

State code

2 2

Official No. of A.C.

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Official No. of P.S.

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Respondent No.

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As in Voter List

**TAMIL NADU ASSEMBLY ELECTION STUDY - 2016
PRE POLL SURVEY**

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF DEVELOPING SOCIETIES (CSDS), DELHI

F1. A.C. Name: _____

F2. P.S. Name: _____

F3. Name of the Respondent: _____

F4. Address of the respondent (*Give landmark*): _____
_____F5. Date of interview (*dd/mm/yyyy*): _____F6. Name of the Investigator (*Code Roll No.*): _____

INVESTIGATOR'S INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT

My name is _____ and I have come from the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (also give your university's reference), a social science research organization in Delhi. We are conducting a survey on the upcoming Assembly election and interviewing hundreds of people across Tamil Nadu to gauge their attitudes and opinions on political issues. The findings of this survey will be used for research articles and writing articles in newspapers.

This survey is an independent study and is not linked to any political party or government agency. Whatever information you provide will be kept strictly confidential.

Participation in this survey is voluntary and it is entirely up to you to answer or not answer any question that I ask. We hope that you will take part in this survey since your participation is important. It usually takes 25 to 30 minutes to complete this interview. Please spare some time for the interview and help me in successfully completing the survey.

F8. May I begin the interview now?

1. Respondent agrees to be interviewed 2. Respondent does not agree to be interviewed

INTERVIEW BEGINS:

Q1. In the next few days, elections are going to be held in Tamil Nadu. Have you heard about them?

1. Heard 2. Not heard

Q2. Will you vote in this election? 2. Yes 1. No 8. Don't know

Q2a. (*If yes in Q2*) In this election will you definitely vote in any condition or is it possible that you may not be able to vote for some reason?

1. Definitely vote 2. Might not vote for some reason
8. DK 9. Not Applicable (NA)

Q3. If you had to vote tomorrow, which party will you vote for? Please mark your vote on this slip and put it in this box. If you don't find the symbol of the party you will vote for, please mark your vote in the blank space given below (*Supply dummy ballot paper and explain the procedure. Record answer later and consult codebook for party codes*)

- _____ 98. DK/CS 99. NR/Refused

Q3a. (*If voted in Q3*) What is the reason for voting for the party you just voted for? (*Record answer and consult codebook for coding*) _____ 98. Can't say 99. NA

- Q3b. (If voted in Q3) On the day of voting will you vote for the same party which you voted now or your decision may change? 1. Vote for the same party 2. May change 8. DK 9. NA
- Q3c. (If decision may change) What would be the reason why your decision might change? (**Record answer and consult codebook for coding**) _____ 98. CS 99. NA
- Q4. In this election, have you participated in the following activities?
- | Activities | Yes | No | NR |
|---|-----|----|----|
| a. Contributed or collected money? | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| b. Attended election meetings/rallies? | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| c. Participated in door to door canvassing? | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| d. Distributed election leaflets or put up posters? | 2 | 1 | 8 |
- Q5. Has any candidate, party worker or canvasser come to your house during the election campaign to ask for your vote? 2. Yes 1. No 8. No response
- Q5a. (If yes) From which party/parties? (**Write down first two answers and consult codebook**)
- i. i. _____ 98.NR 99.NA
- ii. ii. _____ 98.NR 99.NA
- Q6. Has any party or candidate contacted you or a family member through a phone call or recorded voice or SMS or Whatsapp during the campaign? 2. Yes 1. No 8. NR
- Q6a. (If yes) From which party/parties? (**Write down first two answers and consult codebook**)
- i. i. _____ 98.NR 99.NA
- ii. ii. _____ 98.NR 99.NA
- Q7. People have different considerations while deciding whom to vote for. What will matter to you more while deciding whom to vote for in the upcoming election - party/front, local candidate or the chief ministerial candidate? 1. Party/front 2. Local candidate 3. Chief ministerial candidate 4. Other _____ 8. CS
- Q8. After this election who would you prefer as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu? (**Don't offer any name, note answer and consult codebook for coding**) _____ 98. CS
- Q9. Who did you vote for in the Lok Sabha election held in 2014? I mean the MP elections for electing the Central Government in Delhi? (**Note down answer and consult codebook for coding**) _____ 99. Did not vote 98. No answer
- Q10. What is your assessment of the performance of the Narendra Modi-led NDA Government at the Centre during the last two years – would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with it? (**Probe further whether 'fully' or 'somewhat' satisfied or dissatisfied**)
1. Fully satisfied 2. Somewhat satisfied 3. Somewhat dissatisfied
4. Fully dissatisfied 8. No response
- Q11. What is your assessment of the performance of the AIADMK government in Tamil Nadu in the last five years? Would you say that you have been satisfied or dissatisfied with it? (**Probe further whether 'fully' or 'somewhat' satisfied or dissatisfied**)
1. Fully satisfied 2. Somewhat satisfied 3. Somewhat dissatisfied
4. Fully dissatisfied 8. No response
- Q12. How would you rate Jayalalithaa's performance as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu – has it been very good, good, bad or very bad?
1. Very good 2. Good 3. Bad 4. Very bad 8. CS

		Agree		Disagree		NR		
		Fully	Somewhat	Somewhat	Fully			
d.	<input type="checkbox"/>	d. Marriage of boys and girls from different castes should be banned.		1	2	3	4	8
e.	<input type="checkbox"/>	e. Protests against the Kudankulam nuclear power plant were justified.		1	2	3	4	8
f.	<input type="checkbox"/>	f. There is nothing wrong in naming government schemes after the chief minister.		1	2	3	4	8
g.	<input type="checkbox"/>	g. Government should take more responsibility to ensure that the poor are provided for.		1	2	3	4	8
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Q19. If we compare the present AIADMK government of Jayalalithaa in Tamil Nadu with the earlier DMK government of Karunanidhi, which one of the two is better in your opinion?		1. Present AIADMK government 2. Earlier DMK government 3. Both equally good 4. Both equally bad 8. No opinion/DK				
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Q20. DMDK leader Vijayakanth has tied up with the People's Welfare Front comprising MDMK, VCK and the Left parties for this election. In your opinion was his decision to tie up with them a correct one or should he have tied up with some other party or front?		1. Decision correct 2. Should have tied up with someone else 3. Contested elections alone 8. Can't say				
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Q20a. (<i>If someone else</i>) Which party or front should he have tied up with according to you?		1. AIADMK 2. DMK/DMK-Congress 3. BJP 4. Other answer (<i>specify</i>)_____ 8. Can't say 9. NA				
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Q21. How would you rate Karunanidhi as a leader of Tamil Nadu? Would you say he is very corrupt, somewhat corrupt, honest, or very honest?		1 Very corrupt 2 Somewhat corrupt 3 Honest 4 Very honest 8 Can't say/D.K.				
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Q22. How would you rate Jayalalitha as a leader of Tamil Nadu? Would you say she is very corrupt, somewhat corrupt, honest, or very honest?		1 Very corrupt 2 Somewhat corrupt 3 Honest 4 Very honest 8 Can't say/D.K.				
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Q23. Who do you think is best suited to be M.Karunanidhi's successor in the DMK?		1. MK Stalin 2. MK Azhagiri 3. Kanimozhi 4. Dayanidhi Maran 7. Others (<i>Specify</i>)_____ 8.No opinion				
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Q24. I will read out four statements related to the issue of liquor prohibition in Tamil Nadu. Which one of them do you agree with the most ? (<i>Read out statements 1-4</i>)		1. There should be total prohibition on the sale and consumption of liquor in Tamil Nadu immediately . 2. There should be total prohibition on the sale and consumption of liquor in Tamil Nadu but in a phased manner . 3. There should be a ban on the sale and consumption of country liquor in Tamil Nadu but not on foreign liquor . 4. There should not be any ban at all on the sale and consumption of liquor in Tamil Nadu. 8. CS				
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Q24a. (<i>If 1/2/3 in Q24</i>) Then why do you want a ban on liquor? (<i>Don't read out answers</i>)		0. Economic problems in the house due to alcohol 1. Beatings in the house everyday/domestic violence 2. Bad for health 3. Social standing gets affected 4. Tension in area around the house 5. I don't drink 6. Religious reasons 7. Other_____ 8. CS 9. NA				
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Q25. Who do you hold responsible for the floods in Chennai? (<i>Do not read options</i>)		01. ADMK/ADMK government /Jayalalithaa 02. DMK/Karunanidhi/Stalin 03. City corporation 04. Haphazard development 05. Man made disaster 06. Construction on river basin/ignoring environment 07. People 08. Excessive rain/nature 09. God 10. Other answers (<i>specify</i>)_____ 98. Can't say 99. NA				

a.			Q26. Which one party is best suited to address the concerns of the following groups or people (Record answer and consult code book for coding)	Party Name			
			a. Fishermen	_____	98.	CS	
b.			b. Farmers	_____	98.	CS	
c.			c. Women	_____	98.	CS	
d.			d. Dalits	_____	98.	CS	
e.			e. Tamils in Srilanka	_____	98.	CS	
f.			And which one party is best suited to address the following issues				
			f. Banning the sale and consumption of alcohol	_____	98.	CS	
g.			g. Making cities more livable	_____	98.	CS	
h.			h. Giving free wifi in public spaces	_____	98.	CS	
i.			i. Creating more jobs	_____	98.	CS	
			Q27. While voting in an election how much importance do you give to the promises which parties make in their manifestos – a lot, somewhat or not at all? 1. A lot 2. Somewhat 3. None at all 4. Don't read manifestoes 8. Can't say				
			Q28. How often do you drink alcohol – daily, few times a week, few times a month, very rarely or never? 1. Daily 2. Few times a week 3. Few times a month 4. Very rarely 5. Never 8. NR				
			Q29. In the last 1-2 years have you or any of your family member opened a bank account through a govt scheme (Jan Dhan Yojana)? 2. Yes 1. No 8. No response				
			Q30. Have you heard about the following schemes? Q30a. (If heard) Have you or any of your family members benefited from them?				
	Q30.	Q30a.	a. Scheme for making home (Indira/Rajiv Awas Yojna)	1	2	1 2 8 9	
a.			b. Rozgar Guarantee Yojana (MNREGA)	1	2	1 2 8 9	
b.			c. Free medical facilities (National Rural Health Mission)	1	2	1 2 8 9	
c.			d. Pension money (old age, widow, disabilities etc.)	1	2	1 2 8 9	
d.			e. Public distribution system (PDS)	1	2	1 2 8 9	
e.			f. Amma canteen/Amma unavagam	1	2	1 2 8 9	
f.							
			Q31. The MGNREGA guarantees that the government will provide up to 100 days paid manual employment a year for any household in a rural area which demands it. To what extent do you think it helps the poor - not at all, to some extent or a great deal? 1. Not at all 2. To some extent 3. A great deal 8. D.K.				
			Q32. Have you read the election manifestoes of the following parties or fronts for this election?				
a.				Yes	No	Not read but heard of promises	Can't say
			a. AIADMK	2	1	3	8
b.			b. DMK	2	1	3	8
c.			c. PWF/DMDK/Left	2	1	3	8
d.			d. Congress	2	1	3	8
e.			e. BJP	2	1	3	8
f.			f. PMK	2	1	3	8

Q33. Do you know who Rohith Vemula is? (*Correct Answer only for the Investigator, not to be read out - a Hyderabad University Dalit Student who committed suicide, a student who committed suicide recently after his suspension, a Dalit student who was killed recently etc. The answer may not be exactly this but if it is conveying the idea, it should be marked as correct.*)

1. Correct 2. Incorrect 8. Not heard

Q34. Do you know who Kanhaiya Kumar is? (*Correct Answer only for the Investigator, not to be read out - JNU Student/JNUSU president/student leader who was arrested recently on sedition charges for allegedly raising anti-national slogans. The answer may not be exactly this but if it is conveying the idea, it should be marked as correct answer*) _____

1. Correct 2. Incorrect 8. Not heard

Q35. Now I will ask you about the assessment of the work done by the Jayalalithaa government in the state in the last five years. Do you think that the following have improved or deteriorated?

		Improved	Remained-same	Deteriorated	CS
a.	a. Condition of roads	1	2	3	8
b.	b. Supply of electricity	1	2	3	8
c.	c. Supply of drinking water	1	2	3	8
d.	d. Quality of education in government schools	1	2	3	8
e.	e. Medical facilities in government hospitals	1	2	3	8
f.	f. Law & order situation	1	2	3	8
g.	g. Public bus/Public transportation services	1	2	3	8

Q36. Now I would like to know your opinion about the coalition government. Some people believe that there is no harm in coalition govt. Others believe that in special circumstances there is no alternative to it. While, for others, coalition governments are not good for the state in any case. What is your opinion in this regard?

3. Not good in any case 2. Acceptable in special circumstances
1. There is no harm 8. Can't say/D.K.

Q37. Suppose there were no alliances and all the parties were contesting election separately, which party would you have voted for? (*Record and consult codebook*) _____

00. Will not vote 98. CS 99. NR

Q38. Have you heard of the following schemes and programmes? **Q38a** (*If heard*) Are they effective or not effective?

	Q38	Q38a	Heard	Not-heard	Effective	Not-effective	CS	NA
a.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	1	2	8	9
b.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	1	2	8	9
c.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	1	2	8	9
d.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	1	2	8	9
e.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	1	2	8	9

Q39. Out of these three statements, which one do you agree with the most? (*Read out 1 to 3 statements*)

1. Cow or buffalo, eating meat of both should be banned. 8. No opinion
2. Eating cow meat should be banned but eating buffalo meat should be allowed.
3. There should not be any legal restriction on eating meat of any kind, be it cow or buffalo meat

Q40. Now I will ask you to compare M Karunanidhi and J Jayalalithaa. Who among the two do you think is better on the following matters: *(Read out the options and record the answer)*

		Jayalalithaa	Karunanidhi	Other	CS
a.	a. Running the administration/government of Tamil Nadu.	1	2	3	8
b.	b. For people like you	1	2	3	8
c.	c. For the development of Tamil Nadu	1	2	3	8
d.	d. Concern for poor	1	2	3	8

Q41. Have you seen the following during this election campaign? **Have seen** **Have Not-seen** **Have-not-seen but heard of it** **NR**

a.	a. Inclusion of bogus voters in the voter list?	1	2	3	8
b.	b. Clash between cadres/party workers of different parties?	1	2	3	8
c.	c. Any party or candidate distributing food items or liquor?	1	2	3	8

Q42. Now if you compare the current elections in your area/locality with the previous elections. Do you think electoral malpractices in your area in the current elections have increased, decreased or you would say electoral malpractice never happened in your area?

1. Increased 2. Remained same 3. Decreased 4. Never happened 8. CS/DK

Q43. According to you how free and fair are the current elections? Are they – completely fair, somewhat fair, not much fair or not at all fair? 1. Completely fair 2. Somewhat fair 3. Not much fair
4. Not at all fair 5. DK 8. NR.

Q44. What is your opinion about the performance of the your MLA during the last five years would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with it? *(Probe further whether ‘fully’ or ‘somewhat’ satisfied or dissatisfied).*

1. Fully satisfied 2. Somewhat satisfied 3. Somewhat dissatisfied
4. Fully dissatisfied 8. No response

Q45. Do you support or oppose the idea of releasing all the seven convicts in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case? 1. Support 2. Oppose 3. Other _____ 8. CS

Q46. Which TV news channel do you watch the most? *(Do not read out options)* _____
1. Velicham TV 2. Jaya TV 3. Kalignar TV 4. Captain TV 5. Mega TV
6. Lotus TV 7. Makkal TV 8. Other _____ 9. NR

Q47. Now I will read out two statements. Which statement do you agree with the most?

1. Political parties should not be allowed to own TV channels as they distort the news. 8. DK
2. There is no harm in political parties owning TV channels as it allows them to spread their message.

Q48. Thinking of how you (or your family, in the case of first time voters) have voted in the last few elections, how would you describe yourself? Which party’s traditional supporter are you? *(Record party & consult party codes)* _____ 97. Not a supporter of any one party 98. CS/NR

Q49. How regularly do you do the following to obtain news/information on politics – daily, sometimes, rarely or never?

		Daily	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	CS/NR
a.	a. Watch TV	1	2	3	4	8
b.	b. Read newspaper	1	2	3	4	8
c.	c. Listen to radio	1	2	3	4	8
d.	d. Use internet/news website	1	2	3	4	8

Q50. Do you have the following accounts? *Q50a (If yes)* How frequently do you use them for getting information about politics or expressing your views on politics - do you use them daily, sometimes, rarely or never?

	Q50	Q50a	Yes	No	<i>Q50a (If yes)</i>	Daily	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	CS/NR	NA
a.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	1		1	2	3	4	8	9
b.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	1		1	2	3	4	8	9
c.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	1		1	2	3	4	8	9

Q51. Which of these two statements do you agree with? (*Read out both statement & then take answer*)

1. BJP is right in acting against those who it thinks are involved in anti-national activities. 8. Can't say
2. BJP is raising the issue of nationalism to divert people's attention from governance issues.

Q52. There is the view that voters vote for a party or candidate because he/she has received personal gifts such as money/food/liquor from that party or candidate. In your area/locality/mohalla/village, how many people accept the distribution of such gifts?

1. No one 2. Very few 3. Some 4. Many 5. Almost every one 8. DK

Q53. Generally how much money has been offered to an average voter in your area/ locality/village/ by the DMK in this election? (*Record in Rupees. Any amount equal or above 100000 be coded as 99999*)

_____ 00007. Did not tell 00008. CS

Q54. Generally how much money has been offered to an average voter in your area/ locality/village/ by the AIADMK in this election? (*Record in Rupees. Any amount equal or above 100000 be coded as 99999*)

_____ 00007. Did not tell 00008. CS

Q55. Should the AIADMK government in Tamil Nadu get another chance?

2. Yes 1. No 8. Can't say

BACKGROUND DATA

Personal Information

Z1. What is your age? (*in completed years*) _____ 98. No Response (*Code 95 for 95 yrs & above*)

Z2. Gender: 1. Male 2. Female 3. Other

Z3. Up to what level have you studied? (*Record exactly and consult code book*)

_____ 9. No response

Z4. What is your main occupation? (*Record exactly and consult codebook & if retired, try to ascertain his/her previous occupation. If student or housewife, then note down that as well*)

_____ 98. No response

Z4a. Are you the main earner of your household? 2. Yes 1. No

Z4b. (*If No in Z5a*) What is the occupation of the main earner of your household? (*Record exactly and consult codebook*) _____ 99. NA

Z5. What is your Caste/Jati-biradari/Tribe name? (*Consult code book for code*)

Z5a. And what is your caste group? (*Double check and consult code book*)

1. Scheduled Caste (SC) 2. Scheduled Tribe (ST)
3. Other Backward Classes (OBC) 4. Other

Z6. What is your religion? 1. Hindu 2. Muslim 3. Christian 4. Sikh 5. Buddhist/Neo Buddhist

6. Jain 7. No religion 9. Others (*Specify*)

Z7. Generally, which language is spoken in your house?(Consult code book for coding)

98. No response

Z8. Are you a pure vegetarian, a vegetarian but eat eggs or are you a non-vegetarian who also eats chicken, meat or fish?

1. Pure vegetarian

2. Vegetarian but eat egg

3. Non-vegetarian, eat chicken, meat, fish etc.

8. Did not tell

Household Information

Z9. Area/Locality: 1. Village 2. Town 3. City 4. Metropolitan City

Z9a. (If Town/City/Metropolitan) Type of house where Respondent lives

1. House/Flat/Bungalow

2. House/Flat with 5 or more rooms

3. House/Flat with 4 rooms

4. Houses/Flat with 3 rooms

5. Houses/Flat with 2 rooms

6. House with 1 room

7. Mainly Kutcha house

8. Slum/Jhuggi Jhopri 9. NA.

Z9b. (If Village) Type of house where Respondent lives

1. Pucca (both wall and roof made of pucca material)

2. Pucca-Kutcha (Either wall or roof is made of pucca material and other of kutcha material)

3. Kutcha/Mud houses (both wall and roof are made of kutcha material)

4. Hut (both wall and roof made of grass, leaves, un-burnt brick or bamboo)

9. NA.

Above 18 Below 18

Z10. Total No. of family members living in the household:

Above 18 years: _____

Below 18 years : ____ (If more than 9, Code 9)

Z11. Total agricultural land including orchard and plantation owned by your household (as on date of survey):

_____ (Ask in local units, but record in standard acres. If more than 99, Code 99)

a.

Z12. Do you or members of your household have the following:

Yes

No

a. Car/Jeep/Van

1

2

b.

b. Scooter/Motorcycle/Moped

1

2

c.

c. Bicycle

1

2

d.

d. Airconditioner

1

2

e.

e. Computer/laptop

1

2

f.

f. Washing machine/Microwave

1

2

g.

g. Fridge

1

2

h.

h. Fan/Cooler

1

2

i.

i. TV

1

2

j.

j. Mobile phone

1

2

k.

k. LPG gas

1

2

l.

l. Toilet inside the house

1

2

m.

m. Motorised pumping set for irrigation (only ask in village)

1

2

9. NA

n.

n. Tractor (only ask in village)

1

2

9. NA

o.

o. Handpump inside the house

1

2

p.

p. Power back up (Invertor/Generator, etc.)

1

2

Z13. Livestock: Total Number

- | | | | | |
|----|--|--|-----------------------------|-------|
| a. | | | a. Goat /sheep/pig: | _____ |
| b. | | | b. Cow/Oxen /buffalo/Camel: | _____ |
| c. | | | c. Any other: | _____ |

Z14. Total monthly household income - putting together the income of all members of the household?

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(Record exact amount in Rupees. If respondent does not give any amount then record 000000)

- Z15. Are you married?** 1. Married 2. Married (Gauna not performed, not started living together)
3. Widowed 4. Divorced 5. Separated 6. Deserted
7. Unmarried/Single 8. Live with partner but not married 9. NR

Mobile/Telephone number of the respondent _____

FILL AFTER COMPLETING INTERVIEW

- E1.** Were there any other people immediately present who might be listening during the interview?
1. No one 2. Husband 3. Other adult male family members 4. Adult female family members
5. Any male from neighborhood 6. Any Female from neighborhood 7. Small crowd 8. Any Other _____
- E2.** In how many questions did the respondent check with others for information to answer for questions?
1. None 2. One or two 3. Three to five 4. Six to ten 5. More than 10
- E3.** While answering the question on voting preference in the Vidhan Sabha election (Q1a), did the respondent use the ballot paper secretly or did she/he answer openly? 1. Secretly 2. Openly 3. Not voted
- E4.** In your opinion did the respondent feel free while marking the ballot for Q1a do you think that she/he was hesitant while marking the ballot, or you can't say?
1. Felt free 2. Did not feel free 3. Can't say 4. Not voted
- E5.** At some stage did you notice something that made you feel that the respondent was answering under some fear or pressure? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Not sure
- E6.** Overall was the respondent cooperative? 1. Yes, very much 2. Somewhat 3. Not at all
- E7.** Investigator's signature (*Sign in box*):
- E8.** Name of the Supervisor: _____
- E9.** Checked by the Supervisor: 1. Yes 2. No
- E10.** Supervisor's signature (*Sign in box*):

Any additional notes/comments