# ADDRESS SHEET

Name of Respondent ______________________________________________________

House No. _______________________________________________________________

Street ___________________________________________________________________

R’s Village/Town _________________________________________________________

District _________________________________________________________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office Interview No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Name of Interviewer ________________________________
CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF DEVELOPING SOCIETIES
29. Rajpur Road, Delhi-6

GENERAL ELECTION STUDY
INDIA - 1967
Cross-Section Interview

State ________________________________________________________________

District ____________________________________________________________

Parl. Constituency ____________________________________________________

Taluk/Tehsil __________________________________________________________

Legisl. Constituency _________________________________________________

Polling Station (Name) _______________________________________________

Village/Town _________________________________________________________

Ward or Hamlet if any ________________________________________________

Interviewer’s Name _________________________________________________

Date of Interview ___________________________________________________
1. I would like to ask you first about this (village or town) you live in. How long have you live here? (IF NOT ALL LIFE - PROBE FOR NUMBER OF YEARS LIVED HERS).

   IF NOT ALL LIFE :

1a. From which village or town do you come?
1b. Where have you lived most of your life-in towns or villages?

2. What are the most important problems that people in this (village or town) face?

3. What are the different castes here?
3a. To what caste do you belong?

4. In many places, we have found that castes and religious groups set up organizations for social, educational and other purposes. What are such castes or religious organizations here?

   IF ORGANIZATIONS MENTIONED :

4a. Are you a member of any of these organization?
4b. (If Yes) Which ones?

5. Apart from caste organizations, what other public organization have been set up in this (village or town)?
5a. Are there any other?

   IF MENTIONS :

5b. To which of these organizations do you belong?

6. Who are the most influential persons in this village or town? (IF NO INFLUENTIALS MENTIONED GO TO Q.7) (IF ONLY ONE MENTIONED) Who else?

   Take the FIRST person you mentioned:

6a. What does he do as an influential person?
6b. So far have you had any dealing with him?

   Take the SECOND person you mentioned:

6a. What does he do as an influential person?
6b. So far have you had any dealing with him?

   Take the THIRD person you mentioned:

6a. What does he do as an influential person?
6b. So far have you had any dealing with him?
7. What have been the most important changes that have taken place here in recent years?

8. Now I would like to talk to you about the election in February. Who were the candidates from this constituency?

8a. Was anyone else a candidate?

**ASK FOR EACH CANDIDATE MENTIONED:**

8b. Do you happen to know the caste of this candidate?

8c. Was he a candidate for Lok Sabha or the State Assembly?

9. Generally speaking would you say that you personally cared very much who won in this constituency. Or didn’t you care very much?

10. In this constituency, which party or candidate won the election for the legislative assembly?

**IF MENTIONS.**

10a. How satisfied are you with these results very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or not satisfied?

10b. And which party or candidate won election for the Lok Sabha?

10c. (IF MENTIONS) How satisfied are you with these results - very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or not satisfied?

11. Talking of (NAME OF STATE) as a whole, how successful was the Congress Party in this election compared with the last general election-more successful, same as before, or less successful than before?

12. Among the other parties, which party has emerged as the most successful in this election here in (NAME THE STATE)?

12a. How satisfied are you with these results in the State-very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or not satisfied?

13. Leaving the period or election aside, how much interest do you take in politics and public affairs? Do you take a great deal of interest, some interest, or no interest at all?

14. How interested were you in the election campaign this year? Were you interested a great deal, somewhat interested, or not interested at all?

14a. How many of the election meetings held by the parties or candidates in this area did you attend? Many, some, or none?

14b. From which parties or candidates did you receive hand bills?

15. Did any of the candidates meet you personally during the campaign?

16. Did any party canvassers come to your house and meet you personally?

16a. For which parties or candidates?

16b. Was anyone in your family personally contacted by a candidate or canvasser?

16c. (IF YES) For which parties or candidates?
17. Did any religious or caste leader advise you or any one in your family as to how you should vote in this election?
17a. Who was that? (FORMAL POSITION)
17b. Do you know him personally?
17c. Do you think this kind of advice helps people in deciding how to vote?
18. Did you vote this time? (IF NO - GO TO Q.21)
18a. For whom did you vote for the State Assembly? (CANDIDATE/PARTY)
18b. For whom did you vote for the Lok Sabha election? (CANDIDATE/PARTY)
19. If you could vote again, would you still vote for the same party/candidate?
20. Did the candidates you voted for discuss any issues during the election campaign?
20a. (IF YES) What were the issues?
20b. Which candidate was this-the Lok Sabha candidate or the Assembly candidate or both?
21. (IF NO IN Q.18) If you had voted, for whom would you have voted? (NAME OF PARTY/CANDIDATE)
21a. What was the main reason you did not vote in this election?
21b. Did the candidates in this constituency discuss any issues during the election campaign?
21c. (IF YES) What were the issues?
21d. Which candidate was this-the Lok Sabha candidate or the Assembly candidate or both?
22. Five years ago, did you vote in the general elections of 1962? (IF NO GO TO Q.22c)
22a. (IF YES) For whom did you vote in the State Assembly election? (CANDIDATE/PARTY)
22b. For whom did you vote in the Lok Sabha election? (CANDIDATE/PARTY)
22c. (IF NO) What was the main reason you did not vote in that election?
23. How about the election 10 years ago - did you vote in the general elections in 1957? (IF NO GO TO A.23a)
23a. (IF YES) For whom did you vote in the State Assembly? (CANDIDATE/PARTY)
23b. For whom did you vote in the Lok Sabha election? (CANDIDATE/PARTY)
23c. (IF NO) What was the main reason you did not vote in that election?
24. Have you ever voted for an Independent candidate?
25. Are there any parties for which you would never vote? (IF NO - GO TO Q.26)
25a. (IF YES) Which parties?
26. Did you work in the campaign in any way? (IF NO-GO TO Q.27)
   IF YES :
26a. Did you engage in house to house canvassing for any party or candidate?
26b. Did you help to get voters to the polling station?
26c. Did you help to raise any money for a candidate or a party for the election campaign?
26d. Did you help to organize any election meeting in your area?
26e. Did you join in any procession or demonstration?
26f. Did you distribute any polling cards or literature for a party or candidate?
26g. What else did you do?
26h. Would you say you did these things for the candidate or for the party?
26i. Which (CANDIDATE/PARTY)?
27. Did anyone in your household work in the election campaign? *(IF NO GO TO Q. 28)*  
   **IF YES:**  
   27a. Who was that? *(GET RELATIONSHIP TO `R`)*  
   27b. What were the things he did?  
28. Do you personally know any party leaders or any of the candidates in this constituency?  
29. Which were the most active groups in the election here?  
   **IF MENTIONS GROUPS:**  
   29a. Were you active in any of these groups in this campaign? which ones?  
30. Generally speaking, which parties do you feel close to? *(RECORD NAME OF PARTIES)*  
   **IF NO PARTY MENTIONED GO TO Q.31)**  
30a. *(IF MORE THAN ONE MENTIONED)* Which amongst these you feel closest to?  
   **IF PARTY OR PARTIES MENTIONED:**  
   30b. Is your preference for this party very strong or not very strong?  
   30c. Was there ever a time in the past when you felt closest to another party, as opposed to *(NAME PARTY PREFERRED)* party? *(IF NO GO TO Q.32)*  
   30d. *(IF YES)* Which party was that?  
   30e. What was the main thing that made you change parties?  
31. *(IF NO PARTY MENTIONED IN Q.30)* Was there ever a time when you felt close to any party? *(IF NO GO TO Q.32)*  
   **IF YES:**  
   31a. Which party was that?  
   31b. What was the main thing that made you change your mind about this party?  
32. What are the main difficulties for the Congress Party in finding support in this constituency?  
32a. What are the main advantages for the Congress Party in finding support in this constituency?  
33. Over the years, has the Congress Party been finding it easier or harder to get support in this constituency?  
34. In general, what gives the Congress Party its main strength?  
34a. In general, what are its main weaknesses?  
35. In general, what gives to the parties other than the Congress their main strength?  
35a. In general, what are their main weaknesses?  
36. Do you think there are important differences in the policies and programmes of various parties? *(IF NO GO TO Q.37)*  
   **IF YES**  
   36a. In what ways the party voted for (or would have voted for) is different from other parties?  
37. Do you think that for the progress of the country the Government should exercise greater controls over industry, trade and agriculture than at present, or less controls, or keep it as they are?  
   37a. Which party would be most likely to do what you want on this issue?  
   37b. Which parties are against what you want on this issue?
38. Recently there was a lot of discussion on whether the Central Government should pass a law to ban cow slaughter. Should the Central Government pass such a law or do you think this is not a proper subject for Central Government action? (IF D.K. GO TO Q.39)

38a. Why do you think so?
38b. Which party would be most likely to do what you want on this issue?
38c. Which parties are against what you want on this issue?

39. Some people recently have tried fasting in order to influence the Government; others have disapproved of this. How about you-do you approve or disapprove of fasts for influencing the Government?

40. Here are some charges that were made against the Congress Leadership in the last campaign. I will read them one at a time and you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree.

40a. The Congress failed to keep prices down.
40b. The Congress failed to provide strong leadership.
40c. The Congress failed to keep law and order.
40d. The Congress failed to distribute food properly.
40e. The Congress failed to provide help for farmers.
40f. The Congress failed to root out corruption.

41. What do you think of the Government officials here, in this block/town-are you generally satisfied with the job they are doing or not?

41a. And what about the Government officials at district and higher levels-are you satisfied with the job they are doing or not?

43. One way to look at parties is to determine how different they are. Some parties want to preserve old tradition, while some stand for new ideas. (HAND CARD) On this card the space to the left of the line represents all those parties which stand for new ideas. The space to the right of the line is for those parties which are for old traditions. Which side of the line you would put (NAME THE PARTY)?

43a. Are there any other parties you would like to put any where on this card? Which ones and where?
43b. Now taking each of the party out together by you on the right side, to what extent does (NAME THE PARTY ONE BY ONE) stand for old tradition: very much or very little?
43c. Now taking the parties on the left, to what extent does (NAME THE PARTIES ONE BY ONE) stand for new ideas, very much or very little?
43d. Where would you put yourself on this card? (EITHER ON LEFT OR RIGHT)

44. Are you member of any political party?
IF YES:

44a. Which party is that?
44b. Do you hold any position in the party, or in a group associated with the party?
44c. What position is that?
IF NO:

44a. Would you consider joining a political party?
44b. What party?
45. Are there any problems on which you would go to a party leader for help? (IF NO GO TO Q.46)
   IF YES:
   45a. What kind of problem?
46. Have you ever gone to a party leader for help? (IF NO GO TO Q.47)
   IF YES:
   46a. Did this leader help you?
47. Are there any problems on which you go to a government official for help? (IF NO GO TO Q.48)
   IF YES:
   47a. What kind of problems?
48. Have you ever gone to a government official for help? (IF NO GO TO Q.49)
   IF YES:
   48a. Did he help you?
49. How much do political parties help to make government pay attention to the people - a good dial, somewhat, or not at all?
50. How much does having elections from time to time makes the government pay attention to the people - a good deal, somewhat, or not at all?
51. Recently we have talked with some M.L.A.`S and M.P.`S from different parties. Here are some statements they made about their duties as legislators. How important do you consider each of these - very important, or not important?
   51.1. To work for the policies and programme of his party?
   51.2. To work for the wishes or his electorate?
   51.3. To work for the interests of his caste?
   51.4. To work for what he believes to be right?
52. Do you think elections are necessary or not necessary in this country?
53. And how about political parties - do you think political parties are necessary or not in India?
54. There have been many discussions about the best way to determine what the people want in India. Some people feel that it is necessary to have only one party to determine what all the people want. Others feel that it is necessary to have more than one party to find out what the people want, which do you think is necessary only one party, more than one party?
55. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. As far as you and your family are concerned, would you say that you are well satisfied with your present financial situation, moderately satisfied, or not satisfied at all?
   55a. During the last few years, has your financial situation been getting better, getting worse, or has it stayed the same?
   55b. Now looking ahead and thinking about the next few years, do you expect your financial situation will stay about the way it is now, get better, or get worse?
56. Was your father very much interested in politics, or not interested at all?
   56a. Which party or movement did he support?
Were there any other members of your family who were interested in politics?

57a. (IF YES) Who were they? (RECORD RELATIONSHIP TO `R`)

57b. What party or movement did they support?

58. At what age did you first become aware of politics, parties and such activities?

59. What was it that first made you aware of such activities?

60. What are the political events during your life which you remember most clearly?

61. We are interested in how families reach decisions about voting. Some people say that the head of the family or someone else takes decision for the whole family. Others say that decision are taken by each person on his own. Still others say that decisions are arrived at after discussions among the family members. Would you tell me how voting decisions are reached in your family.

61a. Is this how your family decides other important matters or not?

62. Which party did the leaders of your caste/religious group support in this election?

62a. (IF KNOWS PARTY) Did you agree with that position?

63. Who is the one person here in this (village/town) whose advise on voting you respect the most? (IF NO ONE MENTIONED - GO TO Q.64)

   IF MENTIONS SOME - ONE :

63a. What does he do? (POSITION/STATUS)

63b. His relationship with `R`.

64. Generally speaking, did most members of your caste vote for one party, or for different parties?

64a. Which party (or parties)?

64b. (IF ONE PARTY) Is the fact that your caste votes that way important to you or not?

65. What parties or candidates did the other castes in this village/town vote for?

66. Which party or candidate best protects the interest of your caste?

67. In general, do M.L.A.`s and M.P.`s in fact protect the interest of their caste or not?

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

68a. People like me don`t have any say about what the government does?

68b. Voting by people like me does have an effect on how the government runs things?

68c. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can`t really understand what is going on?

68d. Government officials do not care much what people like me think?

68e. What this country needs more than all the laws and talk is a few determined and strong leaders?

68f. We should be loyal to our own region first, and then to India.

68g. It is not desirable to have political parties struggling with each other for power.
BACKGROUND DATA

1. Sex
2. Age
3. Religion
4. Who else lives here? (ONLY RELATIVES TO \`R\` LIVING IN HOUSE)
5. Who is the head of household? (IF \`R\` IS HEAD-GO TO Q.6a)

   IF \`R\` IS NOT HEAD :
5a. What is the occupation of the head?
5b. (IF HEAD RETIRED) What was his occupation most of his life?
5c. What was the highest level of education he reached?
6. IF FATHER NOT MENTIONED AS HEAD IN Q.5
6a. What is your father`s occupation?
6b. (IF FATHER RETIRED OR DEAD) What was your father`s occupation most of his life?
6c. What was the highest level of education he reached?
7. What is your occupation?
7a. (IF RETIRED) What was your occupation most of your life?
8. What was your very first occupation?
9. What is the total monthly expenditure of your household?
10. What is the highest level of education you reached?
11. What is your monthly income?
12. What is the monthly income of the whole household, including your income?
13. Have you or member of your household taken any land on tenancy?
14a. (IF YES) How much?
14. (IF YES ON Q.13 AND/OR Q.14) How much land are you and your household cultivating?

TO BE ENTERED BY INTERVIEWER IMMEDIATELY AFTER INTERVIEW

NOT TO BE ASKED

1. No. of Session Date Time taken Place Interview completed Remarks or not completed?
   1st __________________________  2nd __________________________
   3rd __________________________  4th __________________________

CODE CATEGORIES FOR THE PLACE OF INTERVIEW

   1 R`s home   2 R`s place of work   3 Public place   8 Other (Specify)____

2. Was anyone else present?
   1 No one present (or only children under 16 present)
   2 Others present but they took no part
   3 Others took part

3. Was permission needed from anyone other than \`R\` to conduct the interview?
   1 Yes, permission obtained from member of \`R\`s family
   2 Yes, Permission obtained from R`s employer
   3 Yes, Permission obtained from some local elite
   4 Yes, Permission obtained (Specify)____________
   5 No permission obtained

4. Was the respondent cooperative?
   1 Very cooperative (R seemed actively interested in helping)
   2 Cooperative (R answered cooperatively but did not seem actively interested)
   3 Uncooperative.