Abstract

Swing is a shift in votes from one party to another. In a Bi-party situation like in western countries, represents the change in each party’s vote share as their fortune fluctuates in unison. If in a particular constituency two parties—suppose party A and B win 60 percent and 40 percent votes respectively at the first election and 55 percent and 45 percent votes at the second election, we would identify a swing of 5 percent against the leading party i.e. party A. Totally uniform swing over all constituencies would mean that every constituency would swing at the same pace and degree with the national average. This would reflect a complete nationalisation of forces which are producing electoral change where the variance of constituency swing would be zero. But the local or regional issues with instant response have a different swing pattern and the variance of swing to the national average would be relatively high. The analysis of the swing pattern of Indian elections is little a bit different from the western countries, because in Western countries national issues get an edge over the regional issues, whereas in India, the regional or local issues cannot be ignored at the time of analysis of the voting pattern. Here in the present study an effort has been made with the help of Cartographic methods to delineate the regions of high or low swing at all India scale for INC and BJP the two major national parties.

1. Introduction

Biblab Das Gupta has worked on party swings as an indicator to determine party consistency. Some scholars have further used the various statistical techniques to study the ‘SWING’. Stokes (1965) has used analysis of various techniques on U.S.A’s elections held in between 1952 to 1960. Describing British elections, Green has made an attempt by using ‘Factor Analysis’ method. Another attempt is made by S.C. Nuna by analyzing spatial pattern of swing in the election of 1977
and 1980. Here, an attempt has been made to analyse the swing pattern of Parliamentary elections held in 1989 and 1991. Choropleth method has been widely used to find out the spatial variations and congestion and swing is analysed without using highly advanced techniques. The split of votes between opposition parties and opposition unity is an additional complication to the Indian multi-party system.

2. Objectives Of The Present Study
The Main objectives of the present study are as follows:

i. To find out the spatial variations in the swings in national parties during 1989-91.

ii. To delineate the regions of highly displaced mass base from one election to another.

iii. How far and to what extent the electoral support for each political party shifted.

iv. The party strength in relation to the voting strength to the other parties in the field.

3. Data Base
The present study is based on the secondary sources of data. The electoral data for 1989 and 1991 parliamentary election has been collected from the library of election Commission of India. The map of the parliamentary constituencies used in this study is collected from the office of the Election commission, New Delhi.

Figure 1: Indian Parliamentary Constituencies
4. Methodology

*Swing* is a simplified measure of change in the strength of the different parties between one election and the next. The parties in different elections have not the static mass base because of changing climate (Political) on the eve of elections. In this kind of scenario, political parties register swings of varying magnitude in their respective votes. Swing in party votes have been calculated for INC and BJP during 1989-91 elections by measuring the change in percentage of votes. The different areas of positive and negative swings with varying magnitude have been delineated. The different constituencies have been grouped into four categories viz. More than 30 percent, 20-30 percent, 10-19 percent and less than 10 percent swing. To analyse the spatial pattern, Choropleth maps have been used.

5. Pattern Of Party Swing In Parliamentary Election-Indian National Congress (I)

The election of 1991 was conducted in two stages-one before the assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and another after the assassination. At all India level, there was a swing away from the Congress (I) of 5.7 percent in the first round of voting in May, which changed to a swing in favour of the Congress (I) of 1.6 percent in the second round of voting in June. Consequently, these results show that the sympathy factor has played a crucial role for increasing the Congress vote strength. The significant factor for gaining more seats by the party was that the opposition was not as united as it was in 1977 and 1989. The Index of opposition unity, which was 77 in the previous election, came down to 66. So, this drop of opposition unity has the same effect as the swing, because the vote split of opposition parties gave help to Congress to capture the seats even getting less than 50 percent votes. The increase in turnout in the post assassination round helped the Congress, which can be seen by the voter turnout in Bihar, which rose from 56 percent in first phase to 63 percent in the second round. In the first phase, party get the Negative swing of nearly 6 percent, whereas in the second phase, it could gain in its favour of 1.8 percent swing. In M. P. the turnout shot up from 42 to 49 percent and the swing in favour of the Congress (I) rose correspondingly by over 4 percent. Rajasthan has also faced with the same situation between these two rounds of voting. From a 2 percent swing in the May round polling, the second round swing was 12 percent more than the previous phase, that is 14 percent. However, in Andhra Pradesh party could not manage the same pattern of swing. The ratio of number of constituencies per one percent votes was also comparatively more than previous. In this election it is 6, whereas it was 5 in the previous election. The Congress even with a 38 percent share still needs 3 percent more votes to win a comfortable majority. On an average, this sympathy swing of nearly 6 percent is comparable to that which occurred in 1984 in the aftermath of Indira Gandhi assassination.

The state-wise swing pattern shows that the party has improved its strength in terms of votes in the states of Himachal-Pradesh (4.2 percent) in the North India. In the South, only Tamilnadu has shown a tremendous support with 4.3 percent swing in favour of the Congress. In the East, Orissa comes under the swing in favour of the Congress with 5.3 percent. In all easternmost states (except Assam) party have improved its strength with 5 percent swing in its favour. The swing against the party came from Haryana (8.1 percent), U. P. (12.2 percent) and Delhi (8.6 percent) in the North. In the Southern States, Karnataka with highest negative swing of 6.9 percent followed by Andhra Pradesh (4.9 percent). In the East, West Bengal with highest negative swing of 4.9 percent followed by 4.2 percent in Bihar. In the West, Gujrat has shown its swing against the party (4.4 percent). The Spatial Pattern of swing shows that there are certain pockets of high swing or the low swing. The largest pocket of swing which have shown a swing up...
to 20 percent in favour of Congress is comprise of Rajasthan, M.P, and Orissa. This region is spread from the Thar Desert to North-circar area, Chhattisgarh to Bundelkhand and from Kathiawar to Bundelkhand in the Northern side. The other pocket is in South India, Which is spread in the south Telengana region and Coromandal coast. In the north, Himachal Pradesh shows the swing of up to 10% along with two constituencies of Haryana. Another pocket is spread in the North-Eastern states. However negative swing shows a clear cut regional demarcation – one is spread in the north, from Rohilkhand plain in the west to the Chhotta Nagpur plateau in the East. The second pocket is spread in the South-comprises of eastern and western ghat constituencies of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and some southern coastal constituencies of Maharashtra and the north Telengana plateau constituencies.

Table 1: Swings In Percentage Votes (Indian National Congress)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swing</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More than 30%</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30%</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20%</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10%</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Figure 2: India swing In Congress Party Votes
The glance on the constituency-wise swing pattern shows that the number of constituencies with negative swing are more in number than the swing in favour of Congress’s constituencies. There were 196 constituencies which have shown the swing in favour of Congress. Out of these, only 10 have witnessed more than 20 percent swing. Among these ten, only 3 constituencies are such which have shown more than 30 percent swing in its favour. These are – Tripura East (Tripura), Arunachal East (Arunachal) and other one is in U. P. (Chail). The other seven constituencies of swing between 20-30% are spread in Maharashtra (Khed and Ichelkarangi) and one each in Rajasthan (Nagaur), Tripura west (Tripura) and Kandwa in M.P. The constituencies of 10 to 20 percent swing are 52 in number are spread in different states like Gujrat (7), M. P. (9), Maharashtra (8), Orissa (6), Rajasthan (12) and Tamil-nadu (5) etc. The highest number of constituencies are such which have up to 10 percent swing, these are 134- mainly spread in M. P., Maharashtra, Orissa, T. Nadu, H. P. and Gujrat etc. The number of constituencies where the Congress has eroded its strength is 224. The heavy loss came from the 24 constituencies, where party has lost its strength more than 20 percent. The constituencies where loss is more than 30 percent are 4 in number which are spread in U. P. with three such constituencies (Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar and Kairana); other is spread in W. Bengal. About 200 constituencies are such where the swing against the party is less than 20 percent. These constituencies are spread mainly in A. P (33), Bihar (25), U. P. (42), W. Bengal (40), Karnataka (23), Maharashtra (17) and Kerala (11) etc. It is important to emphasis the point that the better performance of Congress in terms of seats won in this election than the previous is misleading. In fact, the party’s support base has shrunk, and would have shrunk even more under normal circumstances, but this gain in seats can be attributed to the decline in opposition unity and sympathy factor.

6. Bhartiya Janata Party
BJP is the only party which has significantly emerged as the second largest party after Congress. Party emerged as a major political force with widespread support and make a significant entry in Southern and Eastern states like Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and W. Bengal (in this state party rose from 1.5 to 9.5 percent). In about 130 constituencies, BJP’s candidates came second. In U. P. where it emerged as the largest party, this is because of low index of opposition unity favoured the party. The split in the non BJP vote helped the BJP in much the same way as the split opposition vote used to traditionally help the Congress. The state-wise swing pattern shows that in most of the states the party had secured a swing in its favour. The cause of distress only came from the BJP ruled states - Himachal Pradesh, which is because of certain issues (like reduction of Apple support price and Mandal etc.) which were not accepted by the people. The state wise swing is as follows- in North, highest swing came from U. P., which is 24.8 percent, followed by Haryana with 2 percent and Delhi with 14 percent swing in its favour. Karnataka with 26.2 percent swing recorded highest among states. In this state at many places the BJP emerged as the second party, putting Janata Dal at third place. In the South, the states like Andhra Pradesh (6.7 percent), Tamilnadu (1.2 percent) and Kerala witnessed a swing of 0.5 percent in favour of BJP. In Bihar, it significantly improved its strength and get the swing improved its strength and get the swing of 4.8 percent. In West Bengal and Orissa party has performed well by getting a swing of 7.9 percent and 8.3 percent respectively. In the Eastern-most states (excluding Assam) party has improved its strength by 1.1 percent. In the West, Gujrat gave a swing of nearly 22 percent followed by Rajasthan (11.4 percent)
and Maharashtra (0.1 percent). If we make the analysis of the swing at constituency level in the election of 1989-91, then we will found that equal number of constituencies show the loss and gain. There are 91 constituencies, which have shown a swing in favour of the party, whereas 90 constituencies’ recorded negative swing.

Table 2: Swings In Percentage Votes (Bhartiya Janata Party)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swing</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More than 30%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20%</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10%</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3: India Swing in BJP Votes

Out of 91 constituencies, 20 are such which have registered the swing of more than 20 percent. Among these half are such which have more than 30 percent swing in its favour, these are spread mainly in Rajasthan (Churu, Alwar and Bhilwara), four in U. P. (two Hilly
constituencies Garhwal and Almora) and other two are in Rohilkhand plain Moradabad & Khurja and remaining are spread in M. P. (Kanker), Maharashtra (Bombay-South) and Bangalore-South in Karnataka. There are 10 constituencies which have recorded swing in between 20-30 percent; these are mainly spread in U.P. (5), Karnataka (2) and one each in Maharashtra, Orissa and Rajasthan. The swing is not uniformly spread in all regions or areas, because people have their own attitude towards the concerned issues. The highest variation in swings came from the state of U. P. where the swing vary from 0.1 percent to 39 percent followed by Rajasthan (6 percent to 46 percent), M. P. (2 to 37 percent), Maharashtra (2 to 36 percent) and Bihar (1 to 17 percent). Most of the constituencies of swing against the party are spread mainly in the central India particularly in M. P and some constituencies which have less than 20 percent swing against the party are spread in Southern parts of Rajasthan and Katiawar peninsular of Gujarat. There are four such constituencies which have shown a heavy loss in terms of votes (more than 30 percent negative swing) these are Bapatala and Hanamkonda (A. P.) one each in Haryana (Karnal) and Bihar (Siwan). Less than 30 percent swing against the party was recorded in 220 constituencies mainly spread in M. P., Maharashtra, Gujrat, Rajasthan and Bihar.

7. Conclusion

The pattern of swing differs from region to region. The phenomenon of uniform sweeps for any party across entire regions like the Hindi-belt did not happen this time. BJP which have secured 11 percent votes in the 1989 election have doubled its voting strength by getting 20 percent voting with 9 percent swing in its favour. There is a clear difference in the voting pattern between the first round of polling of votes on May, 20 and the second and third rounds in June. Vote split of opposition parties gave fillip to Congress to capture 30 more seats this time despite the Congress vote declined from 39.5 percent in 1989 to 30 percent in this election. Swing has been on a state by state basis in which local issues have played an important role by getting an edge over the national issues.

References

1 BOOKS:-


