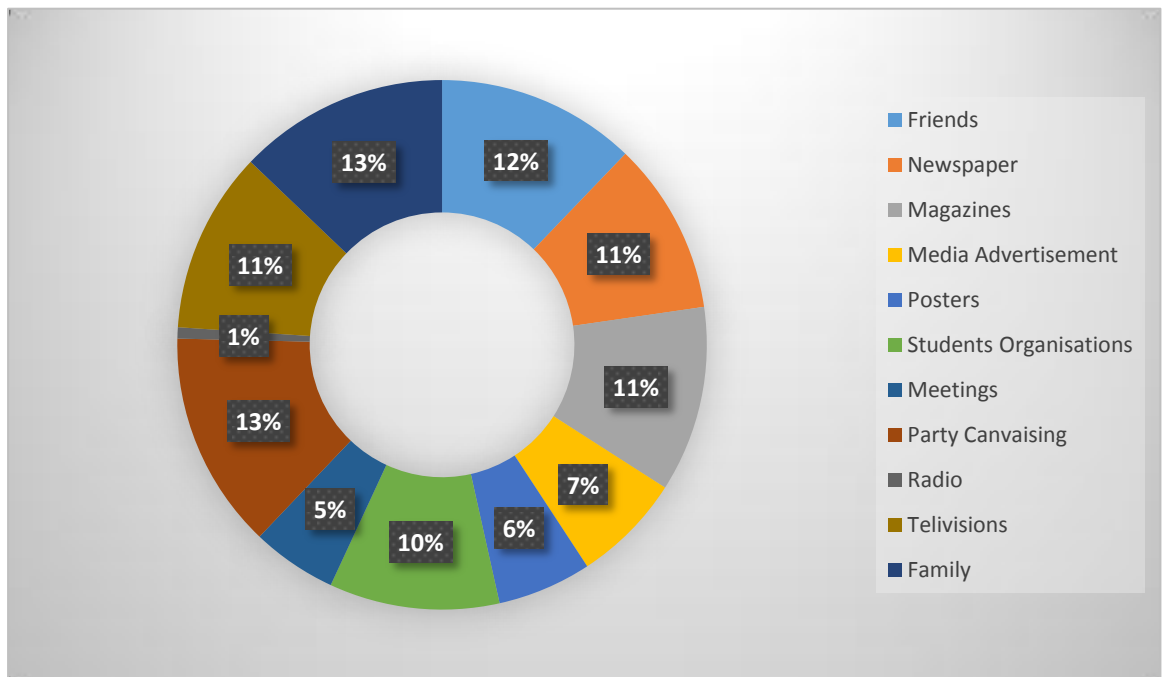
The below table number 4.2.2 describes about the interest of respondents towards the politics and their beliefs towards particular political ideology of different political parties. Out of 100 respondents 68% were interested in politics of the state in which they participated in various political activities like participated in political events, meeting, political rallies organized by different political parties and they were the members or cadres of different political parties. 32% of the respondents were not interested in politics and not members of any political parties. Response regarding the interest of respondents who believe in different political party's ideology, 73% of the respondents believe in political ideologies based on the welfare of the state and the people of Sikkim and support the particular political parties with their ideologies and 37% were not interested or do not believe in any political ideology. Political ideology is an important political determinant of voting behavior as it shapes the decision of voters.

| Interest | No. of Respondents interested in Politics | No. of Respondents interested in Political ideology |
|----------|---|---|
| Yes | 68 | 73 |
| No | 32 | 37 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

4.2.3. Perception of Respondents on Prior Discussions and Debate about Voting and its Consequences.

The prior discussion and debate in different regions regarding whom to vote and whom not to vote is a common phenomenon. People discussed about the different political parties and their ideologies and decided to support the particular political parties or the candidates of their choice. The field work of this study found that out of 100 respondents 87 % were engaged themselves in debates and discussion about the political matters of the state. The analysis of the prior work of the government and is also studied here like the manifesto, policies and program of different political parties. 13 % does not believe in debate and discussion and they just favor the political party or candidates with their own choice. 79% of the respondents believed that voting makes difference in governmental activities and thus vote rationally. 31% respondents does not believe that voting makes difference in the state. The study also found that majority of the respondents took parts in various political activities and thus react or vote according to policies and program of different political parties. The higher numbers of consciousness among the people of state about the politics is because of higher level of literacy rate and political personal interest.

Chart No. 4.2.1. Information about the elections



The above chart no. 4.2.1 explains about the information regarding the election in the east district of Sikkim. In the contemporary era, people are much more conscious about the elections and the political activities of different parties. There were many source of information mediums from where the citizen got more details about the election. In this study the medium of information are divided in to eleven sections. The majority of the respondents got information about the election from political parties canvassing or official information from Election Commission of India, followed by family, friends, Magazines, Newspapers, Televisions, students organizations, media advertisement, posters, meetings and radio. The only 1% respondents who got information regarding election from radio and it clearly shows that people do not listen radio advertisement. The majority of the respondents got various information related to election from family members with 13%. Political Parties canvassing able to aware the people regarding the various information related to election and 13% respondents got information through party canvassing. Friends

and students organizations also play a vital role to aware the citizen about their political rights. Newspaper, Magazines and poster advertisement also play a key role to delivered different information regarding political development and election in the state.

Social media also plays an active role in the election and it has a wider effect on voting behavior in the state. Many political activities has been carried out through the social media via Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter etc. the supporters or the members of different political parties circulated the different information regarding their political activities via social media and try to reach those information in the masses. During the field study it was found that out of 100 respondents 69% believed that social media plays an effective role on voting behavior and 31% respondents were not sure that either social media plays an active role or not. Thus social media is considered to be the carry forward elements to circulate the various governmental or political activities in to the public domain. In the present era, the different activity in social media is rapidly increasing because of well-connected communication systems and rapid growth of technologies.

4.3. Factors that influence Voting Behavior

This section presents and analyzes the result of the survey data in order to identify the important factors that influence voting behavior or voter's choice. This section will highlight the voter's views, opinions and reasons that influence voter's decision while voting.

Table 4.3.1. Perception of Respondents on performance and efficiency of government and economic standard of living

| Performance | No of Respondents on performance and efficiency of government | No. of respondents on economic standard of living of people |
|-------------|---|---|
| Yes | 59 | 62 |
| No | 20 | 12 |
| Maybe | 21 | 26 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Table No 4.3.1 explains about the perception of respondents on performance and efficiency of government and economic standard of living. The respondents freely articulate their views on governmental performance in various sectors for the welfare of the state and how government is working towards their promises for the improvement of economic standard of living of people. In every elections different political parties make different promises to improve the economy and the standard of living of the people and the state by creating more employment opportunities, improvement in business sectors, establishment of various industries so that people of state get more preference etc. so in this context, 59% respondents stated that government is working according to their promises and working efficiently, 20% are not agreed with the statements made by the government or government is not working according to their objectives and 21% respondents are not able to calculate the work efficiency of the government. 62% respondents agreed that government is working for the improvement of economic standard of living where 12% does not agree that

government is doing so and 26% of respondents may not have any idea about the subject.

4.3.1. Perception of Respondent on voting behavior of government employees and improving economy of the state.

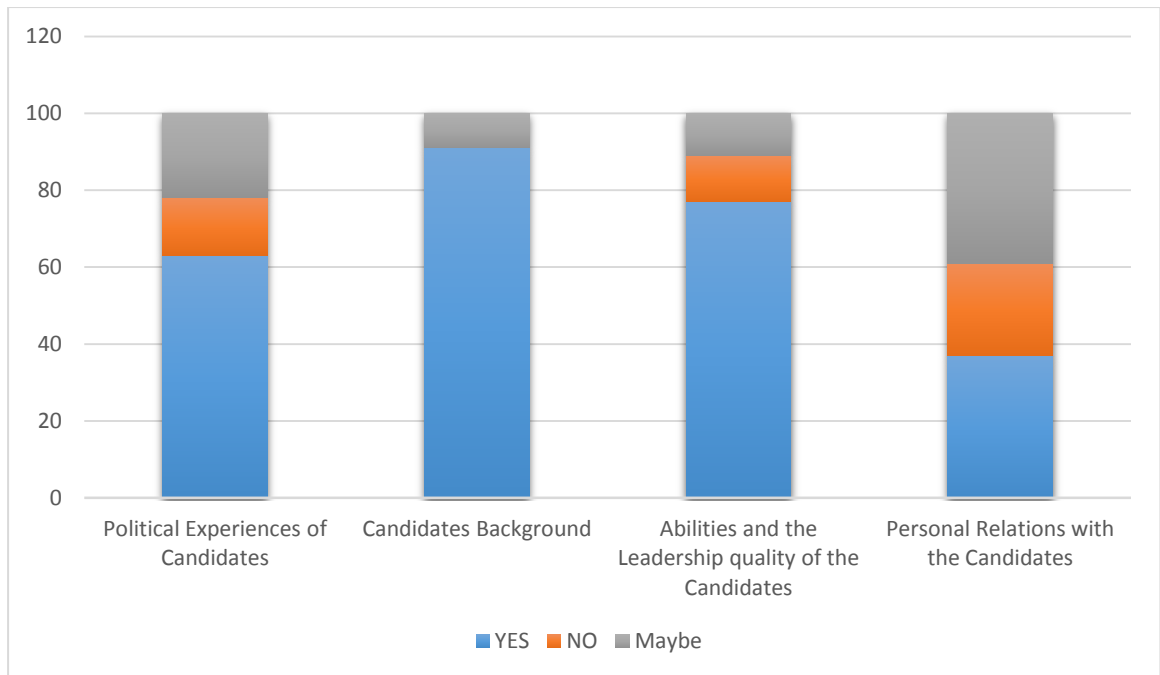
The below table illustrated the perception of respondents on voting behavior impacts on government employees and influence the economy of the state. Economy plays an important role in the life of an individual and the capability/ ability of a party to improve the economy of the state while voting. The respondents state that pattern of voting behavior has huge impact on government employees and improving the economic status of the state. 21% of the respondents are in favor of the state that voting behavior has impact on government employees and 39% were not in favor. 40% of the respondents stated that they have no such ideas and it may caused impact or not. 38% of the respondents are in favor that voting behavior has a huge role in maintaining and improving the economy of the state and 23% does not believe in such statement. 39% of the respondents do not have any idea about weather voting behavior boost the economy of the state or not. Here in this two issues, the study found that the respondents who does not have any idea about this issues

is more and it is because of that, the more respondents are from rural areas and they are not so much conscious about the voting behavior and its impacts on employees and economy.

Table No. 4.3.2. Perception of Respondent on voting behavior of government employees and improving economy of the state.

| Statements | No. of respondents on perception of voting behavior on government employee | No. of respondent on performance in improving economy |
|------------|--|---|
| Yes | 21 | 38 |
| No | 39 | 23 |
| Maybe | 40 | 39 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Chart 4.3.1. Perception of Respondent of the political Experiences of Candidate, Background of the Candidates, Abilities and Leadership Quality of the Candidates and Personal Relation with the candidates.



The above mention chart shows the perception of respondents regarding the candidates in different fields like on what basis an individual cast their vote? Whether they will see the past political experiences, background, abilities and leadership quality of the candidates and respondent’s personal relation with the candidates matters? The political experiences of the candidate’s matters a lot in politics in which 63% of the respondents cast their vote by analyzing candidates past political experiences whereas 15% doesn’t believe in past experiences and 22% were not able to clarify themselves whether past experiences matters in politics or not. Majority of the respondents i.e., 91% stated that the background of the politician determine while voting. An individual should inquire about the educational, social and criminal background of the candidates and 9% of the respondents were not in a state to argue in these matters. Majority of the respondents always analyzes the abilities and the leadership quality of the candidates while voting. 37% out of 100 respondents cast their votes to those candidates who have a personal relations with them and 24% were not in favor to cast their precious vote with a personal relation with the candidates

because they stated that if an individual cast their votes by applying personal relation with the candidates than it will be like a ‘sell of votes for personal gains’ and this types of activities hamper the entire discourse of politics. 39% of the respondents could not analyze that weather they can cast their votes in favor of those candidates who have a personal relation with them or not.

4.3.3. Perception of Respondent on party manifestoes and campaign promises

During election, all the political parties and candidates came up with different promises and manifestos and try to influence the voters so that they can win the election. Sometimes after election some promises made by candidates fulfilled but in many cases they did not came up to the expectation. In order to win the election, many promises have been made by the candidates or political parties and voters analyze those manifestos and cast their votes in favor to those who came up with the genuine promises. The major promises which was there during elections includes better health facilities, better educational systems, industrial policies, housing policies, better roads connectivity, regular water and electricity supply, proper sanitation, eradication of poverty, unemployment problems and many more. Sikkimese political parties are also applying the same methods and it was found that out of 100 respondents from east district of Sikkim, majority of the voters believes in manifesto and promises made by the political parties in the state. The majority of the respondents were in favor to those candidates or political parties who work for the health issues, educational facilities and industrial policies. They considered those policy like education, health, unemployment etc and cast their votes after comparative analysis of different manifestos and promises made by the political parties or the candidates.

Table 4.3.3. Perception of Respondent on Ethnicity/ Castes, Birth Place and Religion

| Perception | Ethnicity/Caste | Birthplace | Religion |
|------------|-----------------|------------|----------|
| Yes | 10 | 16 | 6 |
| No | 51 | 66 | 73 |
| Maybe | 39 | 28 | 21 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

The above table explains about the voting behavior of the individuals related to ethnicity/ caste, birthplace and religion of the candidates. In the recent era ethnicity, caste, religion plays an important role as vote bank and the voters were influenced by such caste, religion and language basis. The birthplace of the candidates also encouraged the voters to cast their votes in favor of those candidates who belongs to the same place or those who are ‘Bhumiputra’ (Son of the same land or constituency).

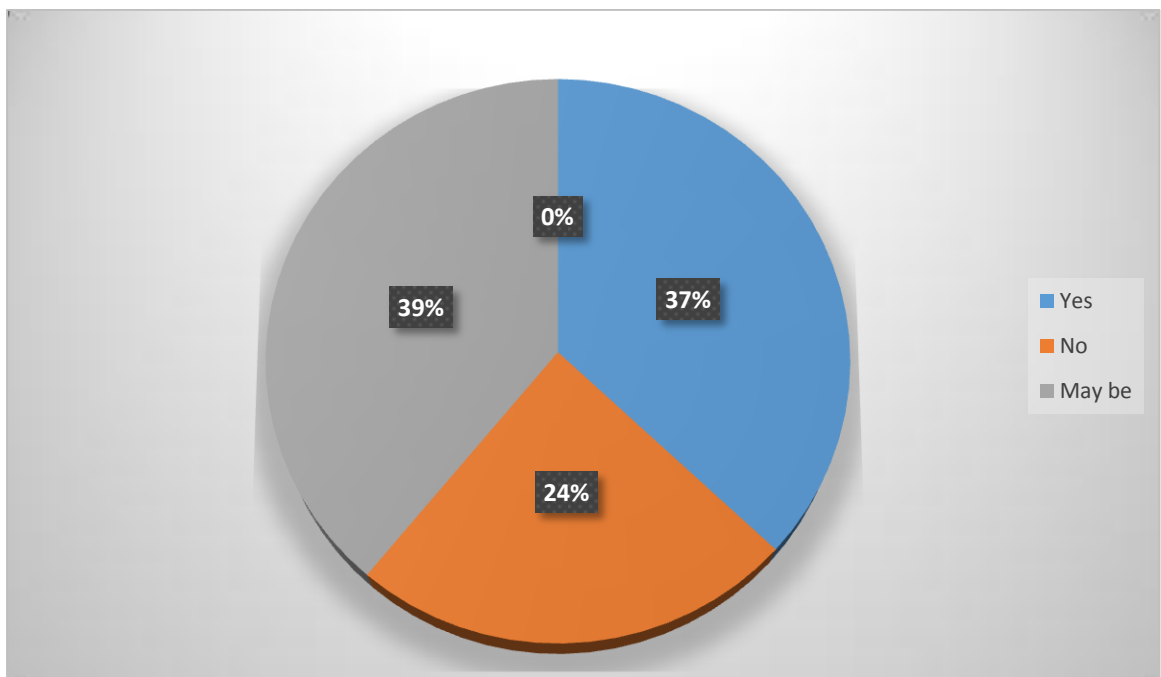
Does the ethnicity/ castes of the candidate matter when an individual vote? In this context 10% respondents agreed that ethnicity/ caste matters while an individual vote but 51% respondents denied in this statements and stated that vote should not cast on the basis of ethnicity or caste but it should be based on the ideologies, manifestos and over all development policies of the political parties or the candidates.

Does a voter consider birth place from where the candidates belong from? As a answers to this query, 66% respondents strongly condemn that an individual should not cast their vote by considering the birthplace of the candidates where the voters belongs. Vote should be cast on the basis of policies delivered by the particular

candidates for the welfare of the constituencies. 16% respondents are in favor of the statement and 28% could not able to justify the statements

Does religions of the candidates influenced the voters? Religion plays an important role during the election. Many political violence has been recorded in a past which caused through the clash in between various religions during the election. During the field work it was found that 73% of respondents does not believe on candidates religions and cast their vote but 6% were in favor on religions based vote cast. 21% are not able say anything in these statements.

4.3.2. Perception of Respondent on personal relations with the candidate



The above chart demonstrates the respondent personal relations with candidate. 37 % of the respondents believed that they cast their votes in favor of those candidates who have a personal or close relation with the candidates and 24% are not in favor of that. The majority of the respondents that is 39% are not stick with concept they feel that it may be in favor or not.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Democracy plays important role in the present globalized world. India is the largest democracy in the world with , with its independence it led the impact in the emergence of democracy in Sikkim. Sikkim was under the rule of Namgyal Dynasty or under monarchy since 1642 for 333 years . But after the establishment of the first political party in Sikkim, Sikkim State Congress in the year 1947 there was the political emergence in the State of Sikkim led to the birth of different political parties. Sikkim State Congress acted as the catalyst in the emergence of democratic evolution which had its great impact in the monarchial rule and finally in the year 1975 monarchy was destroyed completely after the merger of Sikkim with Indian Union.

Political parties and organisations picked up the democratic mobilization among the masses that led to the downfall of Monarchial rule in Sikkim. As we examine that the government policies and decisions during pre-merger period in independent Sikkim also indicates the monarchy was under pressure to bring certain democratic policies and laws in Sikkim. Thus when political participation took place, the demands for democracy continued to dominate political scenes in Sikkim and the governing rules and policies of the monarchical administration.

The merger of Sikkim with India also brought certain changes in the political culture and political participation as with the merger in 1975 it led to the introduction of the parliamentary form of democracy.

The idea of democracy has evolved in the early 1940s, after the Indian Independence which influenced the people of Sikkim. Especially the Nepalese people who were in majority but politically deprived, as they were the agriculturist and were considered as workers or second grade citizen. The system of governance during the reign of Chogyal was essentially a monarchial feudal system. As when one goes through the political culture of Sikkim, the kind of exploitation by the Zamindars and Kazis over people in several means or forms like Kalobhari, Jharlangi and Kuruwa was also one of the factors that led to the mind and heart of people (especially Nepali) the need for democracy. Most of these workers were proletariats Nepalese who were in majority but deprived of political rights.

The bourgeoisie Kazis, Mandals were the important part of the monarchial administrative and vested with powers regarding the local issues, they used to collect taxes and revenues and maintain all the details that need to be present at Durbar. But they in return utilized the power for their personal benefit and started exploiting the poor people. Unable to tolerate against the exploitation and suppression of Kazis and Zamindars the people rose against the suppression. There were lots of classified meetings and movement held by the different political groups and led to the birth of new political party. This led to the emergence of new political culture and people participation in the society of Sikkim.

This is how there was the establishment of new political culture in the democratic system in the societies of Sikkim. The new electoral politics and process started in Sikkim led to the formation of new political culture and political participation in Sikkim.

The new political party formed as the process of new electoral politics. A new party was formed in the year 1948 nicknamed “Chogyals Party” as to counter the and neutralize the democratic aspirations of the people of Sikkim and to preserve and uphold the nationalistic zeal of the State that was strictly confined to the monarchy and sections of the population (Bhutia Lepcha) who were in minority.

The National Party on the other hand was led by leaders loyal to the Durbar, the State Congress on the other hand The State Congress had workers, sympathizers and followers who were the commoners , but its leadership was wholly operated by the supporters but the leadership was hailed from the educated and rich sections of the society. With the pressure from these organisations the Monarch was compelled to bring certain changes in his administrative system and in the year 1953 the Monarch issued the Constitution Proclamation for the composition and powers to the State Council. Somehow we can find the development of political culture has its roots in the socio-cultural factors like Ethnic mobilization.

As there was the issues regarding the seats since 1950s and there were many changes in the political system regarding seats like it was 17 seats in 1953, 24 seats in 1966 and 32 seats in the existing time. The political culture can be seen in two phases like Pre Merger and Post Merger period. During the pre-merger period the electoral process was under the advice of the Mharaja. The first council election was held in 1958 and continued at 1973. From the above we can understand that the socio-cultural was the major determinant factors that played in bringing changes in political culture of Sikkim.

The one more coincidence was that the one party dominance in political history was repeated, since Bhandari ruled for three consecutive terms. Since Sikkim Democratic

Front party under the Pawan Kumar Chamling hold the office since 1994 to 2019 and had been able to mandate his position in the state of Sikkim for 25 years. The dominance of the state level and regional political parties is also a notable feature of politics. The other national level political parties did not share the wide popularity that Indian National Congress enjoyed. The dynamics of regional politics is so strong in Sikkim.

The degree of democratic consciousness is not identical all across the globe. If we take the case of India itself, democratisation or democratic consciousness among the citizens is not identical. Sikkim is a very young democracy and perhaps the transition to democracy has not fully been acknowledged by citizens. Yes, Sikkim as a state follows a democratic polity but democracy is just an ideal, it is a way of life. As we all knows democracy any where is flawed somehow or some other way. None the less looking at the brighter side it is the people who hold the future of democracy. Definitely electoral process and the exercise of Right to Vote is an integral part of democracy. Hence this study with much humility has attempted to put forward few findings and recommendations.

Findings.

1. The study found that majority of the respondents are interested in politics and political activities and they are concerned towards the governmental activities because an individual feel that election is the process where they got chance to choose the representatives who have a dedications and devotions towards the welfare of the state and its people. They also feel that politics is considered as a ground where an individual perception is taken in to accounts.

2. Voting makes difference in the election and majority of the respondents went to cast their votes because they feel that by casting a vote, the people have power to elect those candidates who deserve to be in power and the participants bring awareness among the people. They also feel that an individual should access their democratic rights in order to raise their voice for the welfare of the state.
3. According to the promises made by political parties and the candidates, the majority of the respondents believed that government is not working properly in many sectors which are very essential for an individual life's i.e., there is no proper educational facilities in the state, no well proper connectivity of roads and bridges, no adequate supply of drinking water, electricity supply is irregular, and hospitals is not well maintained and medicine facilities is not good. It is also found that the some portion of respondents stated that after 2019 general assembly election of Sikkim, new government was formed under the leadership of Prem Singh Tamang led Sikkim Krantikari Morcha and they believed that the new government will give more preference in this matters in coming days.
4. The study also found that the majority of the respondents got information about the election and political activities from friends and families and it is also came to know that political meetings, campaigning and posters plays an important role to manifested the information about the elections and other political activities.
5. The study also found that the government is not working efficiently for the people's interest as government make false promises during the campaigning and once they came in to the power, they forgot to look after the people.

6. It was also found that people took participation in discussion and debates prior to elections because after analyzing the facts and figures of the debates and discussion, people's give mandates to those who have a greater vision for the state and its peoples.
7. The social media plays an important role during the elections and affects the voting behavior of the state.
8. It was also found that the majority of the respondents believed in particular political ideologies and support those candidates or political parties who have vision for the development of the state.
9. The research also found that the caste, ethnicity, birth place, religion of the candidates and personal relation with the candidates doesn't matter in the elections because an individual doesn't vote in this grounds. But few of the respondents agreed that personal relation of the candidates matter because they feel the candidates too share the same vies as them.
10. While choosing the candidates during the elections, the study found that the performance of the parties in the past, promises to protect minorities interest, improvement of roads, electricity, housing, better education system, jobs for the unemployed, influence the voters in the election.

Recommendation:

1. Government should work for the welfare of the overall people.
2. Basic needs of life; like roads connectivity, electricity, safe drinking water facilities, schools and hospitals should be undergo regular maintenance as these things are the basic needs of human life which cannot be ignored.
3. Promises made during election campaign should be fulfilled; such promises should not only be limited to attract voters.

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APPENDIX I

Treaty of Segowlee: 2nd December, 1815

Treaty of peace between the Honourable East India Company and Mhaha Raja Bikram Sah, Rajan of Nipal, settled between Lieutenant Colonel Bradshaw on the part of Honourable Company, in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable Francis, Earl of Moira, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garte, one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Pirvy Council, appointed by the Court of Directors of the said Honourable Company to direct and control all the affairs in the East Indies, and by Sree Gooro Gujraj Misser and Chunder Seekur Opedeea on the part of Maha Raja Girmaun Jode Bikram Sah Bahadur, Shumsher Jung, in virtue of the powers to that effect vested in them by the said Rajah of Nipal, - 2nd December 1815.

Whereas was has arisen between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nipal, and whereas the parties are mutually disposed to restore the relations of peace and amity which, previously to the occurrence of the late differences, had long subsisted between the two States, the following terms of peace have been agreed upon:

Article 1st

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nipal.

Article 2nd

The rajah of Nipal renounces all claim to the lands which were the subjects of discussion between the two states before the war, and acknowledges the right of the Honourable Comapany to the sovereignty of those lands.

Article 3rd

The rajah of Nipal hereby cedes to the Honourable the East India Company in perpetuity all the under mentioned territories, viz –

First :- The whole of the low lands between the Rivers Kali and Rapti

Secondly :- The whole of the low lands (with the exceptions of Bootwul Khass) lying between the Rapti and Gunduck

Thirdly :- The whole of the low lands between the Gunduck and Coosah, in which the authority of the British Government has been introduced, or is in actual course of introduction.

Fourthly :- All the low lands between the Rivers Mitchee and the Teestah.

Fifthly :- All the territories withing the hills eastward of the River Mitchee including the fort and lands of Nagree and the Pass of Nagarcote leading from Morung into the hills, together with the territory lying between that Pass and Nagree. The aforesaid territory lying shall be evacuated by the Gurkha troops within forty days from this date.

Article 4th

With a view to indemnify the Chiefs and Barahdars of the state of Nipal, Whose interests will suffer by the alienation of the lands cede by the foregoing Article, the British Government agrees to settle pensions to the aggregate amount of two lakhs of rupees per annum on such Chiefs as may be selected by the Rajah of Nipal, and in the proportions which the Rajah may fix. As soon as the selection is made, Sunnuds shall be granted under the seal and signature of the Governor General for the pensions respectively.

Article 5th

The Rajah of Nipal renounces for himself, his heirs, and successors, all claim to or connexion with the countries lying to the west of the River Kali and engages to have any concern with those countries or the inhabitants thereof.

Article 6th

The Rajah of Nipal engages never to molest or disturb the Rajah of Sikkim in the possession of his territories; but agrees, if any differences shall arise between the State of Nipal and the Rajah of Sikkim, or the subjects of either, that such differences shall be referred to that arbitration of the British Government by whose award the Rajah of Nipal engages to abide.

Article 7th

The Rajah of Nipal hereby engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European and American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8th

In order to secure and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two States, it is agreed that accredited Ministers from each shall reside at the Courts of the other.

Article 9

This treaty, consisting of nine Articles, shall be ratified by the Rajah of Nipal within fifteen days from this date, and the ratification shall be delivered to Lieut-Colonel Bradshaw, who engages to obtain and deliver to the Rajah the ratification of the Governor-General within twenty days, or sooner, if practicable.

The Treaty of Titalia, 1817

Treaty Covenant or Agreement entered into by Capital Barre Latter, Agent of His Excellency the Right Honourable the Earl of Moria K.G., Governor General, etc., and by Nazir Chaina Tenjin and Macha Teinbath and lama Duchim Lindoo, deputies on the part of the Raja of Sikkim put tee, being severally authorised and duly appointed for the purpose, 1817.

Article 1

The Honourable East India Company cedes, transfers and makes over in fully sovereignty to the Sikkimputtee Raja, his heirs or successors, all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the east of the Mechi River and to the westward of the Teesta River, formerly possessed by the Raja of Nepaul, but ceded to the Honourable East India Company by the treaty of peace signed at Segoulee.

Article 2

The Sikkimputtee Raja engages for himself and his successors to abstain from any act of aggression or hostility against the Goorkhas or any other state.

Article 3

That he will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or question that may arise between his subjects and those of Nepaul or any other neighbouring state, and to abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 4

He engages for himself and his successors to join the British troops with whole of his Military Force when employed in the Hills, and in general to afford the British troops every aid and facility in0 his power.

Article 5

That will not permit any British subject, or the subject of any European and American State to reside within his dominions, without the permission of the English Government.

Article 6

That he will immediately seize and deliver up any dacoits or notorious offenders that might take refuge within his territories.

Article 7

That he will not afford protection to any defaulters of revenue or other delinquents within demanded by the British Government through their accredited agents.

Article 8

That he will afford protection to merchants and traders from the Company's provinces and he engages that no duty shall be levied on the transit of merchandise beyond the established custom at the several golahs and marts.

Article 9

The Honourable East India Company guarantees to the Sikkimputtee Raja and his successors the full and peaceable possession of the tract of hilly country specified in the First Article of the present Agreement.

Article 10

This Treaty shall be ratified and exchanged by the Sikkimputtee Raja within one month from the present date, and the counterpart when conformed by His Excellency the right Honourable the Governor-General shall be transmitted to the Raja.

Done at Titalia, this tenth day of February 1817, answering the ninth of Phagun, 1873 Sambat, and to the thirtieth of Magh 1223 Bengallie .

S/d

Barre Latter

Nazir Chaina Tenjin

Macha teinbath

Lama Duchim Lindoo

S/d

Moria

N.B. Edmonstone

Archd.Seton

Geo.Dowdeswell

Ratified by the Governor-General in Council, at Fort William, this fifteenth day of March, and one thousand and seventeen.

S/d

J.Adam

Acting chief Seceratory to Governer

Anglo-Sikkimese Treaty of Tumlong, 1861

Treaty, Covenant, or Agreement entered in to by the Ho'ble Ashley Eden and Special Commissioner on the part of the British Government, in virtue of full power vested in him by the Right Hon'ble Charles, Earl Canning, and Governor-General in Council, and by His Highness Sekeong Kuzoo, Maharaja of Sikkim on his own part, 1861.

Whereas the continue depredation and misconduct of the officers and subjects of the Maharaja of Sikkim, and the neglect of the Maharaja to afford satisfaction for the misdeeds of his people have resulted in an interruption for the many past years of the harmony which previously existed between the British Government and the Government of Sikkim, and have led ultimately to the invasion and conquest of Sikkim by a British force; and whereas the Maharaja of Sikkim has now expressed his sincere regret for the misconduct of his servants and subjects, his determination to do all in his power to obviate future misunderstanding, and his desire to be again admitted into friendship and alliance with the British Government, it is hereby agreed as follows:

1

All previous treaties made between the British Government and the Sikkim government are hereby formally cancelled.

2

The whole of the Sikkim territory now in the occupation of British force is restored to the Maharaja of Sikkim, and there shall henceforth be peace and amity between the two states.

3

The Maharaja of Sikkim undertakes, so far as it is within his power, to restore, within one month from the date of signing of this Treaty, all public property which was abandoned by the detachment of British troops at Rinchinpong.

4

In indemnification of the expenses incurred in 1860 by the British Government in occupying a portion of the territory of Sikkim as a means of enforcing just claims which had been evaded by the government of Sikkim, and as compensation to the British subjects who were pillaged and kidnapped by the subjects of Sikkim, the Government of Sikkim agrees to pay to the British authorities at Darjeeling the sum of 7,000(seven thousand) rupees in the following instalments, that is to say:

| | |
|--------------------------|----------|
| May 1 st 1861 | Rs.1,000 |
| Nov 1 st 1861 | Rs.3,000 |
| May 1 st 1862 | Rs.3,000 |

As security for the payment of this amount, it is further agreed that in the event of any of these instalment not being duly paid on the date appointed, the Government of Sikkim shall make over the British Government that portion of its territory bound on the such by the River Rummam, and on the east by the Great Rangeet River, on the north by a line from the great Rungeet to the Singaleelah River, including the monasteries of Tassiding, Pemwongchi, the Changacheling, and on the west by the Singaleelah Mountain Range, and the British government shall retain possession of this territory and collect revenue thereof, until the full amount, with all expenses of occupation and collection, and interest at 6%, per annum, are realized.

5

The Government of Sikkim engages that its subjects shall never again commit depredations on British territory, or kidnap or otherwise molest British subjects. In event of any such depredation or kidnapping taking place, the Government of Sikkim undertakes to deliver up all persons engaged in such malpractice, as well as the Sirdars or other chief conniving at or benefiting thereby.

6

The Government of Sikkim will at all times seize and deliver up any criminals, defaulters, or other delinquents who may have taken refuge within his territory, on the demand being duly made writing by the British Government through their accredited agents. Should any delay occur in complying with such demands, the police of the British Government may follow the person whose surrender has been demanded into any part of Sikkim territory, and shall on showing a warrant, duly signed by the British Agent, receive every assistance and protection in the prosecution of their object from the Sikkim officers.

7

Inasmuch as the late misunderstanding between the two Governments have been mainly formatted by the acts of the ex-Dewan Namgay, nor any of his blood relations, shall ever again be allowed to set foot in Sikkim, or to take part in the councils of, or hold any office under, the Maharaja or any of the Maharaja's family in Choombi.

8

The Government of Sikkim from this date abolishes all restrictions on the travellers and monopolies in trade between the British territories and Sikkim. There shall

henceforth to be a free reciprocal intercourse, and fully liberty of the commerce between the subjects of both countries; it shall be permitted to reside in the pass through Sikkim, and to expose their goods for sale at any place and in any manner that may suit their purpose, without any interference whatever, except as is hereinafter provided.

9

The Government of Sikkim engages to afford protection to all travellers, merchants, or traders of all countries, whether residing in, trading in, or passing through Sikkim. If any merchant, traveller, or trader, being a European British subject shall commit any offence contrary to the laws of Sikkim, such person shall be punished by the representative of the British Government residing at Darjeeling, and the Sikkim Government will at once deliver such offender over to the British authorities for this purpose, and will, on no account, detain such offender in Sikkim on any pretext or pretence whatever. All other British residing in the country to be liable to the laws of Sikkim; but such person shall, on no account, be punished with loss of limb, or maiming, or torture, and every case of punishment of a British subject shall be at once reported to Darjeeling.

10

No duties or fees of any sort shall be demanded by the Sikkim Government of any person or persons on account of goods exported into the British territories from Sikkim, or imposed into Sikkim from the British territories.

11

On all goods passing into or out of Tibet, Bhutan, or Nepal. The Government of Sikkim may levy on duty of customs according to such a scale as may, from time to time, be determined and published. Without reference to the destination of the goods, provided, however, that such duty shall, in no account, exceed 5% on the value of the duty aforesaid a pass shall be given exempting such goods from liability to further payment on any account whatever.

12

With the view to protect Government of Sikkim from fraud on accounts of under valuation for assessment of duty, it is agreed that customs officers shall have the option of taking over for the Government any goods at the value affixed on them by the owner.

13

In the event of British Government desiring to open out a road through Sikkim, with the view of encouraging trade, the Sikkim Government will raise no objection thereto, and will afford every protection and aid to the party engaged in the work. If a road is constructed, the Government of Sikkim undertakes to keep it under repair, and to erect and maintain suitable traveller's rest-houses through.

14

If the British Government desires to make either topographical or geological survey of Sikkim, the Government of Sikkim will make no objection to this being done, and will afford protection and assistance to the officers employed in this duty.

15

Inasmuch as many of late misunderstanding have had their foundation in the custom which exist in Sikkim of dealing in slaves, the Government of Sikkim binds itself, from this date, to punish severely any person trafficking in humans beings, or seizing persons for the purpose of using them as salves.

16

Henceforth the subjects of Sikkim may transport themselves without let or hindrance to any country to which may wish to remove. In the same way the Government of Sikkim has the authority to permit the subjects of other countries, not being criminals or defaulters, to take refuge in Sikkim.

17

The Government of Sikkim engages to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against any of the neighbouring states which are allies of the British Government. If any disputes or question arises between the people of Sikkim and those of neighbouring states, such disputes or questions shall be referred to the arbitration of the decision of the British Government.

18

The whole military force of Sikkim shall join and afford every aid and facility to British troops when employed in hills.

19

The Government of Sikkim will not cede or lease any portion of its territory to any other State without the permission of the British Government.

20

The Government of Sikkim engages that no armed force belonging to any other country shall pass through Sikkim without the sanction of the British Government.

21

Seven of the criminals, whose surrender was demanded by the British Government, having fled from Sikkim and taken refuge in Bhootan, the Government of Sikkim engage to do all in its power to obtain the delivery of those persons from Bhootan Government, and in the event of any one of these men again returning to Sikkim, the Sikkim Government binds itself to seize them, and to make over to the British Authorities at Darjeeling without delay.

22

With the view to the establishment of an efficient Government in Sikkim and to better maintenance of friendly relations with the British Government from Tibet to Sikkim, and reside there for nine months in the year. It is further agreed that a Vakeel shall be accredited by the Sikkim Government, whose shall permanently reside at Darjeeling.

23

This treaty, consisting of twenty-three Articles, being settled and concluded by the Honourable Ashley Eden, British Envoy, and His Highness Sekeong Kuzoo Sikkimputtee, Maharaj, at Tumlong, this 28th day of March 1861, corresponding with 17th Dao Neepoo 61, Mr. Eden has delivered to the Maharaja a copy of the seal and signature of the said Honourable Ashley Eden and His Highness the Sikkimputtee Maharaja, and the Sikkimputtee Maharaja has in like manner delivered to the said Honourable Ashley Eden another copy also in English, with translation in Nagri and

Bhootiah, bearing the seal of His Highness and the said Hon'orable Ashley Eden. The Envoy engages to procure the delivery to His Highness, within six weeks from this date, of a copy of this Treaty, duly ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India in council, and this Treaty in the meantime be in full force.

S/d
(Seal)
Sekeong Kuzoo Sikkimputtee

S/d
(seal)

Ashley Eden, Envoy

S/d
(seal)

Canning

Ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy &

Governor-General of India in council

On the sixteenth day of April 1861

S/d

C.U.Aitchinson

Under Secretary to the Govt. Of India.

Indo-Sikkim Treaty of 1950

The President of India and His Highness, the Maharaja of Sikkim, being desirous of further strengthening the good relations already existing between India and Sikkim, have resolve to enter in to a new Treaty with each other, and the President of India has, for the purpose, appointed his plenipotentiary Shri Harishwar Dayal, Political officer in Sikkim, and His Highness the Maharaja having examined Shri Harishwar Dayal's credentials and fond them good and in due form, the two have agreed as follows:

Article 1

All previous treaties between the British Government and Sikkim, which are at present in forces as between India and Sikkim, are hereby formally cancelled.

Article 2

Sikkim shall continue to be a protectorate of India and, subject to the provisions of this Treaty, shall enjoy autonomy in regard to its internal affairs.

Article III

1. The Government of India will be responsible the defence and territorial integrity of Sikkim. It shall have right to take such measure as it considers necessary for the defence of Sikkim or the security of India, whether preparatory or otherwise, and whether within or outside Sikkim. In particular, the government of India shall have the right to station troops anywhere within Sikkim.
2. The measure referred to in paragraph(I) will as far as possible be taken by the Government of India in consolation with the Government of Sikkim.

3. The Government of Sikkim shall not import any arms, ammunition, military stores or other way like material of any description for any purpose whatsoever without the previous consent of the Government of India.

Article IV

1. The external relation of Sikkim, whether political, economic or financial, shall be conducted and regulated solely by the Government of India: and the Government of Sikkim shall have no dealings with any foreign power.
2. Subjects of Sikkim travelling to foreign countries shall be treated as Indian protected persons for the purpose of passports, and shall receive from Indian representatives abroad the same protection and facilities as Indian nationals.

Article V

The Government of Sikkim agrees not to levy any import duty, transit duty or other import duty, transit duty or other impost on goods brought into or in transit through Sikkim; and the Government of India agrees not to levy any import or other duty on goods of Sikkimese origin brought in to India from Sikkim.

Article VI

1. The Government of India shall have exclusive right of constructing, maintaining and regulating the use of railways, aerodromes and landing grounds and air navigation facilities, posts, telegraph, telephones and wireless installation in Sikkim; and the Government of Sikkim render the Government of India every assistance in their construction, maintenance, and protection.

2. The Government of Sikkim may, however, construct, maintain, and regulate the use of railways and aerodromes and landing grounds and air navigation facilities to such extent as may be agreed to by the Government of India.
3. The Government of India shall have right to construct and maintain in Sikkim roads for strategic purposes and for the purpose of improving communications with India and other adjoining countries; and the Government of Sikkim render the Government of India every assistance in the construction, maintenance and protection of such roads.

Article VIII

- 1) Subjects of Sikkim shall have the right of entry into, and free movement within India, Sikkim.
- 2) Subjects of such regulations as the Government of Sikkim may prescribe in consultation with the Government of India, Indian nationals shall have:
 - a) The right to carry on trade and commerce in Sikkim; and
 - b) When established in any trade in Sikkim, the right to acquire, hold and dispose of any property, movable or immovable, for the purpose of their trade or residence in Sikkim;
- 3) Subjects of Sikkim shall have the same right
 - a) To carry on trade and commerce in India, and to employment therein; and
 - b) Of acquiring, holding and disposing of property, movable and immovable, as Indian nationals.

Article VIII

- 1) Indian nationals within Sikkim shall be subject to laws of Sikkim and subjects of Sikkim within India shall be subject to the laws of India.
- 2) Whenever any criminal proceedings are initiated in Sikkim against any Indian National or any person in the service of the Government of India or any foreigner, the Government of Sikkim shall furnish the Representative of the Government of India in Sikkim(hereafter referred to as the Indian Representative) with particulars of the charges against such person.

If in case of any person in the service of the Government of India or any foreigner it is so demanded by the Indian Representative, such person shall be handed over to him for trial before such courts as may be established for the purpose by the Government of India either in Sikkim or outside.

Article IX

1. The government of Sikkim agrees to seize and deliver up any fugitive offender from the outside Sikkim, who has taken refuge therein on demand being made by the Indian Representative. Should any delay occur in complying with such demand, the Indian police may follow the person, whose surrender has been demanded into any part of Sikkim, and shall, on showing a warrant signed by the Indian Representative, receive every assistance and protection in the prosecution of their object from the Sikkim officers.
2. The Government of India similarly agrees, on demand being made by the Government of Sikkim, to take extradition proceedings against, and

surrender any fugitive offender from Sikkim, who has taken refuge in the territory of India.

3. In this article, “fugitive offender” means a person, who is accused of having committed an extradition offence as defined in the First Schedule to the Indian Extradition Act, 1903, or any other offence, which may hereafter be agreed upon between the Government of India and the Government of Sikkim as an extradition offence.

Article X

The Government of India, having in mind the friendly relations already existing between India and Sikkim and now further strengthened by this Treaty, and being desirous of assisting in the development and good administration of Sikkim, agrees to pay a sum of rupees 3 lakhs every year so long as the terms of this Treaty are duly observed by the Government of Sikkim.

The first payment under this article will be made in the month of August every year.

Article XI

The Government of India shall have right to appoint a representative to reside in Sikkim; and the Government of Sikkim shall provide him and his staff with all reasonable facilities in regards to their carrying out their duties in Sikkim.

The Government of India shall have a right to appoint a representative to reside in Sikkim; and the Government of Sikkim shall provide him and his staff with all reasonable facilities in regards to their carrying out their duties in Sikkim.

Article XII

If any dispute arises in the interpretation of the provision of this Treaty, which cannot be resolved by mutual consultation, the dispute shall be referred to the Chief Justice of India, whose decision thereon shall be final.

Article XIII

The Treaty shall come into force without ratification from the date of signature by both parties.

Done in duplicate at Gangtok on this fifth day of December 1950.

S/d

Harishwar Dayal

P.O.in Sikkim

S/d

Tashi Namgyal

H.H. of Sikkim

The Text of the Sikkim Agreement, May 8, 1973

An agreement envisaging a democratic set-up for Sikkim and administrative reforms was signed in Gangtok on Tuesday. The following is the text of the agreement:

Whereas the Chogyal and the people of Sikkim are convinced that their interest and the long-term interest of Sikkim as a whole called for:

- i. The establishment of a fully responsible Government in Sikkim with more democratic Constitution, the guarantee of Fundamental rights, the rule of law, an independent judiciary, and greater legislative and executive powers for the elected representatives of the people;
- ii. A system of elections based on adult suffrage, which will give equitable representation to all sections of the people on the basis of principle of one-man one-vote;
- iii. The strengthening of Indo-Sikkim co-operation and inter-relationship; and

Whereas the Chogyal as well as representative of the people had requested the Government of India:

- I. To take responsibility for the establishment of law and order and good administration in Sikkim following the breakdown of all three;
- II. To ensure the further development of constitutional government, communal harmony, good administration and rapid economic and social development in Sikkim;
- III. To provide the head of the administration (chief executive) in Sikkim to help achieve and safeguard all the above needs and objectives.

Basic Rights

And whereas the Government of India have agreed to discharge the responsibilities hereby renewed to them.

Now, whereas the Government of India, the Chogyal of Sikkim and the leader of the political parties of Sikkim, have agreed as follows:

1. The three parties hereby recognise and undertake to ensure the basic human rights and fundamental freedom of the people of Sikkim. The people of Sikkim will enjoy the right of election on the basis of adult suffrage to give effect to the principal of one-man one-vote.
2. There shall be an assembly in Sikkim. The assembly shall be elected every four years. The election shall be fair and free and shall be conducted under the supervision of a representative of the election commission of India, who shall be appointed for the purpose by the Government of Sikkim.
3. In accordance with this agreement, the assembly shall have the power to propose law and adopt resolution for the welfare of people of Sikkim on any of the matters enumerated herein below, namely(i) education, (ii)public health, (iii)excise, (iv)press and publicity, (v)transport, (vi)bazaar, (vii)forest, (viii)public works, (ix)economic and social planning, including state enterprise, (xii)home and establishment, (xiii) finance, and (xiv) land revenue.
 - i. The assembly shall not discuss or questions on the following:
 - a) The Chogyal and the members of the ruling family;
 - b) Any matter pending before the court of low;
 - c) The appointment of the Chief Executive and the member of the judiciary; and

- d) Any matter, which concerns the responsibilities of the Government of India under this agreement, or under any other agreement between India and Sikkim.

Executive Council

1. There shall be an Executive Council consisting of elected members of the assembly, who shall be appointed to the chief Executive. The Chief Executive Council by the Chogyal on the advice of the chief Executive. The Chief Executive will preside over the meetings of the Executive Council.
2. The system of election shall be so organised as to make the assembly adequately representative of the various section of the population. The size and composition of the assembly and of the Executive Council shall be such as may be prescribed from time to time; care being taken that no signal section of the population acquires a domination position due to mainly its ethnic origin, and that the rights and interests of the Sikkimese of Bhutia-Lepcha origin and of the Sikkimese of Nepali, which includes Tsongs and Scheduled Caste, origin are fully protected.
3. The Chogyal shall perform the functions of his high office in accordance with the Constitution of Sikkim as set out in this agreement.
4. To head the administration in Sikkim, there shall be a Chief Executive, who shall have all the powers necessary for the discharge of his functions and responsibilities; and(he will) exercise his powers in the following manner:
 - I. With respect to matters allocated to a member of the Executive Council. He shall act in consultation with the member to whom administrative functions in this regard have been allocated.

- II. He shall submit all-important matters to the Chogyal for his information and his approval of the action proposed to be taken, except where immediate action is required. In the latter case, he shall obtain Chogyal's approval as soon after the action has been taken as possible.
- III. He shall have special responsibilities to ensure the power implementation of the Constitutional and administrative changes in Sikkim, the smooth and efficient running of its administration, its continued enjoyment of basic rights and fundamental freedoms by all sections of the population of Sikkim, and the optimum utilization for the benefit of the people of Sikkim of the funds allocated for the economic and social development of Sikkim.
- IV. In case involving amity between the various section of the population of Sikkim, on the development of democratic Government and efficient administration in Sikkim, any difference of opinion between him and the Chogyal shall be referred to the Political Officer in Sikkim, who shall obtain the advice of the Government of India, which shall be binding.
5. There shall be equality before the law in Sikkim. The judiciary shall remain independent.
6. The palace establishment and the Sikkim Guards shall remain directly under the Chogyal.
7. The Government of India, who are solely responsible for the defence and territorial integrity of Sikkim and who are solely responsible for the conduct and regulation of the external relations of Sikkim, whether political, economic or financial, affirm their determination to discharge these and their other

responsibilities for the benefit of the people of Sikkim, for their communal harmony, good administration and economic and social development. It is hereby affirmed that they shall have necessary powers for carrying out these responsibilities.

Done in triplicate at Gangtok on this eight day of May of the year one thousand nine hundred seventy three, A.D.

S/d

Kewal Singh

Foreign Secretary

Government of India

S/d

Palden Thondup Namgyal

The Chogyal of Sikkim

APPENDIX-I

371-F. Special provisions with respect to the State of Sikkim- Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution,-

- (a) the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim shall consist of not less than thirty members;
- (b) as from the date of commencement of the Constitution (Thirty-sixth Amendment) Act, 1975 (hereafter in this Article referred to as the appointed day)-
 - (i) the Assembly for Sikkim formed as a result of the elections held in April, 1974 with thirty-two members elected in the said elections (hereinafter referred to as the sitting members) shall be deemed to be the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim duly constituted under the Constitution;
 - (ii) the sitting members shall be deemed to be the members of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim duly elected under this Constitution; and
 - (iii) the said Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim shall exercise the powers and perform the functions
- (c) in the case of the assembly deemed to be the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim under clause (b), the references to the period of five years in (1) of Article 172 shall be construed as references to a period of four years and the said period of four years shall be deemed to commence from the appointed day;
- (d) until other provisions are made by Parliament by law, there shall be allotted to the State of Sikkim one seat in the House of the People and the State of

Sikkim shall form one parliamentary constituency to be called the parliamentary constituency for Sikkim;

- (e) the representative of the State of Sikkim in the House of the People in existence on the appointed day shall be elected by the members of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim;
- (f) Parliament may, for the purpose of protecting the rights and interests of the different sections of the population of Sikkim make provision for the number of seats in the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim which may be filled by candidates belonging to such sections and for the delimitation of the assembly constituencies from which candidates belonging to such sections alone may stand for election to the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim;
- (g) the Governor of Sikkim shall have special responsibility for peace and for an equitable arrangement for ensuring the social and economic advancement of different sections of the population of Sikkim and in the discharge of his special responsibility under this clause, the Governor of Sikkim shall, subject to such directions as the President may, from time to time, deem fit to issue, act in his discretion;
- (h) all property and assets (whether within or outside the territories comprised in the State of Sikkim) which immediately before the appointed day were vested in the Government of Sikkim or in any other authority or in any person for the purposes of the Government of Sikkim shall, as from the appointed day, vest in the Government of the State of Sikkim;

- (i) the High Court functioning as such immediately before the appointed day in the territories comprised in the State of Sikkim shall, on and from the appointed day, be deemed to be the High Court for the State of Sikkim;
- (j) all courts of civil, criminal and revenue jurisdiction, all authorities and all officers, judicial, executive and ministerial, throughout the territory of the State of Sikkim shall continue on and from the appointed day to exercise their respective functions subject to the provisions of this Constitution;
- (k) all laws in force immediately before the appointed day in the territories comprised in the State of Sikkim or any part thereof shall continue to be in force therein until amended or repealed by a competent Legislature or other competent authority;
- (l) for the purpose of facilitating the application of any such law as is referred to in clause (k) in relation to the administration of the State of Sikkim and for the purpose of bringing the provisions of any such law into accord with the provisions of this Constitution, the President may, within two years from the appointed day, by order, make such adaptations and modifications of the law, whether by way of repeal or amendment, as may be necessary or expedient, and thereupon, every such law shall have effect subject to the adaptations and modifications so made, and any such adaptation or modification shall not be questioned in any court of law;
- (m) neither the Supreme Court nor any other court shall have jurisdiction in respect of any dispute or other matter arising out of any treaty, agreement, engagement or other similar instrument relating to Sikkim which was entered into or executed before the appointed day and to which the Government of

India or any of its predecessor Governments was a party, but nothing in this clause shall be construed to derogate from the provisions of article 143;

(n) the President may, by public notification, extend with such restrictions or modifications as he thinks fit to the State of Sikkim any enactment which is in force in a State in India at the date of the notification;

(o) if any difficulty arises in giving effect to any of the foregoing provisions of this article, the President may, by order 374, do anything (including any adaptation or modification of any other article) which appears to him to be necessary for the purpose of removing that difficulty:

Provided that no such order shall be made after the expiry of two years from the appointed day;

(p) all things done and all actions taken in or in relation to the State of Sikkim or the territories comprised therein during the period commencing on the appointed day and ending immediately before the date on which the Constitution (Thirty-sixth Amendment) Act, 1975, receives the assent of the President shall, in so far as they are in conformity with the provisions of this Constitution as amended by the Constitution (Thirty-sixth Amendment) Act, 1975, be deemed for all purposes to have been validly done or taken under this Constitution as so amended.

Survey Questionnaire on Voting Behaviour in East District of Sikkim

Dear Respondent

My name is Pankaj Rai, MPhil Scholar, Department of Political science, Sikkim University. I am conducting a research survey regarding the opinion of people on issues related to politics and voting behavior. This survey is for an academic purpose only and is not linked to any Political Parties or any Government Agency, and the findings of this survey will be used for the completion of my dissertation.

Any information, opinion you provide will be on the basis of your consent and participation which is voluntarily. To Answer or Not to Answer the question I ask will be entirely upon you. I hope you will spare some time and take part in this survey and help me in successfully completing the survey. Your participation will be highly appreciated.

Section A: Personal Information

1. Gender a. Male b. Female
2. Religion a. Hindu b. Muslim c. Christian d. Others
3. Age a. 18-27 b. 28-37 c. 38-47 d. 48-57 e. 57 & above
4. Education a. Primary b. Secondary (JHS & SHS)
 c. Tertiary (Certificates, Diplomas, Bachelor & M.A. +.)
 d. I prefer not to Say
5. Occupational a. Employed b. Unemployed c. Retired d. Student
 Status
6. Main occupation a. Government b. Private Business c. NGO worker D. Other.....
7. Marital Status a. Married b. Unmarried c. Other
8. Caste Status a. SC/ST b. OBC c. General
9. Area/Locality a. Constituency.....
 b. Village.....
 c. Urban.....
10. Do you have a a. Above Poverty Line b. Below Poverty Line
 ration card? c. Do not have

Section B: Politics and Voting Behaviour

1. How often do you pay attention to government issues?
 - a. Everyday
 - b. Some of the day's
 - c. Once a week
 - d. Never
2. How often do you pay attention to political issues?
 - a. Everyday
 - b. Some of the day's
 - c. Once a week
 - d. Never
3. Have you ever participated in events, meetings or rallies organized by a political party?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
4. Are you interested in politics?

-
5. Do you support a particular political ideology?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

-
6. Are you a cadre of any political party?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

-
7. Does voting in election make a difference?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

Please Specify

-
8. Are you satisfied with the services (education, roads & bridges, electricity, water supply, hospital etc.) provided by the present government?

-
9. Do you think the governments work efficiently for people's interest?

-
10. Do you have prior discussion and debate about the elections? If yes with whom?
-

11. Where did you get information about the elections?

| Source | Yes | No |
|----------------------------|-----|----|
| Family | | |
| Friends | | |
| Newspapers | | |
| Magazines | | |
| Media Advertisements | | |
| Posters | | |
| Students Organizations | | |
| Meetings | | |
| Party canvassing/officials | | |
| Radio | | |
| Televisions | | |

12. Did any of the following influence your choice in the general elections?

| | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
| Performance of the party in the past | | |
| Promise to improve housing | | |
| Promise to provide electricity | | |
| Provide water and proper sanitation facilities | | |
| Create more jobs/employments | | |
| Improve roads and bridges/transportation | | |
| To tackle corruption | | |
| Preserve environment and wildlife | | |
| To tackle crimes and maintain peace& security | | |
| encourage women empowerment | | |
| transparency and accountability | | |
| To maintain minority interests | | |
| Promise to deliver LT seats | | |
| Deliver justice to 11 left out communities | | |
| It's a Youth centric party | | |

Others, please specify.....

13. Do social media (Facebook, Whatsapp, local media etc) play an important role? Do you think it affects voting behavior?

.....

14. Are you a registered Voter?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

15. Have you ever voted in the Assembly election?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

Section C: What influences your voting behavior? (Please respond by Yes, No or Maybe).

1. Do you think the performance and the efficiency of the government determines your voting choice?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

2. Do you consider that the economic standard of living influence your voting behavior?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

3. If you are a government employee, will that impact in your voting behaviour?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

4. Economy plays an important role in the life of an individual. Do you look at the capability/ ability of a party to improve the economy of the state while voting?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

5. Do you consider the prices of food stuffs in market influence voter's choice?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

6. Does political experience of the candidate matter while you vote?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

7. Does the background (educational, his social life, criminal, etc) matters while voting?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

8. Do you look at the abilities and leadership quality of the candidate while you vote?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

9. Do you vote on the basis of the party or ideology?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

10. Do party manifestoes and campaign promises influence your voting choice?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

11. Do you consider educational policies when voting?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

.....

12. Do you consider health policies when voting?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

.....

13. Do industrial policies influence your voting behaviour?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

.....

14. Do fuel/gas policies matter while you vote?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

.....

15. Does the ethnicity/ castes of the candidate matter when you vote?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

.....

16. Do you consider birth place / from where the candidate belong from?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

.....

17. Are you influenced by the religion of the candidate when you vote?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

.....

18. Do your personal relations with the candidate or party influence your voting behaviour?

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| Yes | No | Maybe |
|-----|----|-------|

.....

Thank you for your kind cooperation.