

CORRUPTION IS THE BIG ISSUE

The Central government is overwhelmingly perceived as being corrupt and shielding those who have stashed money abroad

Theme: CORRUPTION AND THE LOKPAL

One of the key political assets of the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government has been that its top two leaders, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh himself and Congress President Sonia Gandhi, are widely seen as being above corruption. The CNN-IBN & CNBC-TV18 'State of the Nation Poll,' conducted by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies and presented here by *The Hindu*, shows that the UPA-II government may be squandering this asset. A spate of corruption scandals in high places, accentuated by high-profile anti-corruption movements, have taken a toll on the government's image, especially among the more educated and articulate sections.

The Centre is perceived to be corrupt: for every one person who believes that it is not corrupt, there is a significantly higher number of people who think it is 'somewhat corrupt' or 'very corrupt.' Barring States such as Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, where the people are fed up with their State governments, people think that the Central government is more corrupt than the State or local governments. They suspect that the Central government is shielding those who have stashed black money abroad, disapprove of the midnight snoop on Baba Ramdev, and find the government insincere in its handling of the anti-corruption movements.

Anna Hazare and Baba Ramdev enjoy mass recognition, much beyond the television-viewing circles. They enjoy more support among non-Congress voters, but there is not much evidence to the effect that their support lies mainly among BJP voters. Of the two, Anna Hazare

enjoys much greater credibility; the higher the education level of the respondent, the higher is his credibility level over Baba Ramdev. Unlike what the government and its defenders claim, the people are more tolerant of the agitational tactics of "street politics" than in the past, and are for consultations with the movement groups, or "civil society," in drafting laws.

This puts in perspective the highly publicised disputes over which of the Lokpal bills — one proposed by the civil society movement or the one drafted by the government — has the support of the people. If we go beyond the charmed circle of opinion-makers or netizens and speak to a representative selection of ordinary citizens, as this survey does across the country (in 19 States in a total of 1,300 randomly selected locations), we encounter the brute truth that only one-third of Indians have heard about any of the Lokpal bills and are willing to take sides on it. Only one-fourth of them have an idea of what the bill is all about. Of those who have some idea about it or are willing to take sides, Team Anna wins

hands down over the government. People may not know the difference between the two bills, but they generally trust the anti-corruption crusader more than the government. The proposal to bring the Prime Minister within the ambit of the proposed Lokpal is endorsed even among supporters of Manmohan Singh. The suggestion to extend the ambit of the Lokpal to cover all public officials is also endorsed. Yet, the 'third proposal' floated by the National Campaign for Peoples' Right to Information (NCPRI) scores over Anna Hazare's bill when it comes to strengthening the existing anti-corruption institutions.

Yogendra Yadav

CNN-IBN & CNBC-TV18 STATE OF THE NATION POLL Conducted by CSDS

PRESENTED BY *THE HINDU*

UPA INSINCERE ON CORRUPTION

Statements	Agree		Disagree	
	All respondents	Colleged- educated and above	All	Colleged- educated and above
The government has been insincere in responding to issues raised by the anti-corruption movements	44	59	22	27
The government wants to protect those who have their black money in foreign banks	44	60	17	22

Question asked: I will read out a few statements. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one of them?

For every person who feels that the government has been sincere in responding to issues raised by the anti-corruption movements, there are two who think otherwise. Most also believe that the government is shielding those with black money in foreign banks. A higher percentage of the college-educated is critical of the government on the issue of corruption.

CENTRE MORE CORRUPT THAN STATE GOVERNMENTS

	Central government is most corrupt	State government is most corrupt	Local government is most corrupt
All India	35	24	23
Bihar	48	14	37
Rajasthan	46	18	19
Delhi	46	20	10
Uttarakhand	44	19	17
Maharashtra	37	20	27
Gujarat	35	14	18
Madhya Pradesh	34	15	31
Punjab	34	28	11
Andhra Pradesh	32	39	14
Uttar Pradesh	32	30	18
Karnataka	26	52	14

Question asked: People generally talk about government being corrupt. In your opinion, which level of the government is most corrupt — Central, State or local-level (panchayats/municipality)?

When asked which government was most corrupt — Central, State or local — most people said the Central government was the most corrupt. The perception of the Central government being most corrupt is strongest in Bihar, followed by Rajasthan and Delhi. The perception of the State government being most corrupt is strongest in Karnataka, followed by Andhra Pradesh. The State governments of Gujarat and Bihar fare best when compared to other levels of government.

POLICE STATION THE MOST CORRUPT PLACE

Which office is most corrupt?	All respondents	Among rural poor	Among rural rich	Among urban poor	Among urban rich
Panchayats	19	24	18	12	10
Tehsil/BDO offices	22	18	24	18	17
Courts	8	4	7	11	9
Police station/Thanas/Chowkis	25	19	29	25	42
Hospitals	4	3	3	6	3
Ration shops	8	3	3	12	6

Question asked: People like us in our everyday life visit some of the following offices. Which place do you find most corrupt — panchayats, tehsil/BDO offices, courts, police stations/thanas/chowkis, hospitals, ration shops?

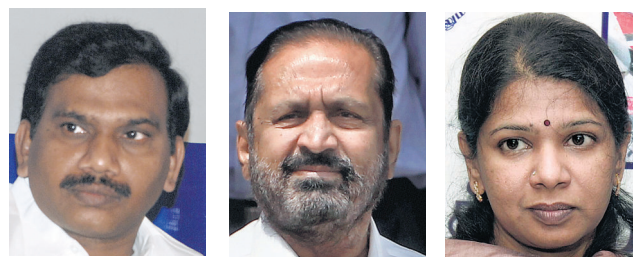
The negative perception of the police is reflected among more respondents (25 per cent), who say police stations are the most corrupt places. This perception is strongest among the urban rich. A large proportion of the rural rich and rural poor find the tehsil/BDO office the most corrupt. Rural poor blame panchayats to be the most corrupt as they also access it the most.

ONLY A THIRD HAVE HEARD ABOUT LOKPAL

	Heard about Lokpal	Know what Lokpal is
All respondents	34	24
College-going and above	67	51

Question asked: Have you heard about Lokpal? (If yes) In your opinion what is Lokpal?

One-third of the respondents have heard about the institution of the Lokpal but only one-fourth know what it actually is. The awareness about Lokpal among the college-educated is much higher than among the overall population.



RAJA? KALMADI? WHO?

	Heard of them	Those who actually know who they are
A. Raja	27	22
Suresh Kalmadi	25	20
K. Kanimozhi	22	18
Dayanidhi Maran	19	15

Question asked: I am going to read out names of a few people who have been in the news during the last few months. Please tell me if you have heard their name? (If yes) Who are they?

Despite relentless media coverage of corruption scandals, the awareness among people about high-profile personalities accused of corruption is very low. Not many have heard of A. Raja, Suresh Kalmadi, K. Kanimozhi or Dayanidhi Maran. Only 27 per cent have heard of A. Raja and even less (22 per cent), know he was the former Telecom Minister.

LEGISLATORS THE MOST CORRUPT

Which is most corrupt?	All
Government employees	32
Elected representatives	43
Judiciary	4
Businessmen & industrialists	3
NGOs and media	2

Question asked: Which of the following do you think is the most corrupt — government employees, elected representatives (MP/MLA/Councillor, etc.), judiciary, businessmen & industrialists, NGOs, media/journalists?

The image of elected representatives and government employees as the most corrupt people still endures, with 75 per cent of the respondents identifying them as the most corrupt. The perception is higher among the well educated.

OPINIONS ON LOKPAL

Statement people agree with most	All respondents	Colleged- educated and above
Anna Hazare has forced the government to face the issue of corruption. His demand for a new anti-corruption law should be accepted	38	60
The government has gone too far in accommodating Anna Hazare's demand. The government should be more firm in dealing with Hazare's movement	14	21
Strong and independent Lokpal will substantially reduce corruption	30	50
Corruption is hard to control. Lokpal or any institution is not going to make a difference	22	29
It is good to have a Lokpal but we need to strengthen existing anti-corruption agencies like CBI, Vigilance Commission	28	47
Since existing institutions have failed, we need a new, all-powerful institution: Lokpal	20	30

	All respondents	Among those satisfied with Manmohan Singh	Among those dissatisfied with Manmohan Singh
Prime Minister should not be under Lokpal's purview; that would undermine dignity, authority of the office	21	27	23
Prime Minister should be under Lokpal: no other government agency can be trusted to probe corruption charges against the office	27	30	34

Question asked: I will read out two statements. Please tell me whether you agree with statement 1 or statement 2

UPA RUNNING 'A CORRUPT GOVERNMENT'

UPA government is ...	By locality				By education		
	All-India	Rural	Urban	Non-literate	Up to primary school	Up to matric level	Colleged- educated and above
Very corrupt	28	27	32	23	27	30	33
Somewhat corrupt	32	31	34	26	30	35	38
Not much corrupt	10	10	10	8	10	11	12
Not at all corrupt	5	5	5	4	4	5	5

Question asked: How would you rate the present Congress-led UPA government in terms of corruption — very corrupt, somewhat corrupt, not much corrupt, not at all corrupt?

The recent spate of high-profile corruption scandals has severely dented the UPA government's image. The UPA is perceived as running a 'very corrupt' or 'somewhat corrupt' government by more than half the respondents. This perception is higher in urban areas and among the more educated.

RAMDEV BETTER KNOWN THAN HAZARE

	Heard of them			Those who actually know who they are		
	All-India	Among rural	Among urban	All-India	Among rural	Among urban
Baba Ramdev	60	56	73	53	48	66
Anna Hazare	45	39	62	38	33	55

Question asked: I am going to read out names of a few people who have been in the news during the last few months. Please tell me if you have heard their name? (If yes) Who are they?

Both Baba Ramdev and Anna Hazare, the two main leaders of the recent anti-corruption movements, are well known. But more people have heard of Ramdev than Hazare, even more so in rural areas. The gap between Ramdev and Hazare is smaller in urban areas.



YES TO RAMDEV, NO TO HIS POLITICS

Statements	Agree		Disagree	
	All respondents	BJP voters	All respondents	BJP voters
The government's action on Baba Ramdev at Ramlila Maidan was unjustified	41	49	20	23
Baba Ramdev should stick to yoga and not dabble in politics	38	43	22	29

Question asked: I will read out a few statements. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one of them?

While most people are critical of the UPA government's crackdown on Baba Ramdev and his supporters at the Ramlila Maidan, they are of the opinion that Baba Ramdev would be better off teaching yoga than dabbling in politics. While BJP voters are more critical of the crackdown on Ramdev, they are also stronger in their opinion that Ramdev should not dabble in politics.

HAZARE MORE TRUSTWORTHY THAN RAMDEV

Who is more trustworthy?	All respondents	By education			
		Non-literate	Up to primary school	Up to matriculation	Colleged- educated and above
Anna Hazare	26	13	20	30	45
Baba Ramdev	14	13	14	16	12
Both	10	6	8	12	16
None	6	5	5	7	6

Question asked: Who do you think is more trustworthy — Anna Hazare or Baba Ramdev?

While both Baba Ramdev and Anna Hazare have led separate anti-corruption movements, it is Hazare who has a better image than Ramdev among the people. When asked about who they felt was more trustworthy — Ramdev or Hazare — most people chose Hazare. Hazare is considered more trustworthy as we move up the education ladder.

LOKPAL BILL VS JAN LOKPAL BILL

	Anna's Lokpal draft better	Govt's Lokpal draft better	Both drafts good/bad	Not heard about the drafts/No opinion
All respondents	25	7	5	63
Non-literate	11	4	3	82
Up to primary school	18	6	4	72
Up to matriculation	28	9	6	57
Colleged- educated ...	46	9	9	36

Question asked: There are two drafts of the Lokpal bill, one by Anna Hazare and his team and the other by the government. In your opinion, which of the two drafts is better?

A very large proportion of people have no opinion. There is more support for Team Anna's Lokpal draft than for the government's draft among those who have heard of the drafts and have an opinion. Among them, for every person who supports the government's draft, there are three who support the draft put forward by Hazare and his team. The support for Team Anna's draft is higher as we move up the educational ladder.

SUPPORT FOR STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS

Demonstrations, strikes and gheraos are...	1971	2011
Proper	26	39
Not proper	40	24
No opinion	32	35

Question asked: Over the last few years there have been many demonstrations, strikes, gheraos, etc., in our country. How about you? Would you say these actions are a proper way of drawing attention to people's grievances and demands or not a proper way?

Since 1971, when CSDS first asked this question, there has been a substantial rise in the number of those who feel that demonstrations, strikes and gheraos are a proper way of drawing attention to people's grievances and demands. Compared to 40 years ago, today there is a much greater willingness to accept agitational tactics as a legitimate tool for mobilisation in a democracy.

How to read the tables

* All figures in percentage and rounded off

* If figures don't add up to 100 per cent, it is because some respondents had no opinion or named someone not mentioned in the table



CNN-IBN will telecast these findings at 10 p.m.