1. 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).*

**IF NOT ALL LIFE:**

1a. Where have you lived most of your life - in town or in village?

2. Now talking about the problems of your village/town, how much attention would you say the village panchayat/municipality pays to the problems facing the people here - a great deal, somewhat or not at all?

   3 A great deal
   2 Somewhat
   1 Not at all

3. In several villages/mohallas we find are individuals who have influence over how others in their village/mohalla vote. Is there any such individual in this village/mohalla who has influence over how others vote?

   1 Yes
   2 No
   8 D.K.  

   **Go to Q.4**

**IF YES**

3a. What do you think is the basis of his influence over the votes of the people here?

3b. How about you, do you generally consider his advice in matters of voting or not?

   1 Considers
   2 Does not consider

4. Generally speaking did the people of your village vote for one party or different parties in this election?

   1 Different parties
   2 One Party
   8 D.K.

4a. Do you think it is important or not important to vote the way others vote in this village/mohalla?

   3 Important
   1 Not important
   2 Other *(Specify) ___________

5. Besides you were there others in your family who voted in this election?

   1 No
   2 Yes

**IF YES**

5a. Did they vote the same way you did or did they vote differently?

   2 Same way
   1 Differently

5b. Do you think it is important for all voting members of the family to vote the same way or not?

   1 Not important
   2 Important

6. In talking to people about the recent election 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?

   Voted
   Did not vote
### IF VOTED

6a. Whom did you vote for?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of candidate</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

6b. What would you say was the main consideration you voted for (*NAME THE CANDIDATE OR PARTY*)?  
(REDIRECT EXACT ANSWER)

6c. When did you finally make up your mind about whom to vote for on the polling day, or during the campaign, or before the campaign started?

1. On the polling day  
2. During the campaign  
3. Before the campaign started

### IF NOT VOTED

7. What was the main reason you did not vote in this election to the Lok Sabha?  
(REDIRECT EXACT ANSWER)

**ASK ONLY IN TAMILNADU, WEST BENGAL AND ORISSA**

7a. We have talked about the Lok Sabha elections, how about the Assembly elections in this state-were you able to vote in the recent Assembly elections?

2. Yes  
1. No  
Go to Q.8

#### IF YES

7b. Whom did you vote for?  
(REDIRECT EXACT ANSWER)

7c. What would you say was the main consideration you voted for (*NAME THE CANDIDATE OR PARTY*)?  
(REDIRECT EXACT ANSWER)

**ASK ONLY IN U.P., BIHAR, PUNJAB, WEST BENGAL, HARYANA & KERALA.**

7d. What about the elections to the Assembly 2 years back in 1969? Were you able to vote then?

2. Yes  
1. No  
Go to Q.8

7e. Whom did you vote for?

We are also interested in how people voted in earlier elections:

8. How about the elections for the Lok Sabha four years back in 1967? Were you able to vote then?

2. Yes  
1. No  
Go to Q.9

#### IF YES

8a. Whom did you vote for?  
(REDIRECT EXACT ANSWER)

9. And how about the elections for the Lok Sabha before the 1967 elections that is the one held in 1962? Were you able to vote then?

2. Yes  
1. No  
Go to Q.10

#### IF YES

9a. Whom did you vote for?

10. Now let us talk about the parties and candidates in (*NAME THE CONSTITUENCY*) Parliamentary Constituency-which were the parties and candidates that contested in the elections just held for the Lok Sabha from this parliamentary constituency?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate’s Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
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<td>4.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. Who won from (NAME THE CONSTITUENCY) for parliament in this election?

**For TAMILNADU, ORISSA AND WEST BENGAL**

11a. How about the Assembly elections—which were the parties and candidates that contested in the elections from (NAME THE CONSTITUENCY) Assembly Constituency?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate’s Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

11b. Who won from (NAME THE CONSTITUENCY) for Assembly in this election?

12. Now 1st 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

13. During the campaign did you tell any people why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?

2 Yes 1 No

14. What about election meetings that parties and candidates organized during the campaign. How many of these did you attend—many, some or none?

3 Many 2 Some 1 None Go to Q.15

14a. Which were the parties whose meetings you attended?

(RECORD NAMES OF PARTIES)

1
2
3
4

(PROBE) : Did you attend meetings of any other parties?

15. How about newspapers-Did you get the news about the election campaign from any newspaper?

2 Yes 1 No Go to Q.16

**IF YES**

15a. Would you say you got such news regularly or often or once in while?

3 Regularly 2 Often 1 Once in a While

16. What about the radio—did you listen to news and programmes about the elections on the radio?

2 Yes 1 No Go to Q.17

**IF YES**

16a. Would you say you did this regularly, often or once in a while?

3 Regularly 2 Often 1 Once in a While

17. Generally speaking, would you say that you personally eared quite a lot, somewhat or not at all about who son the Lok Sabha election from (NAME THE CONSTITUENCY) Constituency?

3 Quite a lot 2 Somewhat 1 Not at all
For TAMILNADU, ORISSA AND WEST BENGAL

17a. How about the Assembly election - would you say that you personally cared quite a lot, somewhat, or not at all about who won the Assembly election from (NAME THE CONSTITUENCY) Constituency?

3 Quite a lot 2 Somewhat 1 Not at all

At election time parties and candidates contract as many people as possible to ask for their support.

18. Did any candidates, party workers or canvassers come to your house during the campaign to ask for your votes?

2 Yes 1 No

IF YES

19a. From which parties or candidates?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

Now I would like to talk to you about some of the things people do to help a party or a candidate in an election. I wonder if you could tell me whether you did any of these things yourself during the last election campaign?

20. Did you help organize any election meeting?

2 Yes 1 No

20a. Did you join in any procession and demonstration during the campaign?

2 Yes 1 No

20b. Did you engage in house to house canvassing for any party or candidate?

2 Yes 1 No

20c. Did you help to get voters to the polling station?

2 Yes 1 No

20d. Did you distribute any polling cards or literature for a party or candidate?

2 Yes 1 No

20e. Did you contribute any money for the election campaign of any candidate or party?

2 Yes 1 No

20f. Is there any thing else you did to help in the election campaign of a candidate or party?

2 Yes 1 No

Go to Q.21

20g. What was it?

21. How about the leaders of this village/ward, generally speaking did they all support one party or candidate or did they support different parties or candidates?

2 One party 1 Different parties

21a. IF ONE PARTY

Which party?

____________________

____________________

____________________

22. Now talking about the leaders of your caste/religious group, did they support any candidate or party in this election?

2 Yes 1 No 8 D.K.

Go to Q.23
22a. Which party or candidate?

IF KNOWS CASTE LEADER’S CHOICE ASK:

22b. Did you agree with caste/religious leader’s choice of party supported?
   2 Yes 1 No 8 D.K.

23. Generally speaking did most members of your caste/religious group vote for one party or for different parties?
   1 Different parties 2 One party 8 D.K. Go to Q.24

23a. Which party or parties did they vote for?

24. Do you think it is important or not important to vote the same way your caste/religious group votes?
   2 Important 1 Not important 8 D.K.

25. Some political parties specially care for the interest of particular caste/religious group while others don’t. How about your caste/religious group? Is there any political party that looks after the interest of your caste/religious group?
   2 Yes 1 No 8 D.K. Go to Q.26

IF YES

25a. Which party?

26. 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

27. Now would you please tell me how often do you discuss poll and public affairs with others, never, sometimes, or frequently?
   1 Never 2 Sometimes 3 Frequently

28. How about your father, is he (was he) interested in politics and public affairs or not?
   1 Not interested 2 Interested

28a. Does he (did he) support any party?
   2 Yes 1 No Go to Q.29

28b. IF YES
   Which party?

29. Let us now talk about political parties: could you tell me the names of different political parties in the country (probe: any other) RECORD PARTIES IN THE ORDER THEY ARE MENTIONED.

30. Is there any political party you particularly feel close to?
   2 Yes 1 No Go to Q.31

IF YES

30a. Which is that party?

30b. Is your preference for this party very strong or not very strong?
   1 Not very strong 2 Very strong

30c. What are the things about (name the party) which you like most?

30d. Is there any other party besides this party that you like?
   2 Yes 1 No Go to Q.31
IF YES
30e. Which is that party? (RECORD EXACT ANSWER)
31. Is there any party for which you will never vote?
   2 Yes 1 No Go to Q.33

IF YES
32a. What do you think about the split? Some people say that the split is good for the country, while others say that it is bad for the country. How do you feel? Is the split in Congress party good for the country or bad for the country?
   1 Bad for the country 2 Good for the country
   8 D.K. 3 Other (Specify) ________
32b. Now that there are two Congress parties, which in your opinion is the real Congress? Now I would like to ask you about the things that were done by Mrs. Indira Gandhi`s government in Delhi during the last four years, that you may have liked or disliked?
33. Was there anything that Mrs. Indira Gandhi`s Government did during the last four years that you particularly liked?
   Yes No Go to Q.33b

IF YES
33a. What was it?
33b. Was there anything in particular that you did not like?
   Yes No Go to Q.34
33c. What was it?
34. In general how well do you think Mrs. Gandhi has done her job as Prime Minister? Would you say she has done a good job, a fair job or a poor job as Prime Minister?
   1 Poor 2 Fair 3 Good
35. Talking about the elections just completed what do you think was the main thing which the election was fought this time in the country? (RECORD EXACT ANSWER)
36. Do you think your vote has any effect on how things are run in this country or you think your vote makes no difference?
   3 Has effect 1 Makes no difference
   8 D.K. 2 Other (Specify)
37. Do you think that the government in this country can be run better if there were no parties, assemblies and elections?
   1 Yes 3 No
   8 D.K. 2 Qualified answer (RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

Let us now talk about some specific issues on which different people seem to have different opinions. We would like to know your personal opinion on some of these issues?
38. Do you think that for the progress of the country the government should exercise greater control over the industries, trade and agriculture than at present, or should it exercise lose control or keep the control as they are?
   3 Greater 2 Some 1 Less
   8 D.K. Go to Q.39 4 Other (RECORD EXACT ANSWER)
38a. Which party in your opinion would be most likely to what you want on this issue?
39. Have you heard about Bank Nationalization, that is about government taking over the
ownership and management of banks?
   2 Yes
   1 No
   Go to Q.40
39a. Do you think it was proper for the government to take over banks or should they have
been left as they were?
   3 Proper
   1 Left as they were
   8 D.K.
   2 Qualified answer (RECORD EXACT ANSWER)
40. Some people say that the government should pass legislation so that people are not
allowed to own and possess large amount of land and property. Others say that people
should be allowed to own as much land and property as they can acquire-what would
you say?
   3 Should government limit ownership of property, or
   1 Government should not limit ownership of property
   8 D.K.
   2 Qualified answers (RECORD EXACTLY)
41. Now I would like to talk about the government in Delhi and the governments in states.
   Some people have been asking for more powers for the state government. Other people
   are for giving more powers to the Central Government. What do you think-should the
   states be given more powers, or should the Central Government have more powers?
   1 State government more powers
   2 No change-position as it is
   3 Central government more powers
   8 D.K.
42. There are large states and small states in our country. Some people have argued that for
   better government large states should be divided into smaller states. Others feel that this
   is not desirable. How do you feel-is it desirably to have smaller and more numerous
   states or should the large states remain as they are?
   1 Smaller states desirable
   3 States as they are
   8 D.K.
   2 Other (SPECIFY)
43. Would you say that people like you have no influence over what the government does
   or that you have some influence over what the government does?
   1 No influence
   2 Some influence
   8 D.K.
44. 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.
45. People are generally concerned about what government 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 Not interested in either
   3 Both
   2 State government
   4 Government in Delhi
46. Now talking of the information people receive about politics and public affairs which
type of information interests you most-information about national affairs or state affairs.
   1 Not interested in either
   3 National affairs
   2 State affairs
   4 Both
47. We find that people differ in how much faith and confidence they have in the national government and the state government. In your case do you have more faith and confidence in the national government in Delhi or the government of this (NAME THE STATE)?
   1 Neither  2 State Government  3 Both  4 Government in Delhi  8 D.K.

48. 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.

49. Would you say that voting is the only way that people like you can influence what the government does or would you say that there are several other ways also by which people like you can influence the government?
   1 Voting only way  2 Several other ways  8 D.K.

50. Would you say that people we elect by voting generally care about what people like you think, or that they don’t care?
   1 Don’t care  2 Care  8 D.K.

51. Would you say that politics and Government are so complicated that people like you can’t really understand what is going on, or would you say that you can understand what is going on quite well.
   1 Can’t understand  2 Can understand  8 D.K.

52. Supposing there was an election when the party you supported put-up a candidate that you did not like. What would you do? Would you still vote for your party, or vote for another party or not vote at all in the election?
   4 Vote for the party he supports  3 Vote for another party  2 Not vote  1 Undecided - D.K.

53. Now let us talk about the problems facing this country. What in your opinion are some of the major problems facing our country? (RECORD IN THE ORDER MENTIONED)
   1  
   2  
   3

IF MENTION PROBLEMS

53a. Generally speaking, how concerned are you about these problems, would you say you are concerned a great deal, somewhat or very little about these problems.
   3 Great deal  2 Somewhat  1 Very little  0 Inapplicable

54. All political parties in the country claim that if put in power they will solve the problems facing the country. Which political party do you think can solve these problems better than others?
   (RECORD EXACTLY)

55. Let us now talk about a few things on which people hold different formed by several parties cannot be stable. Others say that a government formed by several parties can also be stable? What would you say? Can a government formed by several parties be stable or not?
   1 Government by several parties stable  3 Government by several parties not stable  8 D.K.  2 Other (SPECIFY)
56. Some people say that elections are proper means to decide (determine) who should govern the country, others say that leaders should not be elected but selected on the basis of their merit, that is their education, experience and competence. How about you? Do you think leaders should be elected as now, or selected on the basis of their merit?

3 Elected as now 1 Selected on merit
8 D.K. 2 Qualified answer (RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

57. Some people say that whatever progress was made over the last few years through government planning has benefited only the well-to-do-. Others say no, the poor and the needy have also benefited from it. What would you say? Have the benefits of progress through planning gone only to the well-to-do or have the poor and the needy also benefited from such progress?

1 Benefits gone to well-to-do 3 Poor and needy also benefited
8 D.K. 2 Other answer (SPECIFY)

58. Have you ever contacted any government official for any need or problem?

2 Yes 1 No

IF YES

58a. Generally for what kinds of problems have you contacted government officials-your personal problem or problems of this village/town?

1 Personal problems 2 Both 3 Problems of village/town

59. Over the last few years there have been many demonstrations strikes, gheraos, etc., in our country, some people say such actions are a proper way of making those in authority pay attention to the grievances and demands of the people, others say that these actions are not a proper way. How about you? Would you say these actions are a proper way of drawing attention to peoples grievances and demands or not a proper way?

3 Proper 1 Not proper
8 D.K. 2 Qualified answer (RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

60. Some political leaders and parties have been advocating that poor people with no land and property should occupy a part of land and property of those who have large amount of land and property. Do you approve of this or do you disapprove?

3 Approve 1 Disapprove 8 D.K. 2 Other (SPECIFY)

61. Thinking about the last ten years would you say the law and order situation in the country has improved, deteriorated or remained about the same?

3 Improved Go to Q.62 2 Same
1 Deteriorated Go to Q.62 8 D.K.

61a. What do you think should be done to improve it?

62. Let us talk about associations and organizations: are you a member or an religious or caste organization?

2 Yes 1 No Go to Q.63

IF YES

63a. What are these?

(PRONE: ANY OTHER)

64. Are you a member of any political party?

2 Yes 1 No Go to Q. 65
IF YES
64a. Which party?
65. In this study we are also interested in finding how people are getting along financially these days. As far as you and your family is concerned, are you well satisfied with your present financial situation, more or less satisfied, or not satisfied?
   3 Well satisfied     2 More or less satisfied     1 Not satisfied
65a. During the last few years, has your financial situation been getting better, getting worse, or has it stayed the same?
   3 Better     2 Same     1 Worse
65b. Now looking ahead and thinking about the next few years, do you expect your financial situation will stay the way it is now, get better, or get worse?
   3 Better     2 Same     1 Worse
66. 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)
67. 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 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?
   Middle class     Working class     D.K.
   Go to Q. 68     Other (SPECIFY)
IF ANY CLASS CHOSEN IN Q.67. ASK
67a. Compared to others in your class, where will you place yourself—in the upper, middle or lower part of the (chosen class)?
   UPPER     MIDDLE     LOWER     D.K.
67b. Would you say your problems and interests are similar to the problems and interests of those in (chosen class) or that they are no different from the problems and interests of people in other classes?
   2 Similar to own class     1 Not different from other classes
67c. Is there any political party which you think cares particularly for the problems and welfare of your class?
   Yes     No     Go to Q. 68
IF YES
67d. Which is that party?
67e. In what important respects would you say people belonging to your class differ from the people of other classes? (RECORD EXACT ANSWER)
67f. 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     Go to Q. 68
IF YES
67g. People of which classes? (RECORD EXACT ANSWER)
68. Who is the Prime Minister of our country?
68a. To which party does the Prime Minister belong?
69. Who is the Chief Minister of this state?
69a. To which party does the Chief Minister belong?
BACKGROUND DATA

1. Age (Years)
2. Religion
3. Caste
4. What is your father`s occupation?
5. *(IF RETIRED OR DEAD)* What has been his (father`s) occupation most of his life?
6. What is/was the highest level of education he reached?
7. What is/was his monthly income?
8. What is/was your grand father`s occupation?
9. What is your main occupation?
10. *(IF RETIRED)* What was your occupation most of your life?
11. What is the highest level of education you reached?
12. What is your monthly income?
13. Besides you how many persons are living here in this household?
14. Besides you how many earning members are there in your household?
15. Are there any (other) unemployed members in your household? (IF YES) How many?
16. What is the total monthly income of the whole household, including your income?
17. What would you say, was the monthly income of your household 5 years back?
18. How much land you and your family own?

*(RECORD EXACTLY)*

19. Have you or your family taken any land on tenancy from others?
   
   2 Yes
   1 No

**IF YES**

19a. How much?