

Appendix-II

1 State PC PS Res.

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NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY, 1996 POST-POLL SURVEY

Interview's Introduction

I come from Delhi-from the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies. We are studying the Lok Sabha elections and interviewing thousands of ordinary voters from different parts of the country. The findings of these interviews will be used to write in books and newspapers without giving any respondent's name. It has no connection with any political party or government. I need your co-operation to ensure the success of our study. Kindly spare some time to answer my questions.

Interview begins

Q1. Let us first talk about this village/town you live in. How long have you lived here ? (*If not all life, probe for number of years lived here*)

1 Less than 10 yrs.

2 10 yrs. or more

3 Entire life

IF NOT ENTIRE LIFE

Q1a. From which village/town have you come ?

Name of village/town _____

Name of district _____ State _____

Q1b. Where have you lived most of your life-in village or town ?

1 Village

2 Town

3 Both

9 Inapplicable

Q2. In talking to people about the recent elections to the Lok Sabha, we find that some people were able to vote and some were not able to vote. How about you ? Were you able to vote or not?

2 Yes

1 No

8 Not sure

Q2a. (*If yes*) Who did you vote for ? Please mark your preference on this slip and put in this box.

(*Supply the dummy ballot and explain the procedure*)

Ballot No.

**FOR ASSAM, HARYANA, KERALA, TAMIL NADU, WEST BENGAL
& PONDICHERY ONLY**

Q2b. And what about the assembly elections -- who did you vote for? Please mark your preference on this slip and put in this box. (*Supply the dummy ballot and explain the procedure*)

Ballot No.

- Q2c. (If voted)** When did you finally make up your mind about who to vote for ?
- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1 On the polling day | 4 Before the campaign |
| 2 A few days before polling | 8 Can't say |
| 3 As soon as the candidates were announced | 9 Not Applicable |

- Q2d. (If not voted)** What was the main reason you could not vote in this election?
- 1 Did not know I was a voter**
 - 2 Out of station**
 - 3 Not well**
 - 4 Have no interest/did not feel like voting**
 - 5 Prevented by some people from voting**
 - 6 Somebody had already voted before I went to vote**
 - 7 Fear of violence at polling station**
 - 8 Any other (Specify) _____**
 - 9 Not Applicable (Yes in Q. 2)**

- Q3.** Keeping in view the election results, who do you think deserved to form the Government at the Centre?
- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 Congress/Congress Led | 4 Others (Specify) _____ |
| 2 BJP/BJP Led | 5 No one |
| 3 NF-LF/Third Front | 8 D.K. |

- Q4.** No single party has got a clear majority in Lok Sabha in this election. There are now two opinions about the formation of government. Some say that different parties should come together to form a coalition government. Others say that elections should be held again. What would you prefer- coalition government or fresh elections ?
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Coalition Government | 2 Fresh elections |
| 3 Others (Specify) _____ | 8 Can't say/D.K. |

- Q5.** In today's situation, who do you think can make the best Prime Minister of the country?
- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 P.V. Narasimha Rao | 2 L.K. Advani |
| 3 Atal Bihari Vajpayee | 4 V.P. Singh |
| 8 H.D. Deva Gowda | 99 Can't say/D.K. |
| 13 Others (Specify) _____ | |

- Q6.** Who won from this Parliamentary Constituency in this election?
- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| 2 Correct | 1 Incorrect/D.K. |
|------------------|-------------------------|

- Q7.** Now let us talk about the campaign during this election: How interested were you in the election campaign this year -- great deal, somewhat or not at all ?
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 3 Great deal | 2 Somewhat | 1 Not at all |
|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|

- Q8.** How many of the election meetings that parties and candidates organised during the campaign did you attend?
- | | | |
|---------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 0 None | 1 Some (one-two) | 2 Many (more than two) |
|---------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|

- Q9.** During the election people do various things like organizing election meetings, joining processions, participating in canvassing, contributing money, etc. to help a party or candidate. Did you do any such thing yourself during the recent election campaign?
- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| 2 Yes | 1 No |
|--------------|-------------|

- Q9a. (If yes)** For which party or candidate? _____

- Q9b. (If yes in Q. 9)** And, what did you do (**Multiple response possible**)
- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Helped organize election meetings | 8 Distributed publicity material |
| 2 Joined processions | 16 Contributed money |
| 4 Participated in canvassing | 32 Other (Specify) _____ |

- Q10.** Did any candidate, party work or canvasser come to your house during the campaign to ask for your votes?
- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| 2 Yes | 1 No |
|--------------|-------------|

Q10a. (If yes) From which parties or candidates did they come? (Record first three in the order mentioned)

1. _____ (Probe for 2nd, 3rd Party)
2. _____
3. _____

Q11. In deciding whom to vote, were you guided by any one?

- 2 Yes** **1 No**

Q11a. (If yes) Whose advice did you value most?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 Spouse | 4 Friends/co-workers |
| 2 Other family members | 7 Other (Specify) _____ |
| 3 Caste/community leaders | 9 Inapplicable (No in Q. 11) |

Q12. Now let us talk about relationship among the people in your village/town/city. Would you say that compared to five years ago, the relationship between various groups of people has become more harmonious, remained the same or tension among these groups has increased?

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 More harmonious | 2 Same as before |
| 3 Tension has increased | 8 D.K. |

Q12a. (If tension) In your view, who among the following is best suited to resolve these tensions among various groups :

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 Village Panchayat; | 5 Caste/community leaders; or |
| 2 Government officials; | 7 Any others (Specify) _____ |
| 3 Police; | 8 D.K. |
| 4 Judiciary; | 9 N.A. |

Q13. Now I would like to read some statements about the relationship between different groups. Please tell me about each one whether you agree or disagree with it.

Statements	Agree	D.K./No opinion	Disagree
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a. Relationship between different caste has become more harmonious

Do you agree to this or disagree?	3	2	1
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b. Tension between tribal and non-tribals has increased. **Do you.....?**

	3	2	1
--	---	---	---

c. Tension between different religious communities has decreased.

Do you.....?	3	2	1
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d. Tension between dalit and non-dalits (Harijan and non-Harijans) has increased.

Do you?	3	2	1
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e. Tension between landowners and landless has decreased. **Do you?**

	3	2	1
--	---	---	---

f. Relationship between people and the government officials has become more cordial. **Do you.....?**

	3	2	1
--	---	---	---

g. Now there is more tension between the rich and the poor. **Do you?**

	3	2	1
--	---	---	---

h. Police attitude towards common people has become more humane. **Do you?**

	3	2	1
--	---	---	---

i. Compared to five years ago, life and property are less safe now than before.

Do you?	3	2	1
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j. The poor and deprived enjoy better social status now than before. **Do you?**

	3	2	1
--	---	---	---

k. Condition of the poor has improved during last five years. **Do you?**

	3	2	1
--	---	---	---

Q14. People hold different opinions about struggle. Some people say that struggle, even when it leads to violence, is a proper method for the people to fulfil their demands, while others say that struggle is not a proper method if it leads to violence. How do you feel—is struggle leading to violence proper or not a proper method for fulfilling people’s demands?

3 Proper **1 Not proper**
2 Other (Specify) _____ **8 D.K.**

Q15. Generally speaking did most members of your caste group/community vote for one party or for different parties?

2 Different parties **1 One party** **8 D.K.**

Q16. Do you think it is important or not important for you to vote the same way your caste group/community votes?

2 Important **1 Not important** **8 D.K.**

Q17. Some political parties specially care for the interest of particular caste group or community, while others don’t. How about your caste group/community? Is there any political party that looks after the interest of your caste group/community ?

2 Yes **1 No** **8 D.K.**

Q17a. (If yes) Which party ? _____

Q18. Now let us talk about the problems facing this country. What in your opinion are some of the major problems facing our country? (**Record exactly and in the order mentioned**)

* 1 _____ (**Probe for 2nd & 3rd**)

* 2 _____

* 3 _____

Q19. Which political party do you think can solve these problems better than others ?

Q20. Leaving aside the period of elections, how much interest would you say you have in politics and public affairs, a great deal of interest, some interest, or no interest at all ?

3 Great deal **2 Some interest** **1 No interest at all**

Q21. How much in your opinion do political parties help to make government pay attention to the people—good deal, somewhat or not much?

3 Good deal **2 Somewhat** **1 Not much** **8 D.K.**

Q22. Is there any political party you feel close to?

2 Yes **1 No**

Q22a. (If yes) Which is that party? _____

Q22b. (If yes) What are the things about (**Name the party**) which you like most? (**Record Exactly**)

* _____

Q23. Is there any political party for which you will never vote ?

2 Yes **1 No**

Q23a. (If yes) Which is that party? _____

Q23b. (If yes) What is it that you do not like about (**Name the Party**)?

(**Record Exactly**) _____

Q24. Now I would like to ask you about the things that were done by Narasimha Rao’s government in Delhi during the last 5 years, that you may have liked or disliked. Was there any thing that Rao’s Government did during the last 5 years that you particularly liked?

2 Yes **1 No**
8 Does not know about any work done by the government

***Q24a. (If yes)** What was it ? 1st _____
 2nd _____

Q24b. Was there any thing in particular that you did not like?

2 Yes **1 No**
8 Does not know about any work

*Q24c. (If yes) What was it? 1st _____
2nd _____

Q25. Do you think your vote has effect on how things are run in this country or you think your vote makes no difference?
3 Has effect **2 Others (Specify) _____**
1 Makes no difference **8 D.K.**

Q26. Talking about the elections just completed what do you think was the main issue around which the election was fought this time (*Record exact answer*)
 * 1 _____ (**Probe for 2nd & 3rd issue**)
 * 2 _____
 * 3 _____

Q27. Suppose there were no parties or assemblies and elections were not held—do you think that the government in this country can be run better?
2 Yes **1 No** **8 Can't say/D.K.**

Q28. I would like to read some statements we often hear. Would you tell me about each one whether you agree or disagree with it?

Statement	Agree	D.K./No opinion	Disagree
<input type="checkbox"/> a. What this country needs more that all the laws and talk is a few determined and strong leaders <i>Do you agree to this or disagree?</i>	3	2	1
<input type="checkbox"/> b. It is not desirable to have political parties struggling with each other for power. <i>Do you?</i>	3	2	1
<input type="checkbox"/> c. Government policies are not responsible for the poverty of the people. <i>Do you....?</i>	3	2	1
<input type="checkbox"/> d. Only educated people should have right to vote. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
<input type="checkbox"/> e. Those who are not well educated should not be allowed to contest elections. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
<input type="checkbox"/> f. What people get in this life is the result of their KARMA in previous life. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
<input type="checkbox"/> g. Government generally takes care of the interests of the common people. <i>Do you....?</i>	3	2	1
<input type="checkbox"/> h. Women should take active part in politics. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
<input type="checkbox"/> i. We should be loyal to our own region first and then to India. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
<input type="checkbox"/> j. Compared to national parties regional/ local parties can provide better government in states. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
<input type="checkbox"/> k. It is the responsibility of the government to protect the interests of the minority communities. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1

Q29. Have you heard of the disputed building (Babri Masjid) at Ayodhya?
2 Yes **1 No**

Q29a. (If yes) Some people say that the demolition was justified while others say it was not justified—what would you say —was it justified or not justified?

- 3 Justified** **2 Can't say/D.K.**
1 Unjustified **9 Inapplicable**

Q29b. (If heard about demolition) What would you suggest should be built on that site now :

- 1 Neither mosque nor temple** **2 Mosque should be built**
3 Temple should be built **4 Both Mosque and temple should be**
5 Any other (Specify) _____

Q30. Would you say that persons we elect by voting generally care about what people like you think, or that they don't care?

- 2 Care** **1 Don't care** **8 D.K.**

Q31. How much does having elections from time to time make the government pay attention to the people—good deal, somewhat or not much?

- 3 Good deal** **2 Somewhat** **1 Not much** **8 D.K.**

Q32. Peoples' opinions are divided on the issue of Kashmir problem—some people say that the government should suppress the agitation by any means while others say that this problem should be resolved by negotiation. What would you say – should the agitation be suppressed or resolved by negotiation?

- 3 Should be suppressed** **2 Cannot say**
1 Resolved through negotiation **7 Other (Specify) _____**

Q33. During the last five years the central government has made many changes in our economy. Have you heard about them?

- 2 Yes** **1 No**

Q33a. (If yes) What are these changes?

- * 1. _____
 2. _____

Q33b. (If yes in Q.33) On the whole do you approve or disapprove of these changes?

- 2 Approve** **1 Disapprove** **8 D.K.** **9 Inapplicable**

Q34. Let us now talk about some specific issues on which different people seem to have different opinions. I would read out some statements to which you may agree or disagree. Please tell me about each one whether you agree or disagree?

Statements	Agree	D.K./No opinion	Disagree
a. Backward caste should have reservation in government jobs.			

Do you agree or disagree with this?	3	2	1
--	---	---	---

b. There is no need for India to make atomic bomb. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
--	---	---	---

c. Foreign companies should not be allowed free trade in India. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
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d. Like Gram Panchayats, there should be reservation for women in Assemblies and Parliament. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
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e. Government companies should be given into private hands. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
---	---	---	---

f. India should make more efforts to develop friendly relations with Pakistan. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
--	---	---	---

g. The needs and problems of Muslims have been neglected in India. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
--	---	---	---

h. Every community should be allowed to have its own laws to govern marriage and property rights. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
---	---	---	---

i. Prohibition should be imposed all over the country. <i>Do you.....?</i>	3	2	1
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Q35. Some people say that the government should pass legislation so that people are not allowed to own and possess a large amount of land and property. Others say that people should be allowed to own as much land and property as they can make/acquire. What would you say ?

3 Limit ownership

2 Other (Specify) _____

1 Should not limit ownership

Q36. Some people say that whatever progress was the last few years through development, schemes and programmes of the government has benefited only the well-to-do. Others say no, the poor and needy have also benefited from them. What would you say? Have the benefits of development gone only to the well-to-do or have the poor and the needy also benefited.

1 Benefits gone to well-to-do

3 Poor and needy also benefited (If all, do not probe encircle 3)

8 D.K.

2 Other (Specify) _____

Q37. People are generally concerned about what governments do—some are more concerned about what the government in Delhi does, others are more concerned with what the state government does. How about you? Are you more concerned about what the government in Delhi does or about what the (name the State government) does?

1 Interested in neither

2 State Government

3 Both

4 Government in Delhi

7 Other (Specify) _____

Q38. Government has initiated several schemes and programmes for the benefit of the people, such as housing schemes, employment schemes, old-age pension, loans/subsidies, etc. Have you or your family ever availed of such benefits?

2 Yes

1 No

8 D.K.

Q38a. (If yes) What type of benefits?

1 Housing scheme

2 Rojgar yojna

4 Land allotment (Multiple answers possible)

8 Old-age pension

16 Loan/subsidies

32 Other (Specify) _____

Q39. Thinking about the last ten years, would you say that the law and order situation in your area has improved, deteriorated or remained the same?

3 Improved

2 Remained the same

1 Deteriorated

8 D.K.

Q39a. (If deteriorated) Why has it deteriorated?

*

Q40. I would like to seek your opinion about different institutions of India in which you may have good deal of trust, some trust or no trust at all.

Institutions

Great deal

Somewhat

Not at all

a. How much trust/confidence do you have in the central government— a great deal, somewhat or no trust at all?

3

2

1

b. How much trust/confidence do you have in the state government.....?

3

2

1

c. How much trust do you have in local government/panchayat/municipality.....?

3

2

1

d. How much trust do you have in Judiciary.....?

3

2

1

e. How much trust do you have in Election Commission....?

3

2

1

f. How much trust do you have in political parties.....?

3

2

1

g. How much trust do you have in government officials.....?

3

2

1

h. How much trust do you have in elected representative.....?

3

2

1

i. How much trust do you have in police.....?

3

2

1

Q41. Are you a member of any political party?
2 Yes **1 No**

Q41a. (*If yes*) Which party? _____

Q41b. (*If no*) Were you ever a member of any political party?
2 Yes **1 No**

Q41c. (*If yes*) Which party? _____

Q42. Let us talk about associations and organisations other than political parties: are you a member of any religious or caste organisation?
2 Yes **1 No**

***Q42a.** (*If yes*) What are these 1 _____
*2 _____

Q43. Aside from caste and religious organisation, do you belong to any other associations and organisations like the co-operatives, farmers' association, trade unions, welfare organisations, cultural and sports organisations, etc. (*Give two three relevant examples of the locality*)
2 Yes **1 No**

***Q43a.** (*If yes*) What are these 1 _____
*2 _____
(Probe: Any other) _____

Q44. There is quite a bit of talk these days about different social classes. Some people say they belong to the middle class, others say they belong to the working class, yet others say they do not belong to either of these classes but to some other class? Now thinking of people like you, to which class would you say you belong?
1 Middle class **2 Working class** **7 Other (Specify) _____**

Q44a. Do you think that the people of some other classes come in the way of progress and welfare of the people of your class, or do you think this is not the case?
1 Come in way **2 Do not come in way**

Q44b. (*If come in way*) People of which class? (*Record exactly*)
* _____

Q45. During the last few years, has your financial situation improved, worsened, or has it stayed the same?
3 Improved **2 Same** **1 Worsened**

Q46. In whatever financial condition you are placed today, on the whole, are you satisfied with your present financial situations somewhat satisfied?
3 Satisfied **2 Somewhat satisfied** **1 Not satisfied**

Q47. Now looking ahead and thinking about the next few years, do you expect that your financial situation will stay about the way it is now, get better, or get worse?
3 Better **2 Same** **1 Worse**

Q48. Looking to your needs and the needs of your household, how much income per month do you think you must have to meet your needs? (*Record exact answer*)

Q49. Do you think your children have better opportunities in life than you had?
2 Yes **1 No** **8 D.K.**

Q50. Have you ever contacted any government official for any need or problem?
2 Yes **1 No**

Q51. Have you ever contacted any political leader for any need or problem?
2 Yes **1 No**

- Q52. Do you personally know any party leaders or any of the candidates in this constituency?
2 Yes **1 No**
- Q53. Who was your previous M.P. from this constituency?
2 Correct **1 Incorrect/D.K.**
- Q54. Who is the Prime Minister of our country?
2 Correct **1 Incorrect**
- Q55. And who is the Chief Minister of your State?
2 Correct **1 Incorrect**
- Q56. Do you read newspaper?
2 Yes **1 No**
- Q57. (*If yes*) How often—regularly, sometimes or rarely?
3 Regularly **2 Sometimes**
1 Rarely **9 Inapplicable**
- Q58. Do you listen to Radio?
2 Yes **1 No**
- Q58a. (*If yes*) How often—regularly, sometimes or rarely?
3 Regularly **2 Sometimes**
1 Rarely **9 Inapplicable**
- Q59. Do you watch T.V.?
2 Yes **1 No**
- Q59a. (*If yes*) How often—regularly, sometimes or rarely?
3 Regularly **2 Sometimes**
1 Rarely **9 Inapplicable**
- Q60. Of those, on which source did you depend most for getting information about elections, parties and candidates?
0 None **4 Newspaper and Radio**
1 Newspaper **5 Newspaper and TV**
2 Radio **6 Radio and TV**
3 TV **7 All three (Newspaper, Radio and TV)**
- Q61. This time the newspapers and magazines carried several surveys and forecasts about who will win the elections. Did you read it or hear about it?
1 Read **2 Heard**
3 Neither read nor heard **8 D.K.**
- Q61a. (*If read or heard*) Do you think your voting decision was influenced by it?
2 Yes **1 No**
8 D.K. **9 Inapplicable**
- *Q61b. (*If yes*) In what way? _____

16. Ascertain sanitary condition of the living surrounding:
1 Clean 2 Average 3 Unclean 4 Very Unclean
17. Locality: 1 Rural 2 Urban

Not to be asked

Date of interview _____ Time of interview _____

Time taken _____

Place of Interview : 1 R's home 2 R's place of work 3 Public place
7 Other (*Specify*) _____

Was any one else present at the time of interview?

- 1 No one present (or only children under 14 present)
- 2 Others present but they took no part
- 3 Other took part

Was the respondent co-operative?

- 1 Very co-operative
- 2 Co-operative but did not seem actively interested
- 3 Unco-operative

Address:-

Name of Respondent _____ S.No. on Electoral Roll _____

House No. & Street _____

R's Village/Town _____

District _____ State _____

PC Name _____ AC Name _____

PS Name _____ Official No. _____

Interviewer's Name _____ Signature _____

Checked by: Supervisor's Name _____ Signature _____