ADR's Mid-Term Survey Report - All India (Jan '17 – Apr '17)

Brief Analysis of Voters' Priorities in India: Importance of Issues and Performance of the Government

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ABOUT ADR

The Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) was established in 1999 by a group of professors from the Indian Institute of Management (IIM) Ahmedabad. In 1999, Public Interest Litigation (PIL) was filed by them with Delhi High Court asking for [or requesting] the disclosure of the criminal, financial and educational background of the candidates contesting elections. Based on this, the Supreme Court in 2002, and subsequently in 2003, made it mandatory for all candidates contesting elections to disclose criminal, financial and educational background prior to the polls by filing an affidavit with the Election Commission.

ADR's goal is to improve governance and strengthen democracy by continuous work in the area of Electoral and Political Reforms. The ambit and scope of work in this field is enormous, Hence, ADR has chosen to concentrate its efforts in the following areas pertaining to the political system of the country:

- Corruption and criminalization in the political process.
- Empowerment of the electorate through greater dissemination of information relating to the candidates and the parties, for a better and informed choice.
- Need for greater accountability of Political Parties.
- Need for inner-party democracy and transparency in party-functioning.

Foreword to ADR All India Lok Sabha 2016-17 Survey

Professor Trilochan Sastry, IIM Bangalore and
Founder-Chairman Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR)

This is the second All India survey of voters with over 270,000 respondents in 527 constituencies of the Lok Sabha. The earlier nationwide survey was done just before the Lok Sabha 2014 elections. Several State level surveys before Assembly elections have also been done. This National Survey is perhaps the largest survey ever done in the world in one country. The purpose of these periodic surveys is not to predict the poll outcome. The purpose is three fold: to assess voter priorities, to rate the performance of Government on these priorities, and to assess the role of caste, religion, crime and money power in elections. In a sense, the first two priorities provide a mid-term appraisal of the Government in between two elections.

The need for such periodic surveys arose from ADR's Election Watch work. This has been going on since 2002. The purpose of Election Watch is to inform voters about candidates' background including their financial assets and liabilities as well criminal cases if any. As is becoming increasingly well known, such affidavits are required to be filed by candidates following a Supreme Court directive. While that work continues and has had its own impact, some questions remained. ADR's larger purpose is to help improve elections, democracy and governance. The last aspect, namely better governance can improve the condition of the people and help get better services from Government. If good governance is the end goal, all links in the democratic process – elections, candidates, political parties, campaigns, political funding, as well as day to day functioning of Government need to be strengthened.

In the current context, a political party or the Government's priorities and policies only approximately align with those of the people. Political parties contest elections to win. For this purpose they make promises and sometimes are unable to implement them if they come to power. But are these promises what people really want from Government? Other than political parties, bureaucrats and experts are consulted to bring in better policies and programs and to implement them. All this is part of the democratic process. However, one gap is the voice of the people: what do they really want? Should election campaigns, promises and manifestos be determined by political parties or by populism in elections? Should Government policies and budgets be determined by only by politicians and experts?

There is a philosophical basis for asking this question. All Governments are custodians of the people's money. The Government's funds come from the people through taxes and other means. In that sense, the voice of the people cannot be ignored when it comes to

utilizing Government money for public good. While people at large may not have the time or perhaps the expertise to make budgets and policies or to implement them, they know what they want and what the priorities should be. Voting once in 5 years is not sufficient to reflect people's priorities in day to day governance. No doubt there is an issue of how voters balance short term gains with long term sustainable benefits, but this shortcoming is there with political party election promises as well.

The larger purpose is to highlight voter priorities so that elections are fought on voter issues, and more importantly, the governance agenda of Governments reflects voter priorities. ADR expects that this is a long term effort and this survey will have to be repeated several times, perhaps by many groups before the larger goal is achieved.

The details of the methodology are given in the report. To illustrate the purpose of the survey, we take one instance. Two of the significant priorities are employment and healthcare. This cuts across region, economic class, caste, religion, the urban-rural divide and educational qualifications. Are elections fought on these two issues? Do Government budgets reflect these two priorities? Most important, are people getting jobs and are they getting good health care?

There is an issue regarding people's priorities which needs to be noted. They are shaped and influenced by events, political parties, campaigns and the media. A survey done in the aftermath of drought may show water as a top priority and a later one done after a good monsoon may show different priorities. That is another reason why these surveys need to be done periodically. But in both the 2014 and the current survey, employment came out as a top priority. We would get a better understanding of short term and long term priorities at local, regional and national levels by periodic surveys.

The survey also tried to find out which factors influence voter's choice. Political parties, leaders, candidates, money power in elections, caste and religious affiliations, as well as criminal records do play a significant role in determining this choice. Details are given the report. However voter's often do not have adequate information on many issues like candidate background information. The work on Election Watch therefore needs to continue. But many more citizen groups and perhaps the Election Commission need to play a bigger role to raise voter awareness.

However if Governments are more responsive to people's needs, such surveys are not needed. Till then it is hoped that these surveys will help highlight people's priorities and enable Governments to respond to them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) would like to thank the people and organizations who contributed to the conduct of this pan-India survey of governance issues. This survey would not have been a success without the cooperation of the following-

1. **Interviewees:** 271316 interviewees across 527 Lok Sabha constituencies gave their time to participate in the survey. We express our deep gratitude to each one of the interviewees.
2. **Interviewers and supervisors:** Centre for Development Planning and Research (CDPR), Pune, the agency that conducted the field survey and trained the field force particularly in issues related to governance and voters' behaviour.
3. **Mentor:** Professor Trilochan Sastry who conceptualised the need for this survey, supervised the administration of the survey and mentored the research group.
4. **Research Group:** Nilesh Ekka, Anirudh Dutta Gupta and Divya Arora who developed an analytical framework to accomplish the research and analysis for evaluating the findings of the survey.

Major General Anil Verma (Retd.)
Head, ADR

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REPORT ABSTRACT

Purpose: The Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) commissioned a survey of members of the eligible electorate—citizens over the age of 18—during January to April 2017 in order to identify the level of citizen awareness of the electoral process and to ascertain voter perception on specific governance issues and the rated performance of our elected representatives on those issues. The primary purpose of the survey was to assess eligible voters' access to information about the political process, exposure to inducements for vote, awareness of candidates with criminal cases in elections, general attitudes about electoral process in democracy and expectations from the government.

***Research Design*:** A cross-sectional, representative sample of the population over eighteen was selected using a partially purposive sample selection procedure, which produced a sample of 2,71,316 respondents.

***Survey*:** The responses of the Respondent Voters were obtained with the help of the Questionnaire designed by ADR for this survey. Android based mobile smart phones were used for conducting the survey. The surveyors directly recorded the data on these smart phones with the help of android based software. Direct Interviews were carried out between January and April, 2017. All in-person interviews were conducted by locally trained men and women in collaboration with the Centre for Development Planning and Research (CDPR), Pune. After pilot-testing, master trainers and enumerator teams received survey-specific training in each state. The surveyors were thereafter, overseen and controlled through the trained and experienced supervisors.

***Respondents*:** Of the 2,71,316 respondents selected for the sample, 68 percent were men and 32 percent were women and 60 percent of respondents were between 18 and 40 years of age. 54 percent respondents were from rural locations and 46 percent from urban.

INTRODUCTION

This report presents the key findings of the 2017 Survey on the Expectations of the Indian Voter and their perception on the Performance of the Government conducted by the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR).

The main objective of this survey was to find out voter perception on specific governance issues and the rated performance of our government on those issues. ADR believes that one of the means to establish accountability in politics is to evaluate the effectiveness of legislators by measuring the public's perception of the legislator's performance in addressing issues that the people consider important.

The 2017 Mid-Term Survey was administered exclusively with the help of android based hand-held devices against the more traditional methods of paper-based surveys. The survey sought to identify the issues considered most important by the voters and obtained their opinion on the performance of the government in relation to such issues. This mid-term survey was conducted during January 2017 to April 2017 across 527 Lok Sabha constituencies and the total sample size was 2, 71,316.

This report outlines the findings of a survey of Indian voters' expectations, perceptions and their evaluation of the 30 most important issues for the voters in their particular region in terms of their capacity, governance and specific roles in improving the living conditions of the voters. These aspects are analyzed in relation to the performance of the government on those issues as perceived by the respondents.

To identify what are voter priorities in terms of governance issues like water, electricity, roads, food, education and health, a list of 30 items was given to voters and they were asked to rate the top 5 issues for them. The issues were ranked 1 to 5 where 1 was the most important issue. This list was comprehensive as less than 5% said that there were "other issues" beyond the list.

The results of the Perception Assessment shows the striking difference between the priorities of the voters and the performance on those issues and highlights the overall weak efforts of all institutions in fulfilling their role in providing what the voters really need.

ADR believes that the assessment report can be an important tool in engendering improvements within all institutions in refining their own institutional practices or developing better oversight of other bodies. We hope the report will be instrumental in starting a coordinated effort to work together to ensure the most efficient use of resources to serve the nation as a whole.

The key objectives of this perception assessment are to generate:

a) An improved understanding of the important needs of the voters.
b) Momentum among key stake holders for addressing priority areas.

The primary aim of the assessment is therefore to evaluate the effectiveness of the government, government institutions, mechanisms etc. in terms of planning and providing for the needs of the country and fostering transparency and integrity. In addition, it seeks to promote the assessment process as a springboard for action among the government and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in terms of policy reforms, evidence based advocacy, or further in-depth evaluations of specific governance issues. This assessment should serve as a basis for key stakeholders to advocate for sustainable and effective reforms.

We hope that this report will bring out the gap between expectations from the voters and the disappointments from the government and that this gap can be minimized.

METHODOLOGY

At the outset it is important to note that **the survey is entirely about voter perceptions**. Whether the voter's perception is right or wrong is immaterial for our purposes. For instance in urban areas, some group may perceive garbage clearance was very important while another may not think so. 'Scientifically' one may say that garbage causes health hazards, but we present the data as voters tell it, and not based on what 'ought' to be done. The reason is that a voter votes based on his/her own perception, and not on what may be 'scientifically' known to be true or false. There was no attempt to prompt or influence responses during the survey. At the same time, there are socially accepted 'preferred' answers. For instance asking "will you vote for someone with a serious criminal record?" is of no use. The questionnaire was suitably designed to take care of these issues.

The survey was done in the months of January, '17, January and April, '17. While a professional agency was hired to do it, ADR designed the questionnaire, and also made random checks to ensure that the survey was proceeding smoothly. Given the size of the survey, the time and budget limitations, we wanted to keep the questionnaire short and simple. It collected the following information:

Demographic data. Name, gender, caste/religion, age, type of assets owned (to get wealth ranking information).

What are the important factors for voting: Candidate, Political Party, Candidate caste/religion, Party's PM Candidate, Distribution of 'gifts'

'Knowledge' of voter regarding crime and money in elections. Specifically whether they know of distribution of such gifts and whether they know of criminal record of candidates.

The 30 Issues on Governance and rating of the government on each issue. These included agriculture, electricity for agriculture and domestic use, farm prices, consumer prices, irrigation, subsidy for seed and fertilizers, Accessibility and Trustworthiness of MP, terrorism, employment, health care, Law and Order, public transport, roads, education, drinking water, empowerment and security of Women, eradication of Corruption, reservation, Strong Defence/Military, subsidized food distribution (PDS), training for jobs, garbage clearance, encroachment of public land / lakes, facility for pedestrians and cyclists on roads, Traffic congestion, environment and "others". As mentioned earlier, "others" was included in case something important was missed in the list. **Less than 5% respondents came up with any other issue**.

Other opinion poll surveys do less than 25,000 responses. From a sample size point of view, this survey is 10 times larger than any survey ever done. The primary reason to conduct such an exercise on such a magnitude was to collect the performance data of the Government as perceived by the voters of their constituencies. Due to limitations of time,

budget and logistics, we were able to do around 527 of the 543 Lok Sabha constituencies. We did around 500 respondents in each constituency. The respondents were randomly selected to represent various segments of the population like rural-urban, gender, caste, religion, and income classes. Every care was taken to make the samples fully representative of the population. The accuracy of the survey is 95%, i.e., the true values are within 5% of the survey predictions.

The assessment does not seek to offer in-depth evaluation of specific governance issues. Rather, it seeks breadth, aiming to examine all relevant pillars across a wide number of indicators in order to gain a view of the overall system. Understanding the interactions between various inter-related institutions helps to prioritize areas for reform.

Along with the importance of these 30 issues, voters were also asked to rate the performance of their government on these particular issues and whether the performance was GOOD, AVERAGE or BAD.

For calculating the performance score, separate weightages were given to GOOD, AVERAGE and BA where, GOOD was given weightage equal to 5, Average was weighted 3 and BAD was weighted as 1. The weighted average was taken and the scores were between 1 to 5, where 1 was the lowest and 5 was the highest.

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

- The data suggest that, as of April 2017, the majority of the eligible Indian electorate intended to vote. 95 percent of the respondents said that they voted in the 2014 Lok Sabha elections.

- In addition, the survey measured voters' experience with electoral process and asked them the reasons for which they vote for a candidate in elections. 67 percent respondents said that the PM/CM candidate was the most important reason for them to vote in an election.

- In their opinion, the candidate's party and the candidate were also important reasons for voting.

- 45 percent of the respondents agreed that the distribution of cash, liquor, gifts etc. have become a significant part of the electoral process.

- A large number of respondents, 77 percent, knew that the distribution of cash, gifts etc. are illegal and 37 percent respondents said that they were aware of instances where such inducements were offered to the citizens in return for their votes.

- Although, 75 percent respondents felt that people should not vote for candidates with a criminal record on arrested and in jail, only 36 percent respondents knew that they could get information on criminal records of the candidates.

- In relation to candidates with criminal records, 36 percent were of the opinion that people vote for them because they feel that the cases are not serious in nature.

- Caste and religion are also big factors in people choosing candidates with criminal records. 38 percent said that people vote for candidates with criminal records because they are of the same caste or religion.

- Another huge factor in voting for criminal candidates was that the candidate has spent generously in elections.

- 37 percent said that people vote for candidates with criminal cases because they have spent generously in elections.

- Also, 39 percent believed that candidates with criminal cases are powerful and thus they vote for them.

- A large number of respondents, 39 percent said that people are not aware of the criminal records of the candidates while voting for them.

- People are also willing to vote for a candidate with criminal records if the candidate has done good work in the past. 48 percent said that people vote for such candidates inspite of their criminal records because they have done good work.

- Improving employment opportunities and health care in India is by far the most important issue on Democratic voters' minds, according to the survey conducted.

- Better employment opportunities were listed as the top concern by 30 percent of those surveyed.

- At second and third place was better hospitals/primary health care and agricultural loan availability to Indian voters, each of which were cited by 25 and 20 percent of those polled.

- Those issues were followed by better law and order and policing and electricity for agriculture, which were selected by 19 and 16 percent of those surveyed. 15 percent said focusing on agricultural subsidy for seeds and fertilizers, traffic congestion and better public transport was most important.

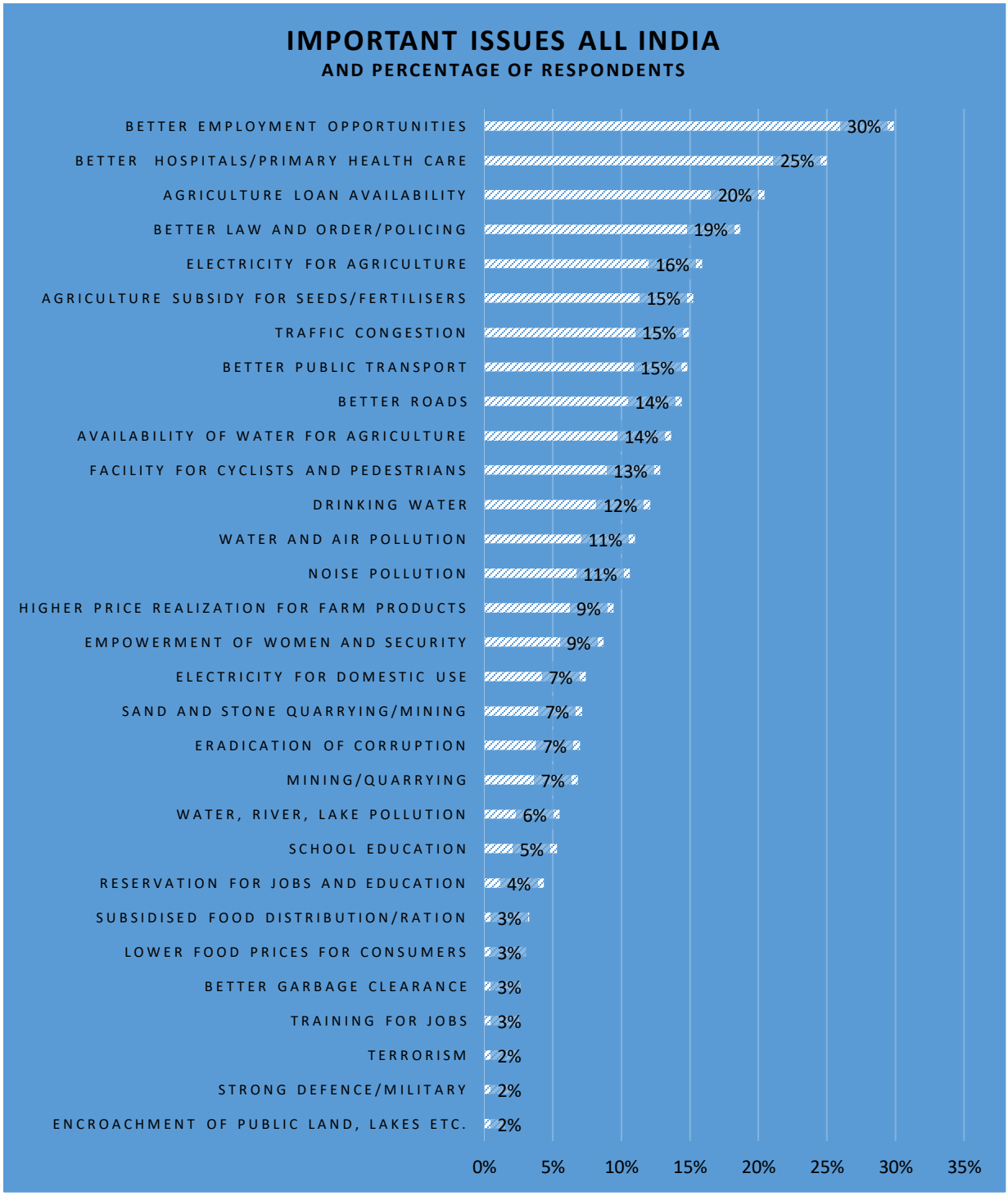
- The respondents also rated the government for their performance on the issues which they considered very important. The top most issue, better employment opportunities was ranked 10th overall. The respondents felt that the performance was average at the best.

- The other two top issues in India, Better healthcare and availability of loans for agriculture were ranked better than employment. Although healthcare was ranked 9th, however, the respondents said that the performance on agricultural loan availability was good and ranked 3rd.

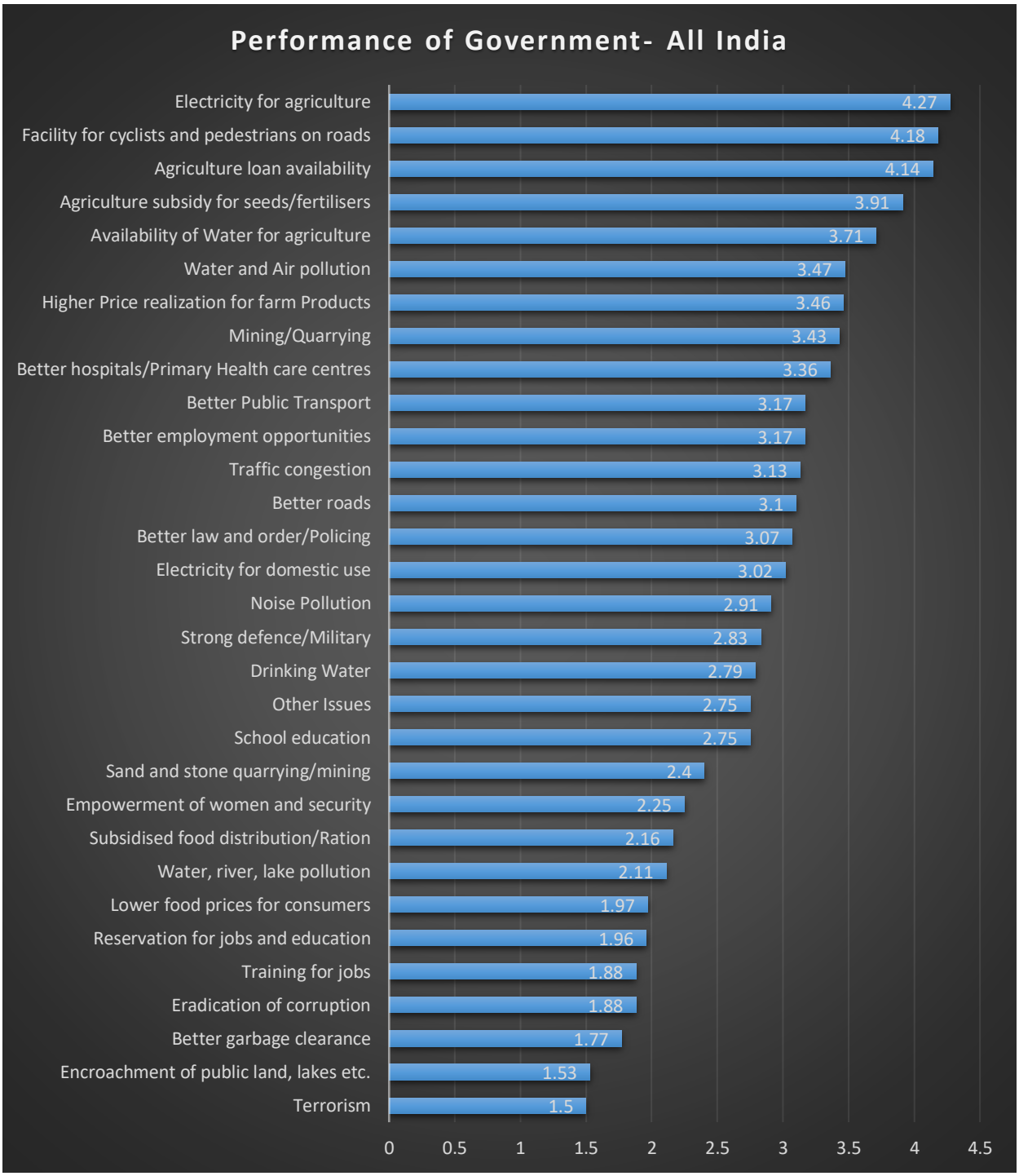
- The respondents ranked electricity for agriculture, the highest among the 30 top issues.

- The worst performances were on the issues of terrorism, encroachment of public lands, lakes etc., better garbage clearance, training for jobs and eradication of corruption.

The graph below shows the issues, most important, as per the respondents.



The graph below shows the performance of the government, as per the respondents.



- Surprisingly, terrorism, strong defence/military and Encroachment of public land, lakes etc. were listed as one of the least important issue. Only 2 percent respondents considered each of them an important issue.

- Despite the heavy media and political pressure, Indians aren't very concerned about women empowerment and security. Only 9 percent respondents considered as important.

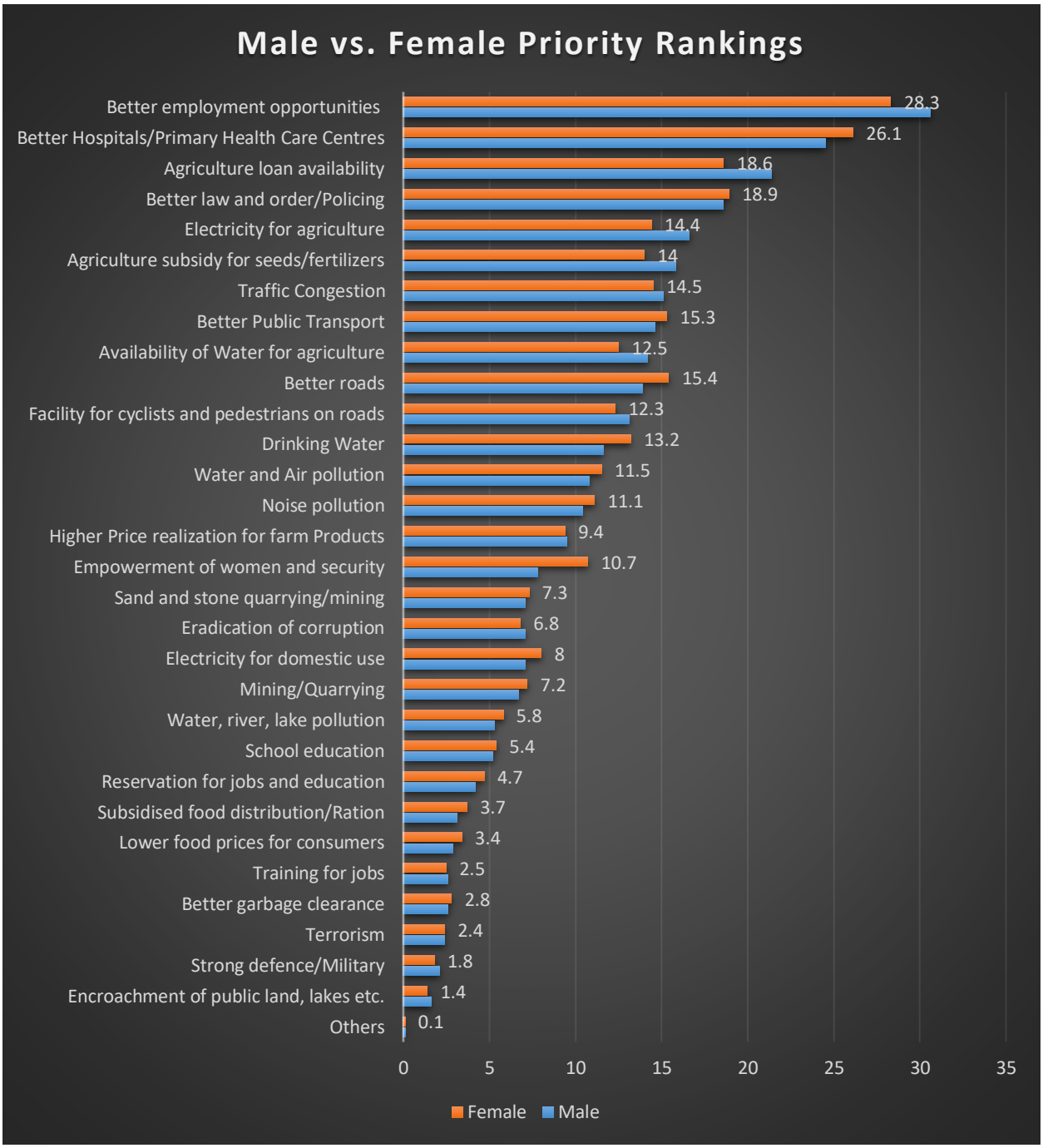
- As is the case among all respondents, better job opportunities is among the top issues for Urban as well as Rural respondents. Among rural respondents, 33 percent considered electricity for agriculture as their top priority.

- Traffic congestion was among the top priorities in urban areas. 32 percent respondents voted it as among the top 3 priorities.

- Other issues that rank highly on voters' importance list include availability of water for agriculture (14%), facility for cyclists and pedestrians on roads (13%), drinking water (12%).

- Even among women respondents, the top issue was better employment opportunities. 28 percent female respondents made it their top priority.

- Other issues which got priority were better hospitals (26%) and law and order/policing (19%).

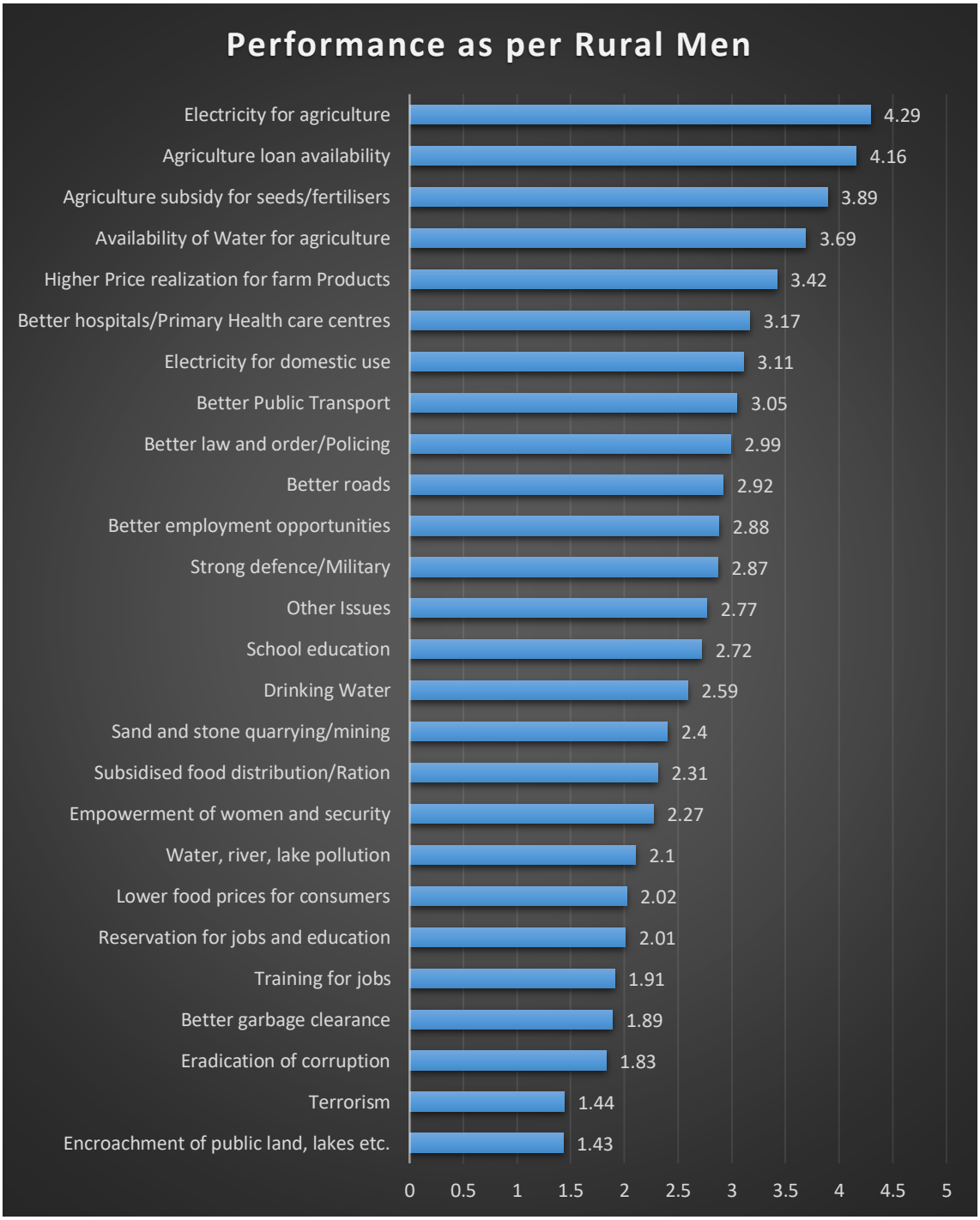


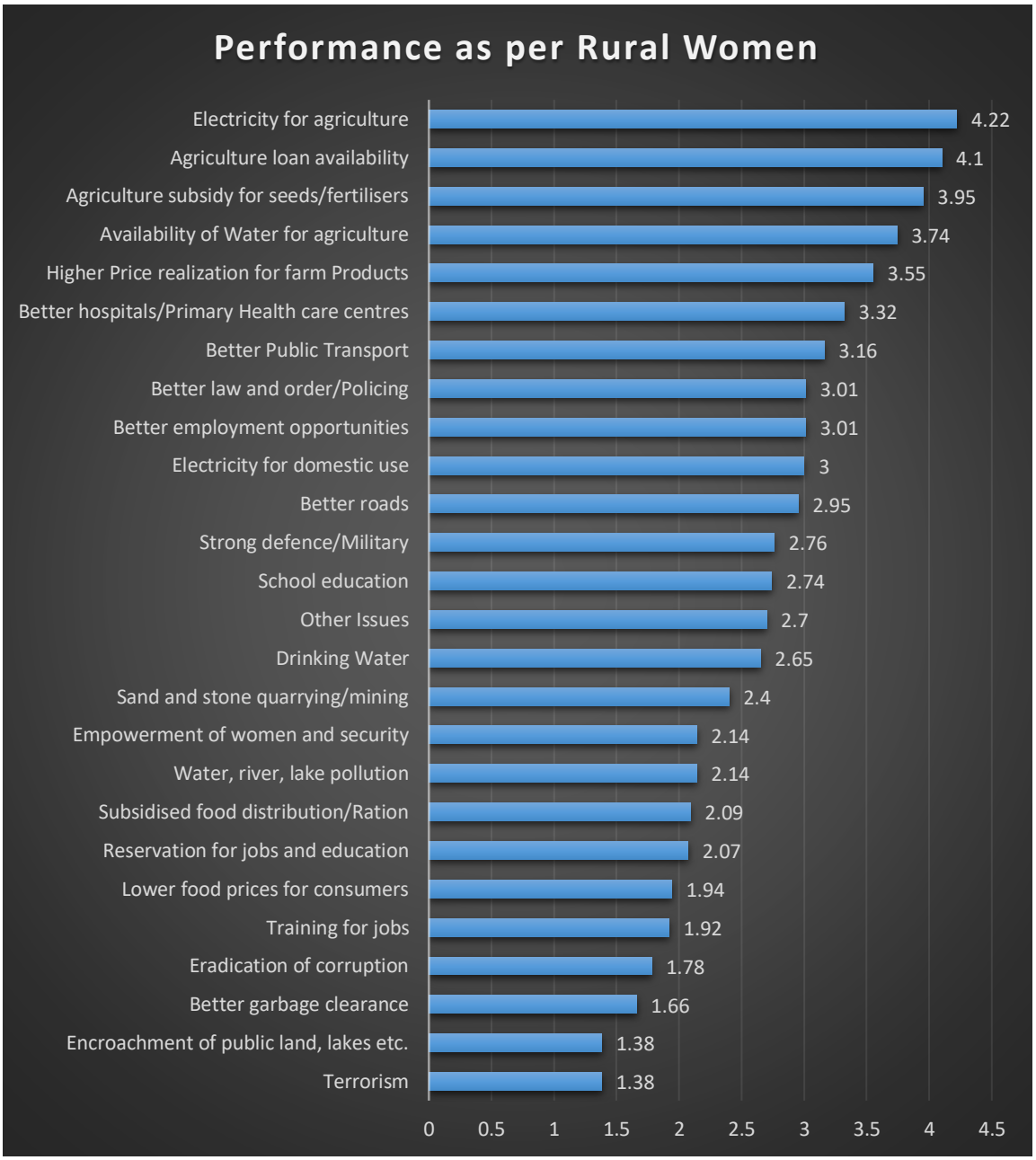
- In rural areas, however, 36 percent women wanted easy availability of agricultural loan.

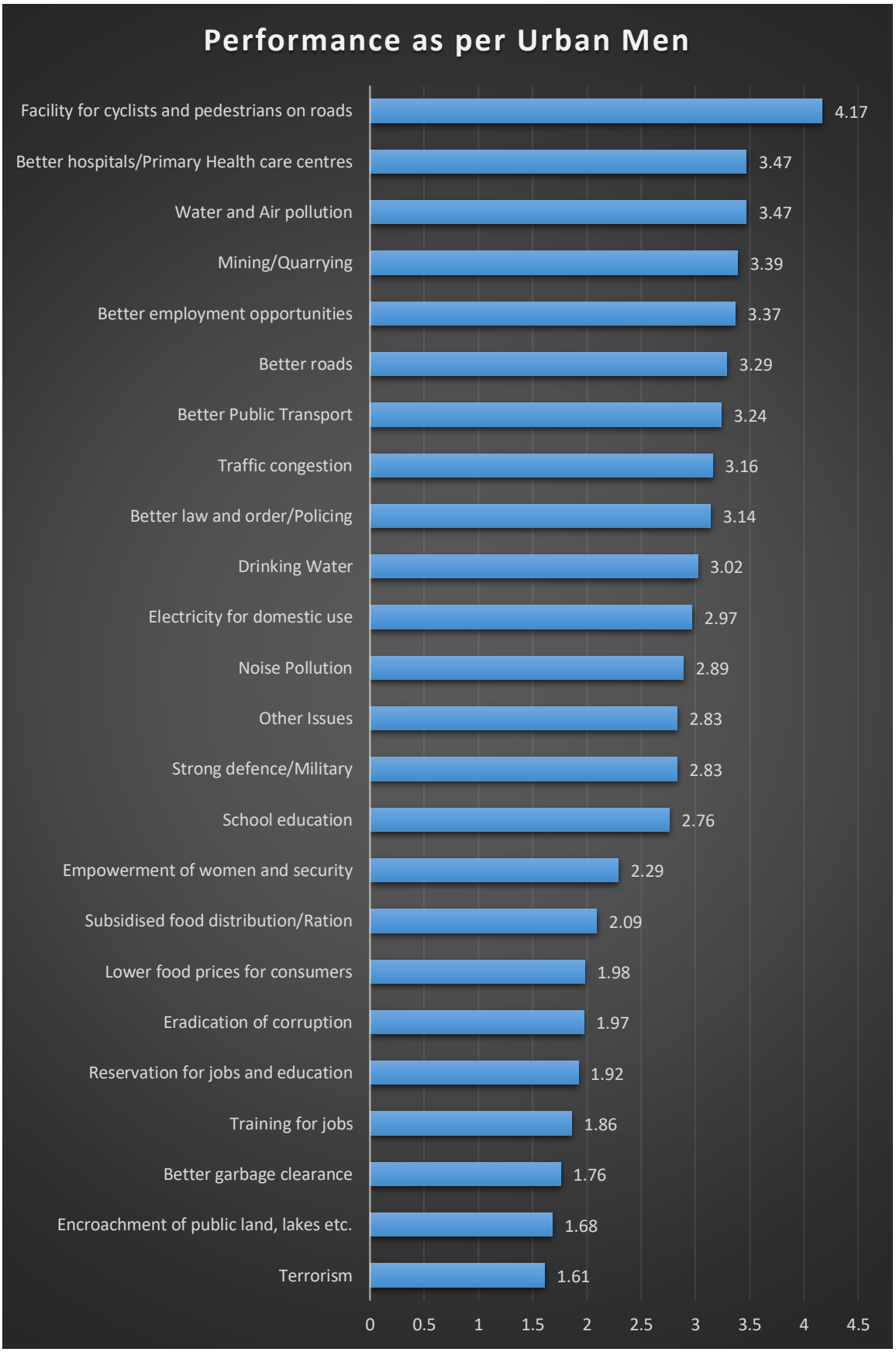
- While 28 percent female respondents wanted supply of electricity for agriculture, 27 percent wanted agricultural subsidies for seeds and fertilizers.

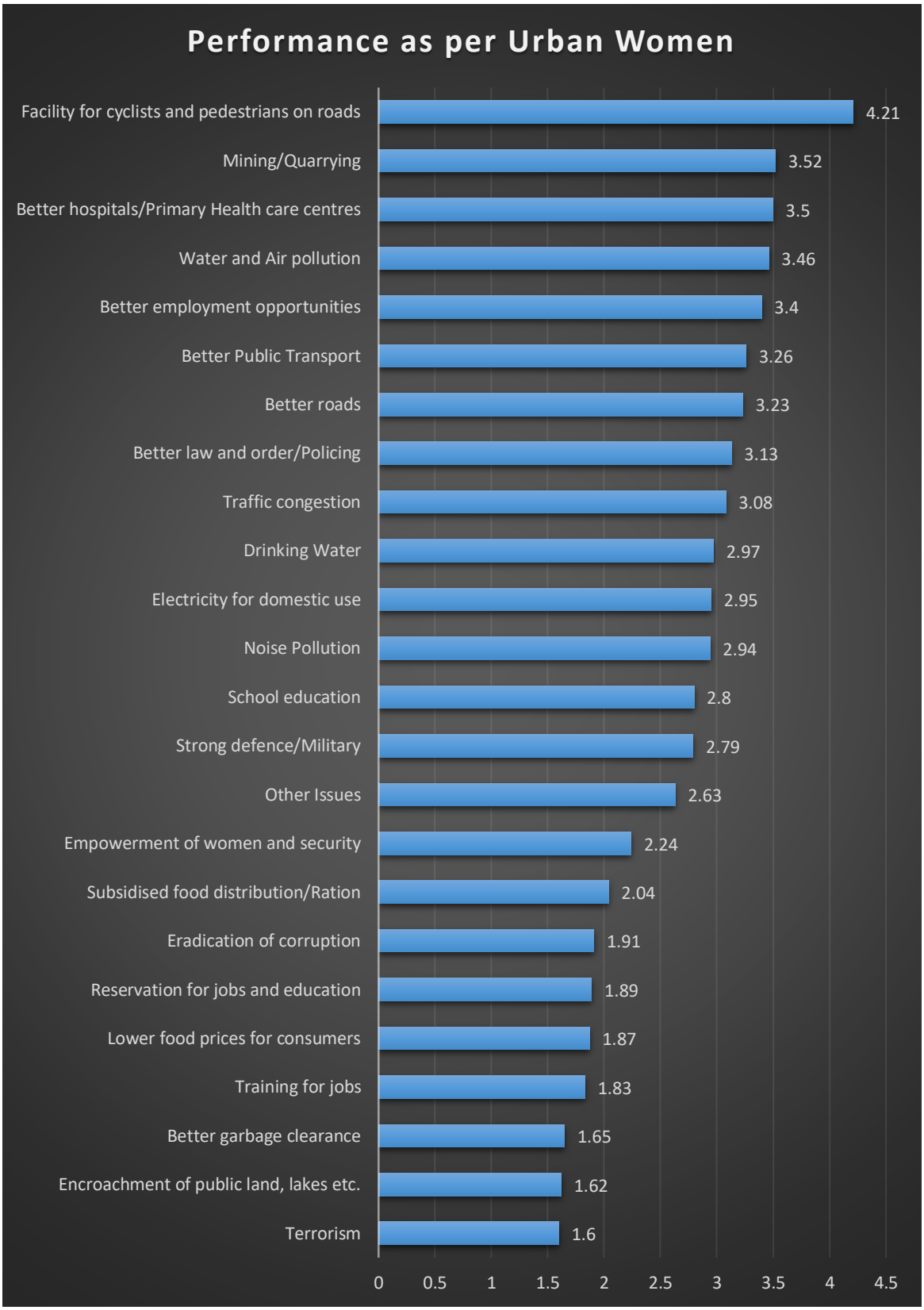
- Better garbage clearance, job training, strong defence etc. were of little importance to them.

- The women in urban areas, however, wanted better employment opportunities (33%) and less traffic congestion (30%) and better health care (30%).



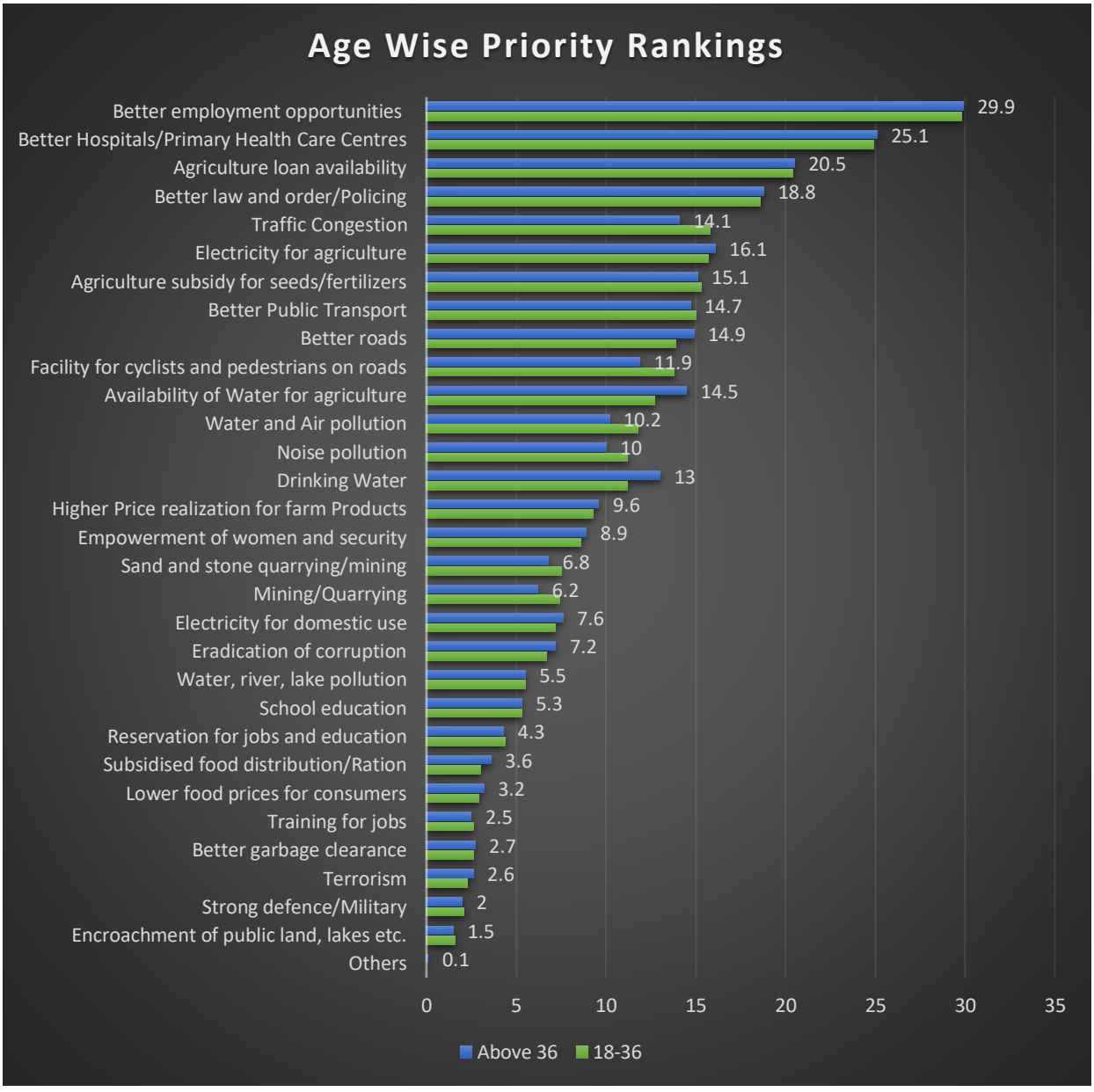

Performance as per Rural Women
Electricity for agriculture 4.22
Agriculture loan availability 4.1
Agriculture subsidy for seeds/fertilisers 3.95
Availability of Water for agriculture 3.74
Higher Price realization for farm Products 3.55
Better hospitals/Primary Health care centres 3.32
Better Public Transport 3.16
Better law and order/Policing 3.01
Better employment opportunities 3.01
Electricity for domestic use 3
Better roads 2.95
Strong defence/Military 2.76
School education 2.74
Other Issues 2.7
Drinking Water 2.65
Sand and stone quarrying/mining 2.4
Empowerment of women and security 2.14
Water, river, lake pollution 2.14
Subsidised food distribution/Ration 2.09
Reservation for jobs and education 2.07
Lower food prices for consumers 1.94
Training for jobs 1.92
Eradication of corruption 1.78
Better garbage clearance 1.66
Encroachment of public land, lakes etc. 1.38
Terrorism 1.38
0 0.5 1 1.5 2 2.5 3 3.5 4 4.5


Performance as per Urban Men
Facility for cyclists and pedestrians on roads
4.17
Better hospitals/Primary Health care centres
3.47
Water and Air pollution
3.47
Mining/Quarrying
3.39
Better employment opportunities
3.37
Better roads
3.29
Better Public Transport
3.24
Traffic congestion
3.16
Better law and order/Policing
3.14
Drinking Water
3.02
Electricity for domestic use
2.97
Noise Pollution
2.89
Other Issues
2.83
Strong defence/Military
2.83
School education
2.76
Empowerment of women and security
2.29
Subsidised food distribution/Ration
2.09
Lower food prices for consumers
1.98
Eradication of corruption
1.97
Reservation for jobs and education
1.92
Training for jobs
1.86
Better garbage clearance
1.76
Encroachment of public land, lakes etc.
1.68
Terrorism
1.61
0
0.5
1
1.5
2
2.5
3
3.5
4
4.5


Performance as per Urban Women
Facility for cyclists and pedestrians on roads
4.21
Mining/Quarrying
3.52
Better hospitals/Primary Health care centres
3.5
Water and Air pollution
3.46
Better employment opportunities
3.4
Better Public Transport
3.26
Better roads
3.23
Better law and order/Policing
3.13
Traffic congestion
3.08
Drinking Water
2.97
Electricity for domestic use
2.95
Noise Pollution
2.94
School education
2.8
Strong defence/Military
2.79
Other Issues
2.63
Empowerment of women and security
2.24
Subsidised food distribution/Ration
2.04
Eradication of corruption
1.91
Reservation for jobs and education
1.89
Lower food prices for consumers
1.87
Training for jobs
1.83
Better garbage clearance
1.65
Encroachment of public land, lakes etc.
1.62
Terrorism
1.6
0
0.5
1
1.5
2
2.5
3
3.5
4
4.5

- Across age groups, young voters (between 18-35 years), rated better employment opportunities as the top priority (30%). They considered health care (25%) and loans for agricultural purposes (20%) important as well.
- The top priorities of young female voters coincided with the overall female priorities. They too stated better employment opportunities (28%), better health care (26%) as their top priorities and better law and order (19%).

- For young male voters as well, better employment opportunities (31%) and better hospitals (24%) were top priorities.

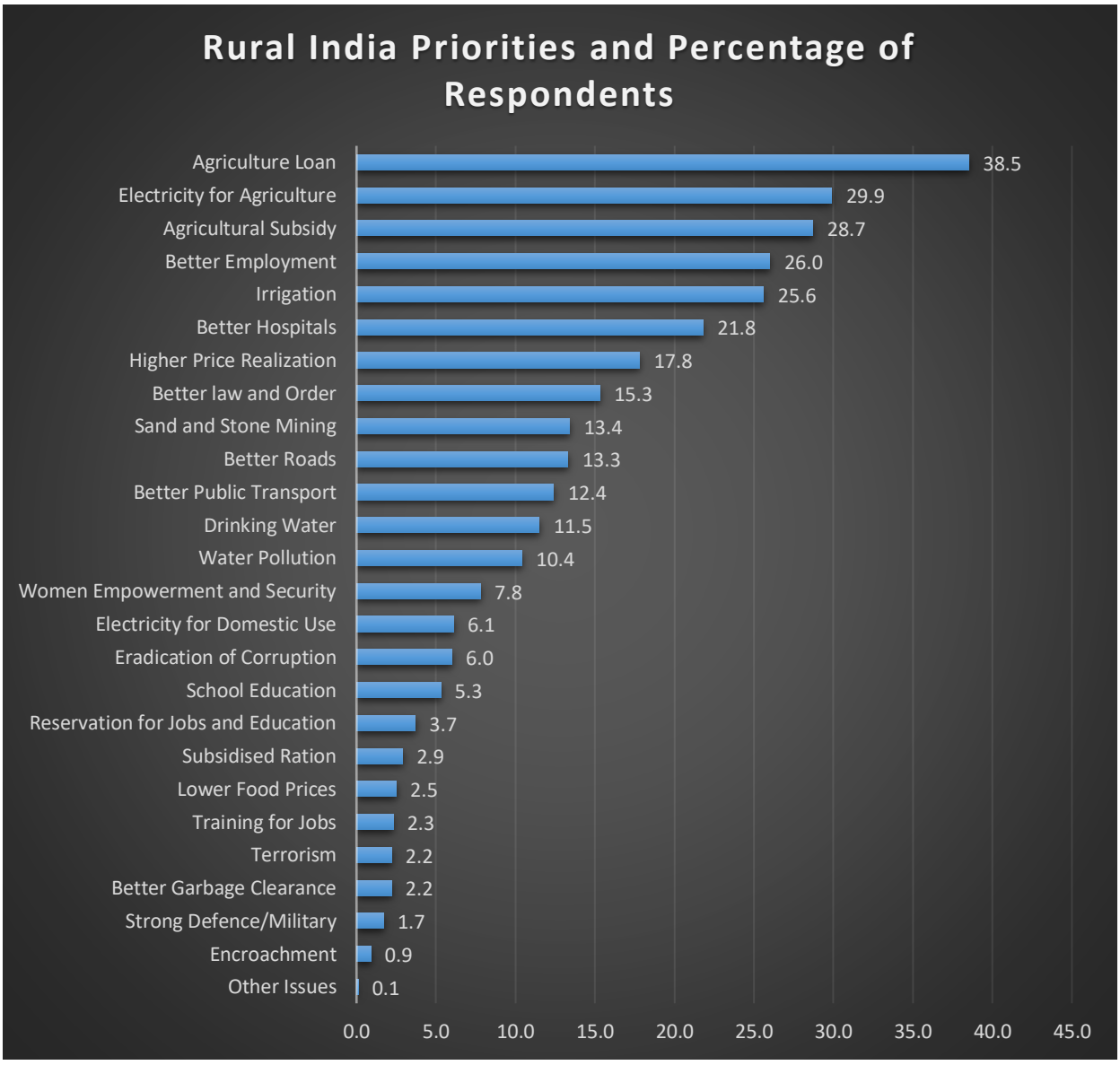


This measure of voters' perceptions highlight the need for awareness on the criminal, financial and other background of the candidates as well the transparency and accountability of the political parties. Only then can a voter make an informed choice and contribute to electoral reform efforts.

ALL INDIA RURAL PRIORITIES

The following graph gives the most important issue in rural India as per the respondents. 38.5% voters have considered the availability of agricultural loans as the most important issue. The other top issues are electricity for agricultural use (29.9%) and subsidies for agriculture (28.7). Better employment opportunities (26%), Irrigation facilities (25.6%) and better hospitals and health care (21.8%) are amongst the top 10 important issues in rural India.

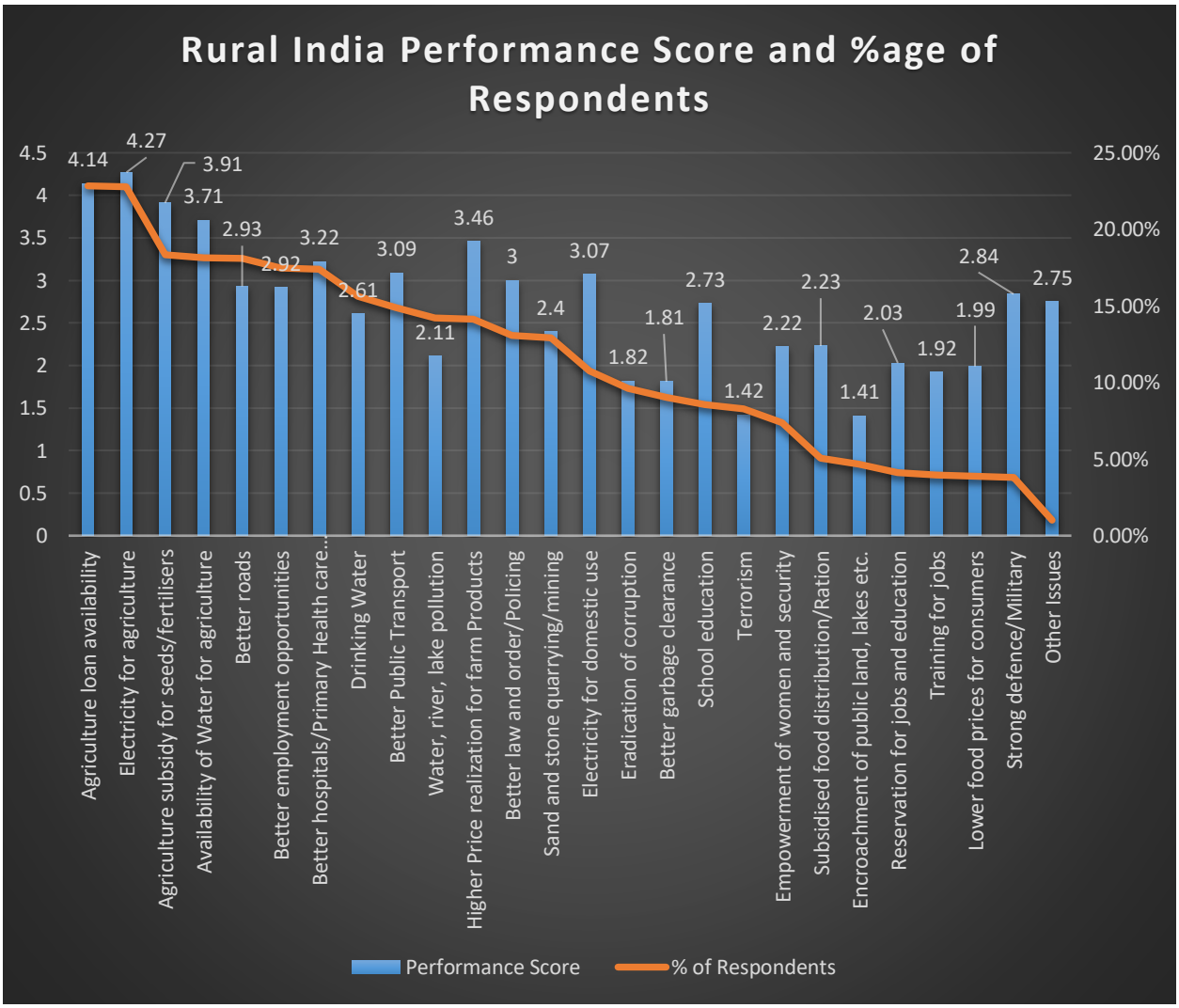
Encroachment of public land, lakes etc., strong defence and terrorism are low priorities in rural sector.



Graph: percentage of voters in rural India and their most important issues

Rural Performance Rating of the Government

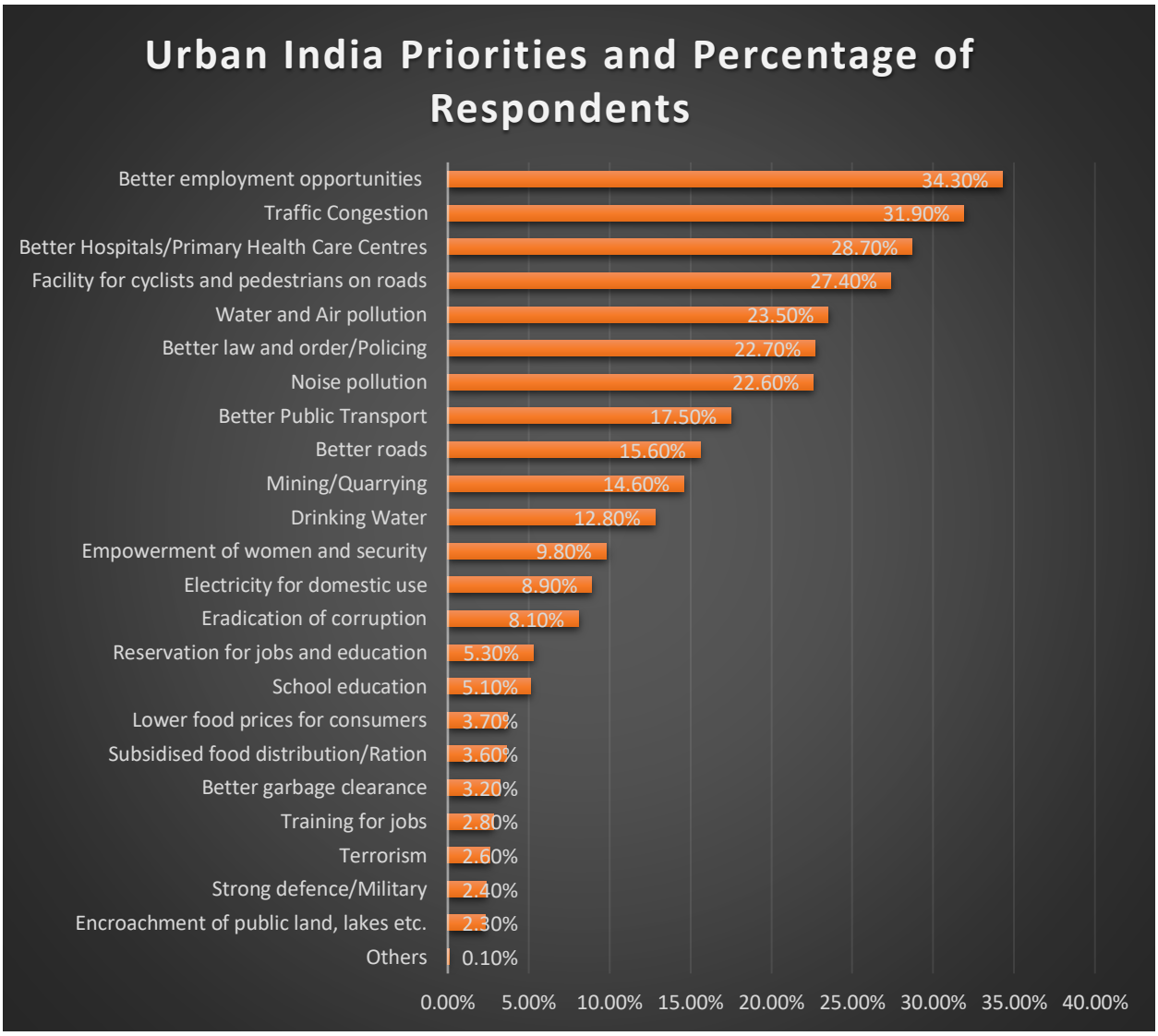
Among the best rated performance was on Agriculture Loan Availability and Electricity for Agriculture. These are among the top 3 priorities for the people. The other issue in the top three priorities, namely agriculture subsidy for seeds and fertilizers also did well according to the respondents. There were a total of 31 issues for which they gave priorities and then rated the government's performance. For the top 3 priorities in rural India, agricultural loan availability was ranked 2nd, electricity for agriculture 1st and subsidy for seeds and fertilizers 3rd. The maximum possible score was 5, and the actual scores ranged from 1.41 to 4.27.



Graph: Rural India Performance Score and Percentage of Respondents

ALL INDIA URBAN PRIORITIES

For Urban respondents, Employment (34%) was the highest priority for them. Urban voters also said that Traffic Congestion (32%) and Better Health Care (29%) were the other two priorities. The most important priorities for urban India is shown below in the graph



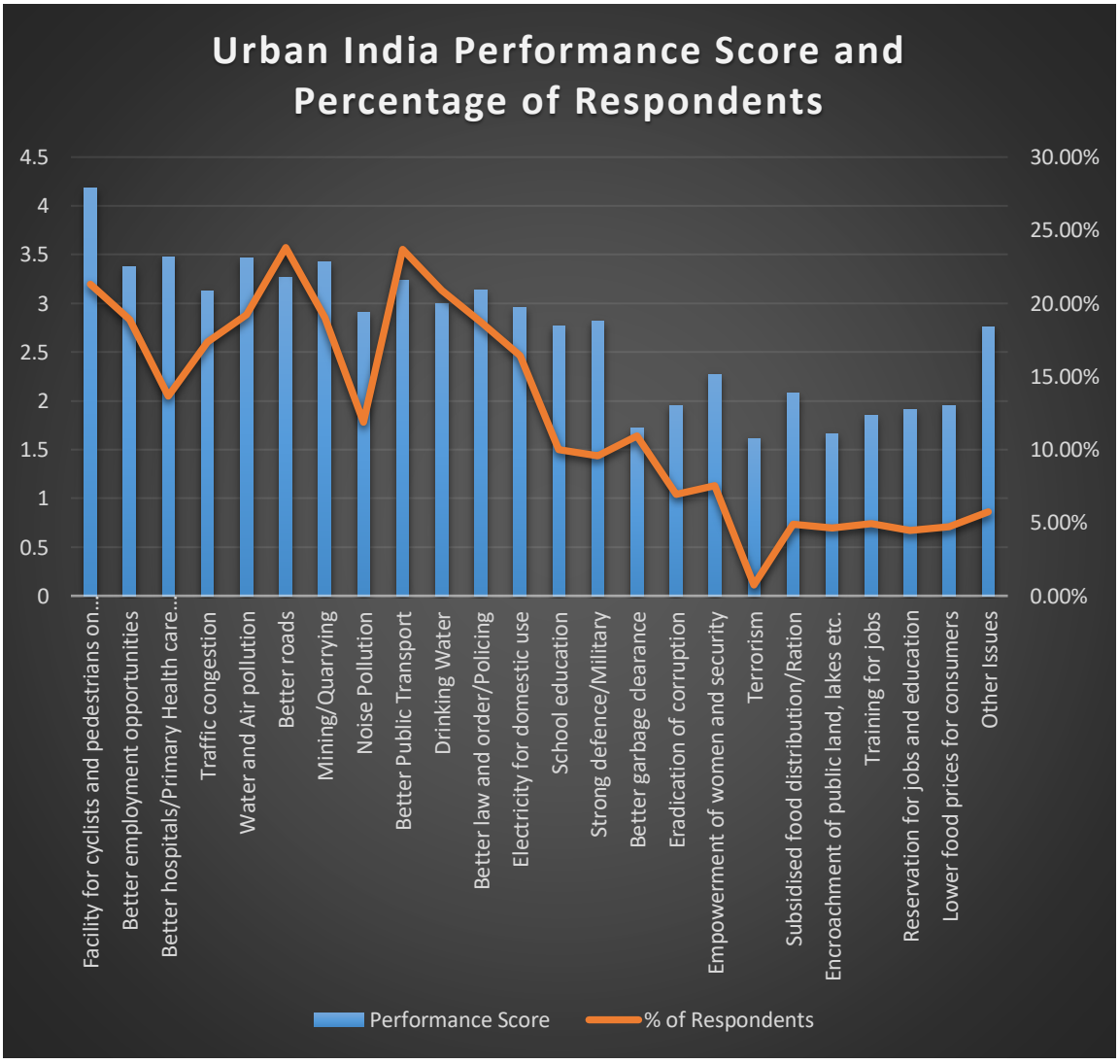
Even though there is scarcity of land in urban areas, the respondents said that encroachment of land, lakes etc. were not a big issue for them as compared to better roads, drinking water, electricity for domestic use etc.

Urban Performance Rating of the Government

The top urban priorities of Employment, Noise Pollution and Drinking Water were ranked 19th, 31st and 23rd out of 31 issues in terms of performance. Thus Noise Pollution, one of the top priorities for voters had the worst performance.

For the next level of priorities, Traffic Congestion was ranked 30th in terms of performance, Health Care was ranked 18th and Roads at 24th. Once again the top priorities for voters had the worst performance as for rural voters.

The best performance was on Terrorism, Strong Military and Ration on the PDS system. However the percent of respondents who chose these issues was low at 5.5%, 4% and 3.24%.

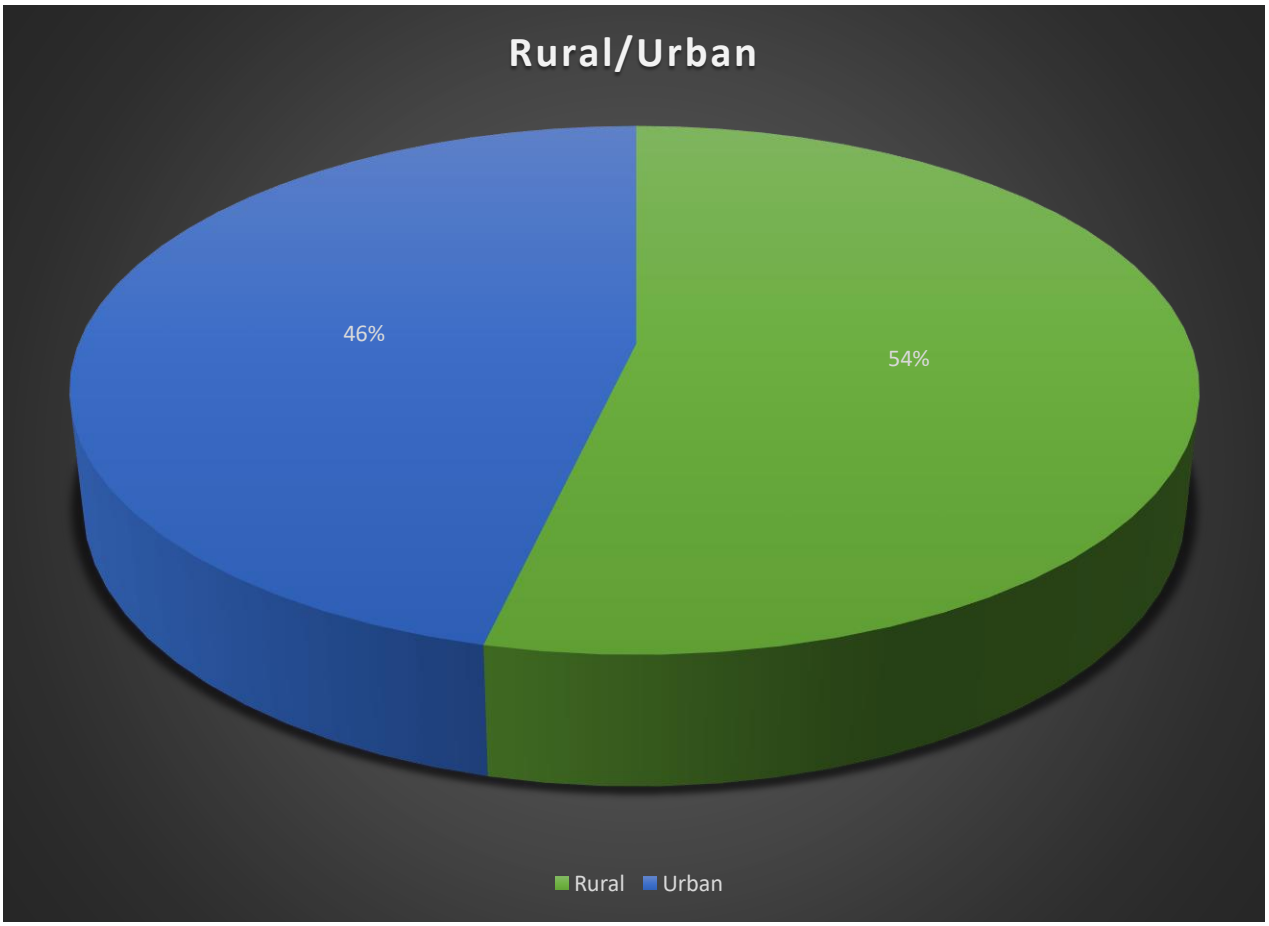


BACKGROUND DEMOGRAPHICS

The aim of these demographic descriptions of our respondents is to indicate the diverse elements of the Indian population were taken into account and to show how the proportions in our sample replicate the demographics of India as a whole. It is hoped that the disproportions that remain will not unduly affect the findings on voter perceptions, knowledge and awareness that we were trying to obtain.

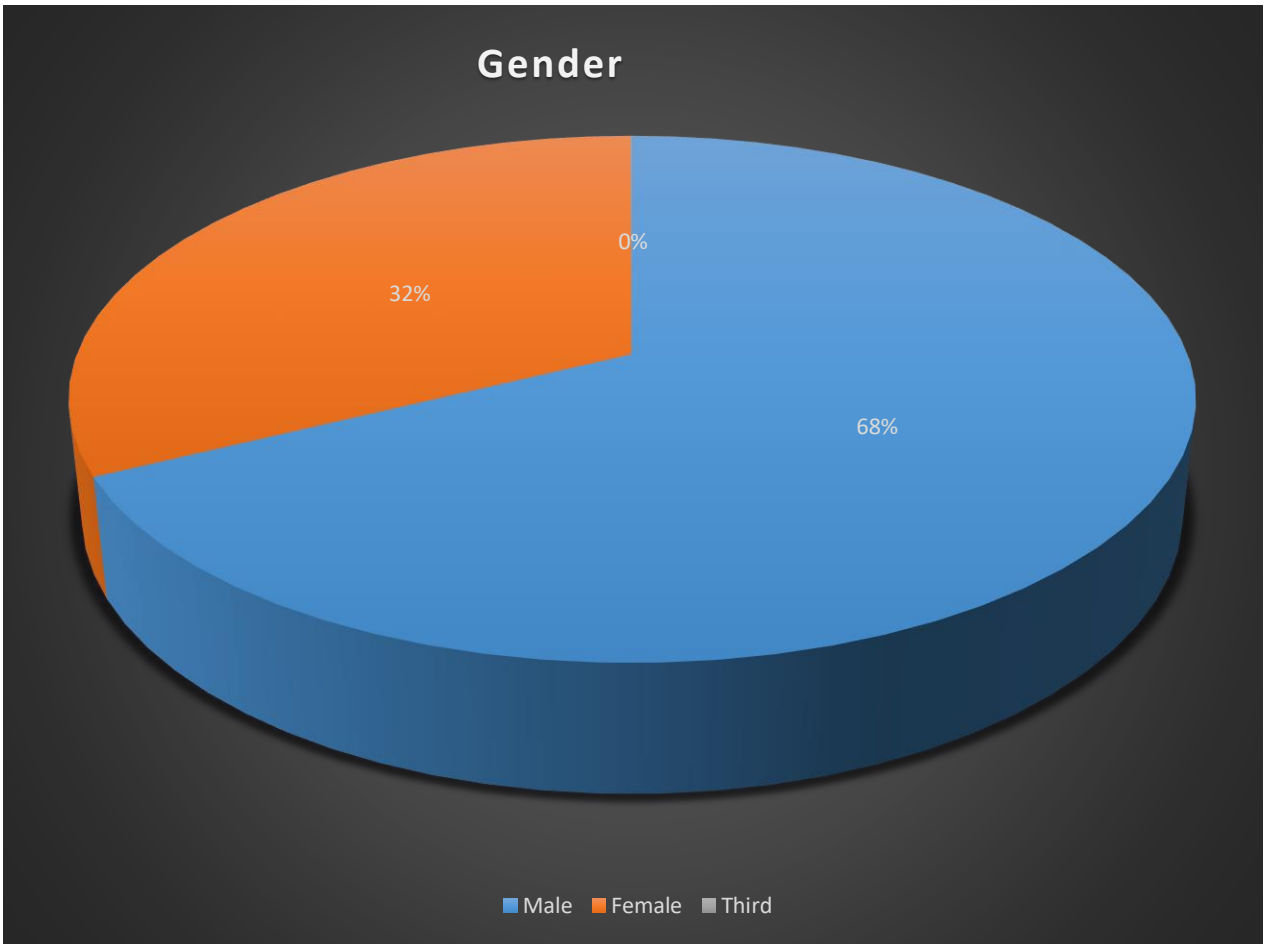
1. Rural-Urban Distribution

Location	No. of Respondents	% of Respondents
Rural	145536	54%
Urban	125780	46%



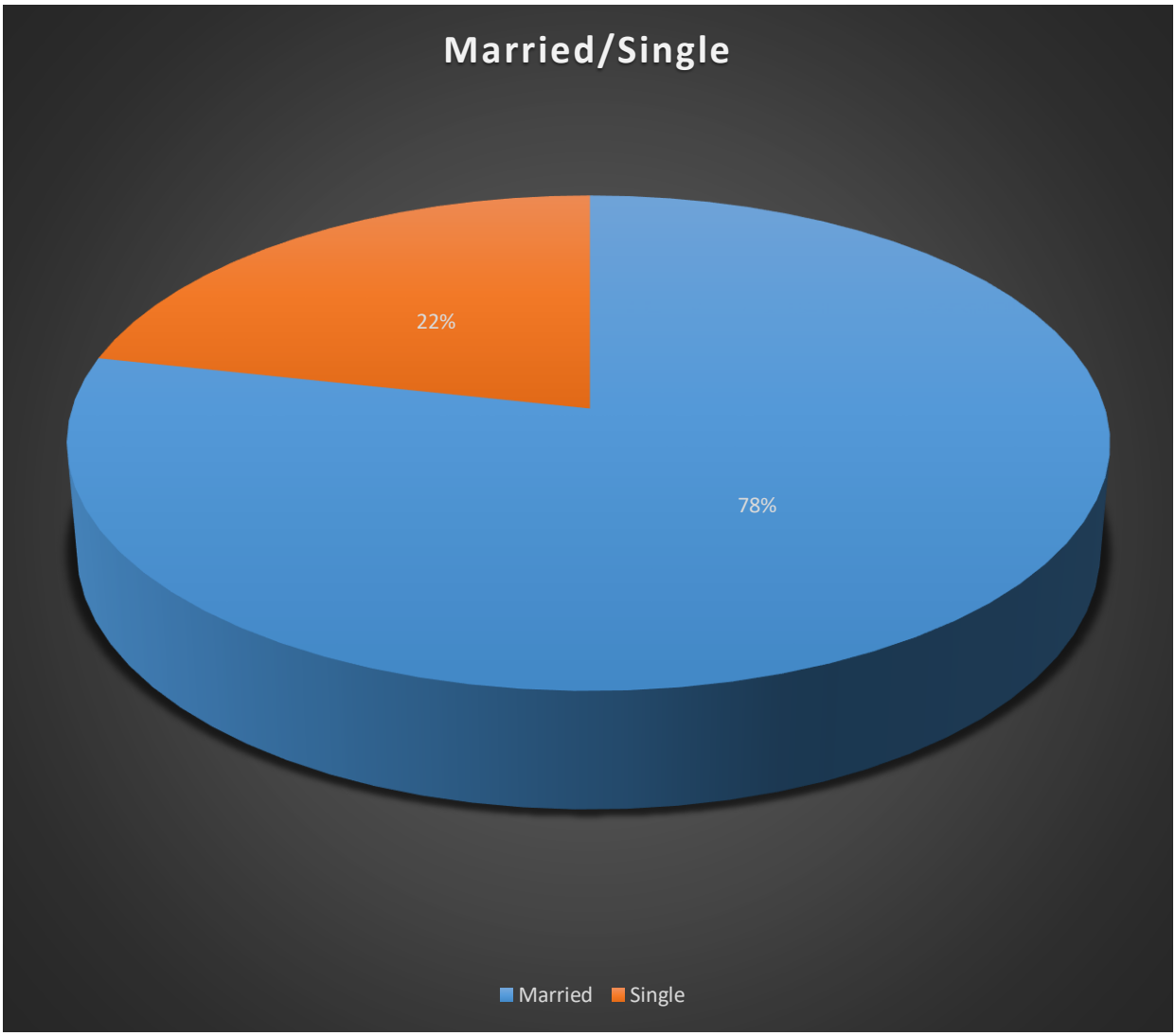
2. Gender Distribution

Gender	No. of Respondents	% Respondents
Male	183657	68%
Female	87603	32%
Third	56	0%



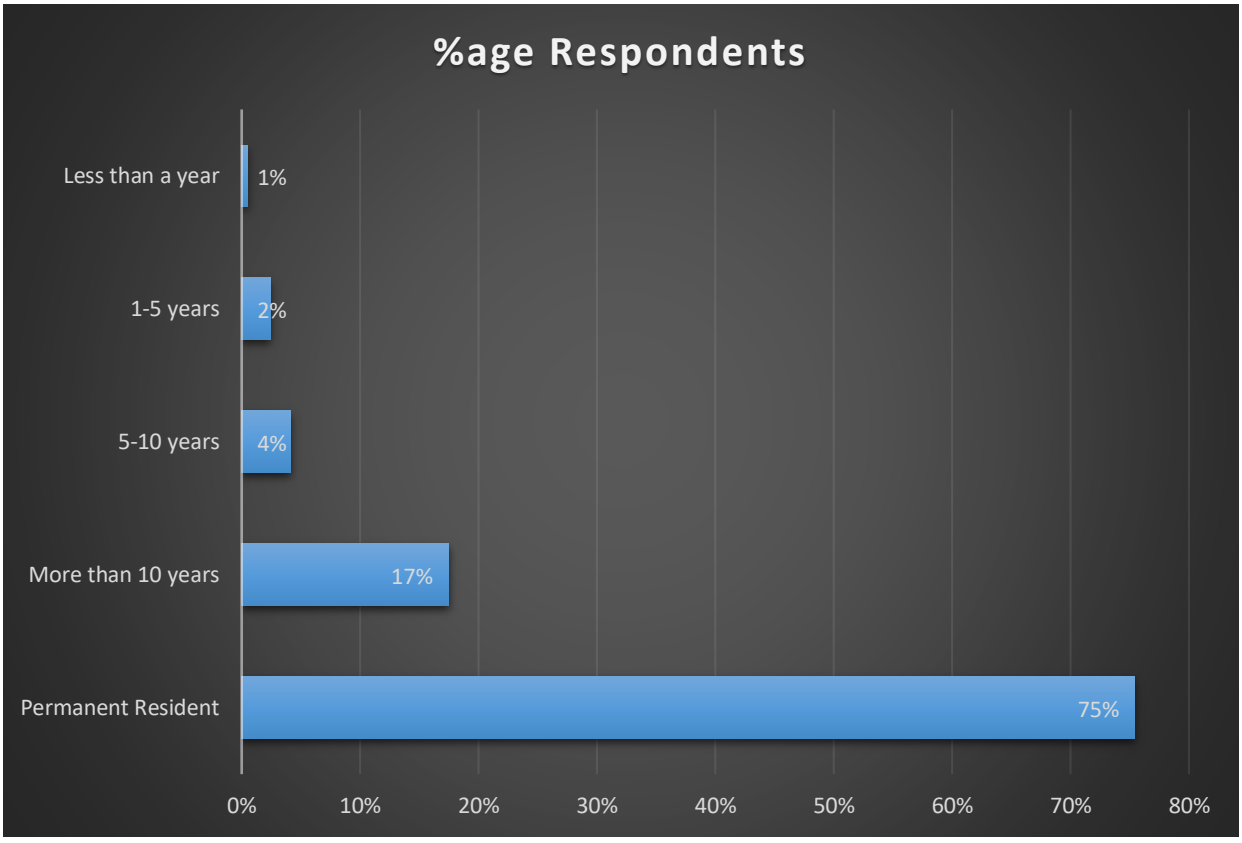
3. Marital Status

Marital Status	No. of Respondents	% of respondents
Married	212765	78
Single	58551	22



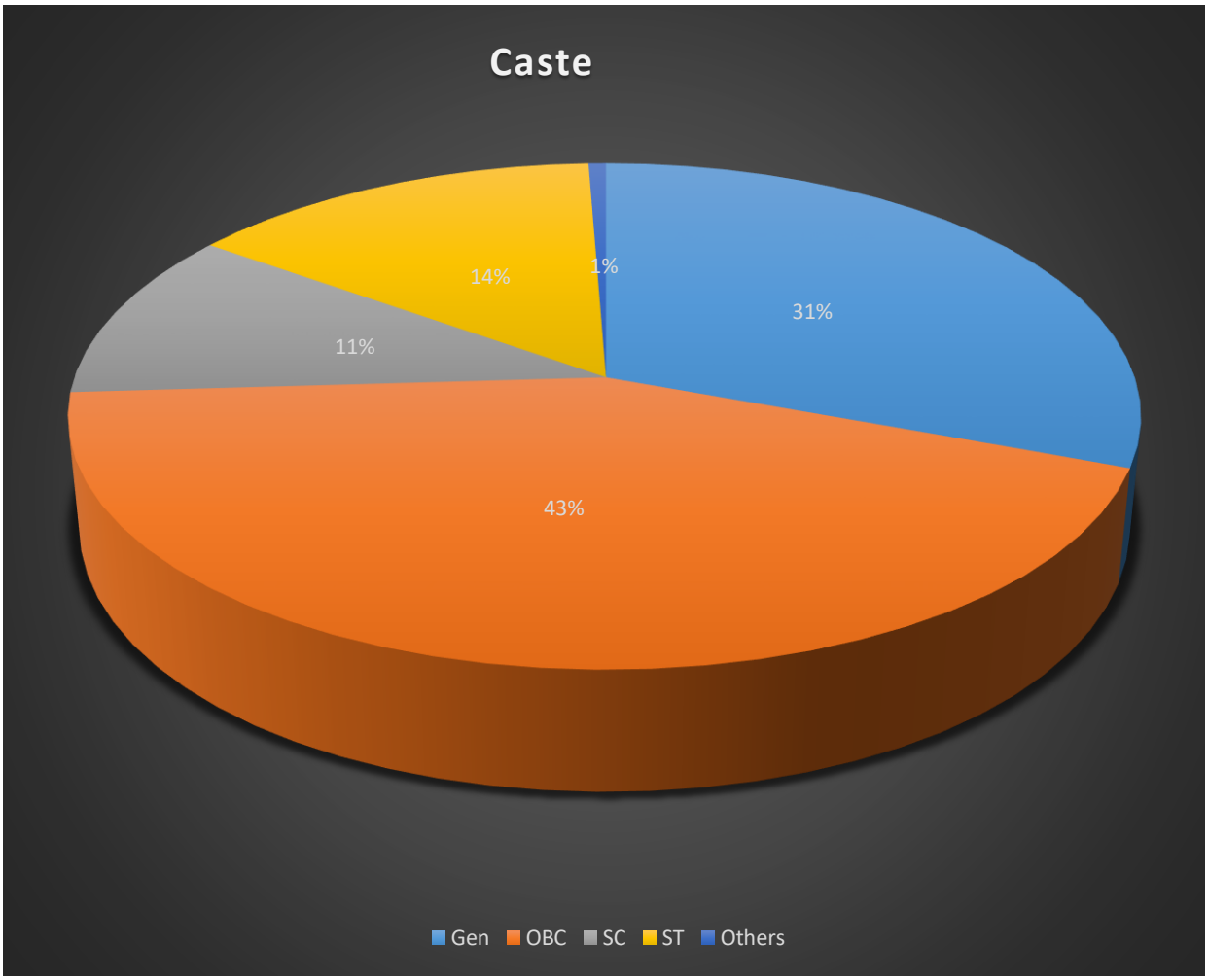
4. Migrant Status

When Did You Migrate	No. of Respondents	%age Respondents
Permanent Resident	204661	75%
More than 10 years	47431	17%
5-10 years	11290	4%
1-5 years	6542	2%
Less than a year	1392	1%



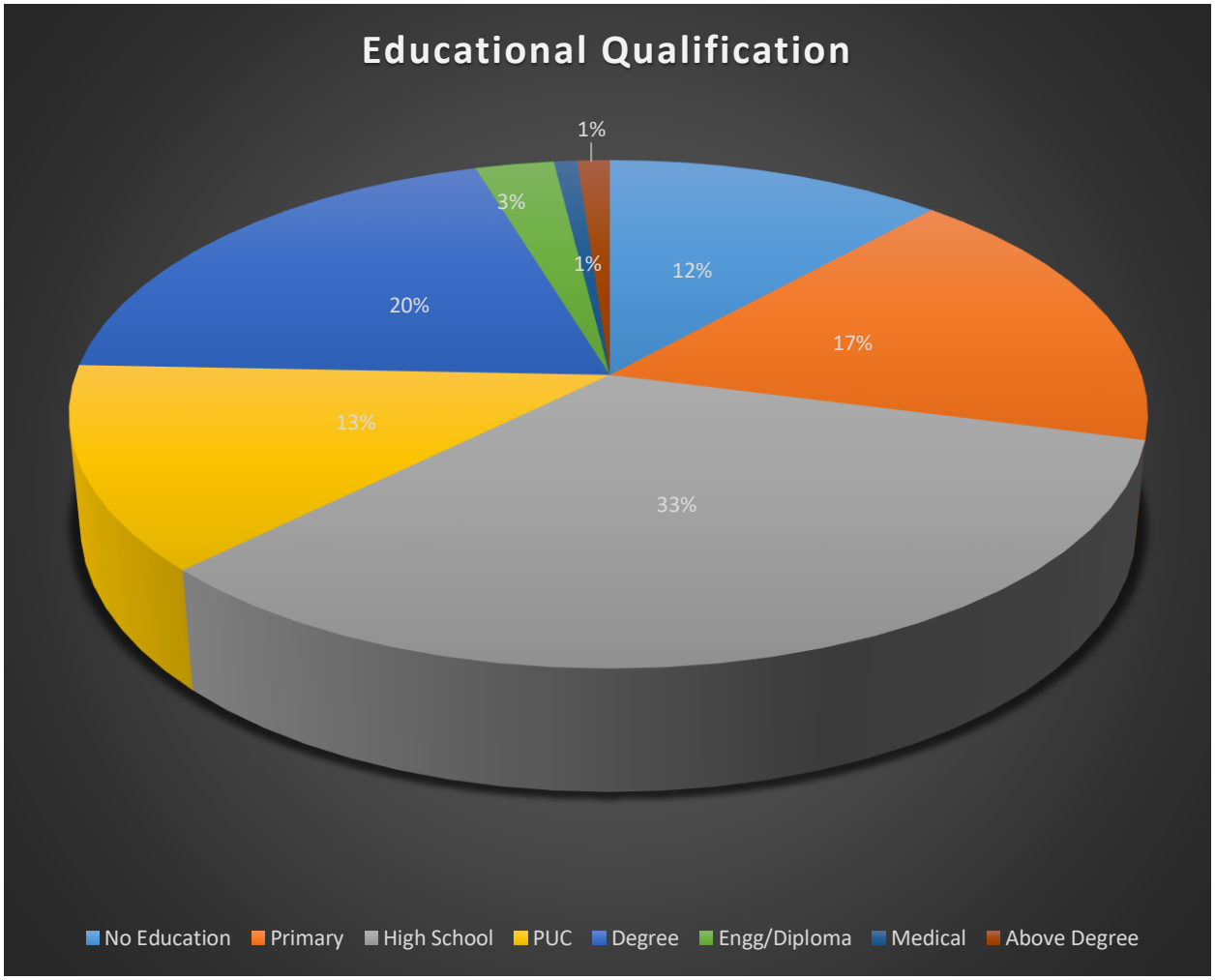
5. Caste Status

Caste	No. of Respondents	% of Respondents
Gen	83185	31
OBC	117737	43
SC	29445	11
ST	39304	14
Others	1645	1



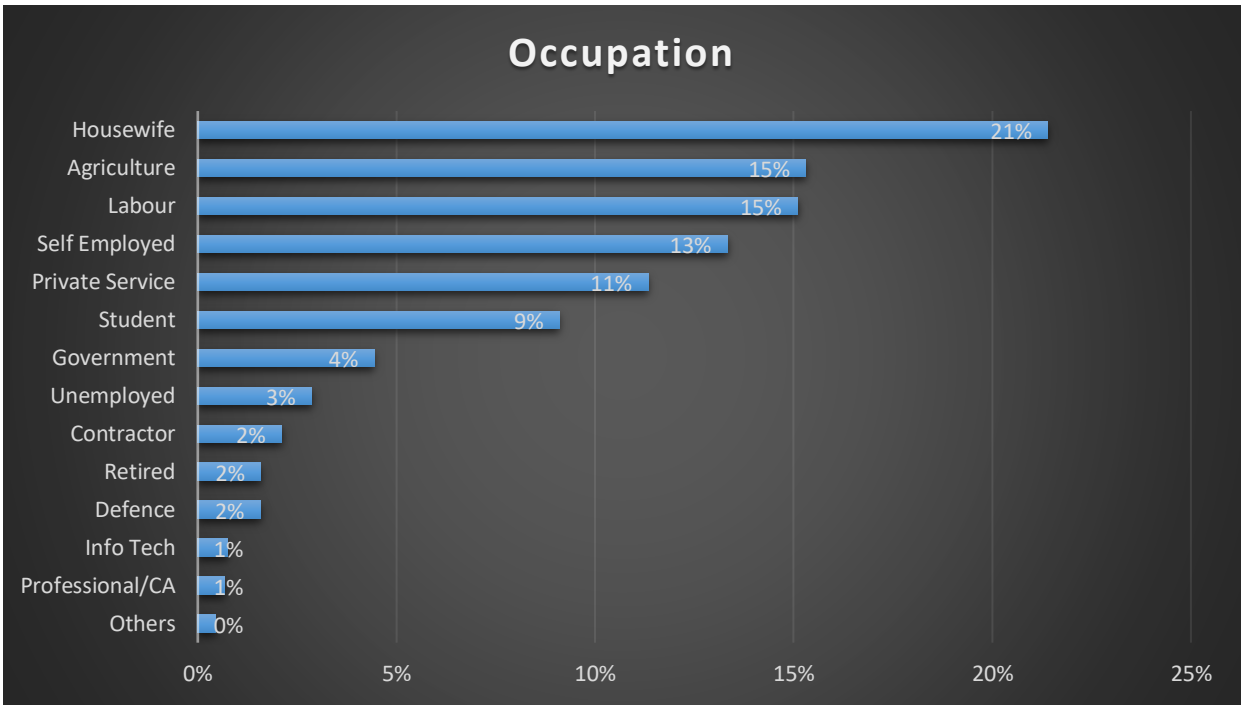
6. Education Qualification

Qualification	No. of Respondents	% of Respondents
No Education	31759	12
Primary	47102	17
High School	91024	33
PUC	35320	13
Degree	53453	20
Engg/Diploma	7410	3
Medical	2194	1
Above Degree	3054	1



7. Occupation

Occupation	No. of Respondents	%age of Respondents
Housewife	58067	21%
Agriculture	41533	15%
Labour	40959	15%
Self Employed	36165	13%
Private Service	30757	11%
Student	24693	9%
Government	12036	4%
Unemployed	7762	3%
Contractor	5712	2%
Retired	4300	2%
Defence	4272	2%
Info Tech	2041	1%
Professional/CA	1804	1%
Others	1215	0%



VOTING BEHAVIOUR

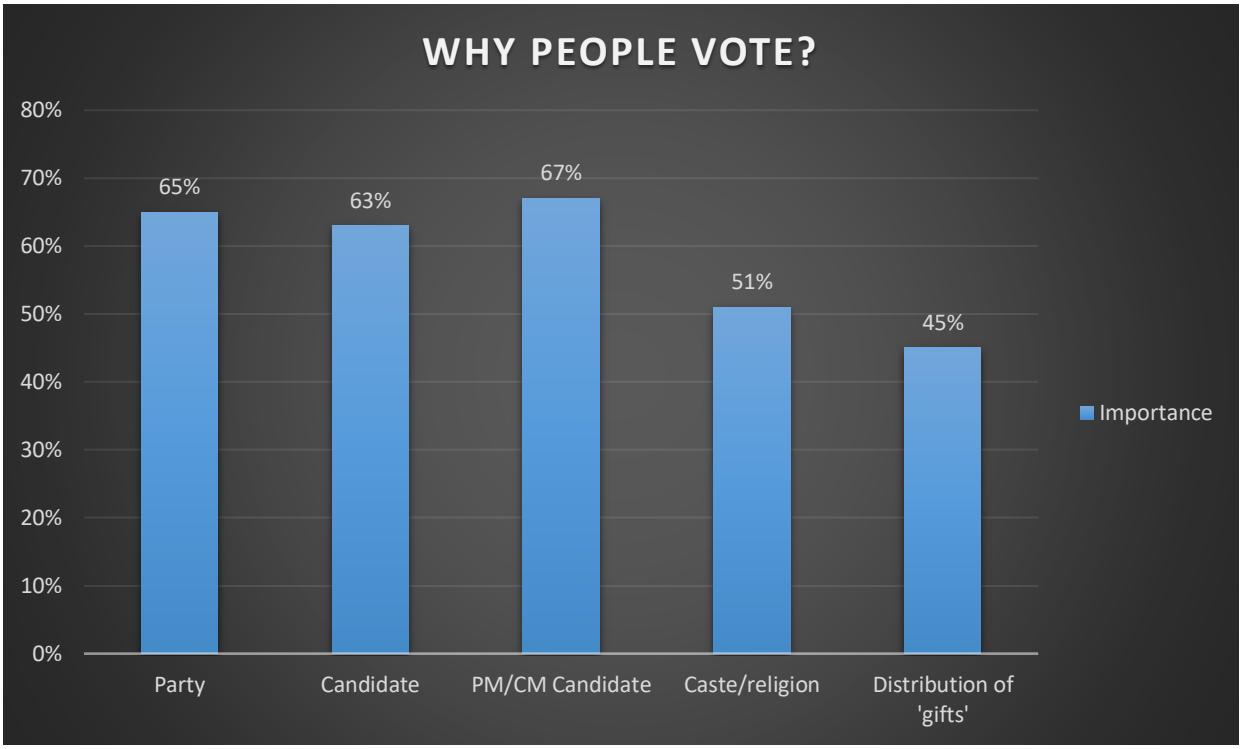
The survey tried to identify the important factors that people take into account before voting for a particular Candidate. Issue like whether the Candidate matters the most or his Political Party or other issues like caste/religion of the Candidate, PM Candidate of the party, and Distribution of 'gifts' etc. are more important?

Voting Behaviour	**All India**
Why people vote:	
Party	65%
Candidate	63%
PM/CM Candidate	67%
Caste/religion	51%
Distribution of 'gifts'	45%
Yes/No "knowledge and opinion questions": Do you know	
Do you know "Gifts" for vote is illegal	77%
Do you know Candidates distributing 'gifts'	37%
Do you know You can get candidate criminal record	36%
Why do people vote for those with serious criminal records:	
Candidate does good work	48%
Powerful Candidate	39%
Spending in elections	37%
Cases not serious	36%
Voters don't know	39%
Caste or religion	38%

The survey asked respondents about the reason they vote for a particular candidate. They were given five choices—candidate, party, party's prime ministerial candidate, caste and money distribution. Respondents had to rank each of these as either very important, important or not important. Taking the weighted average across respondents for each of these factors, we can gauge the aggregate importance of each of the five factors across all voters.

People in **India** gave more importance to the PM/CM **candidate** than the candidate who is contesting the election. The candidate of the party and caste/religion of the candidate

were the 3rd and 4th most important factors which voters consider before voting. Distribution of gifts was the least important factor for voting in India

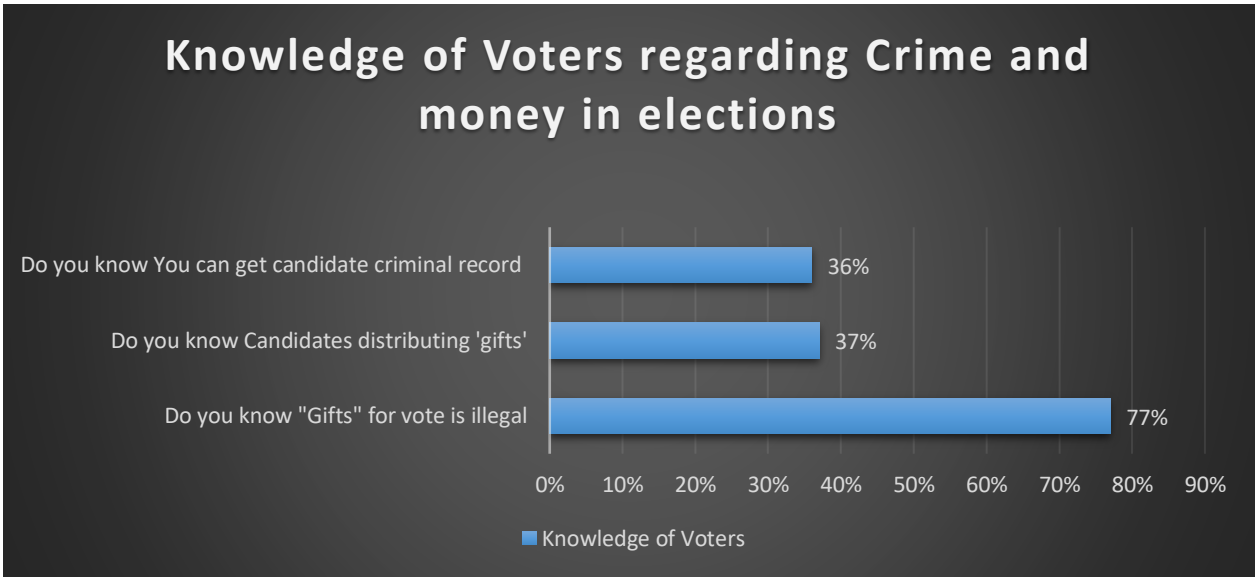


It is interesting that, according to the survey, the most important factor for voters is the candidate, followed by party across all categories.

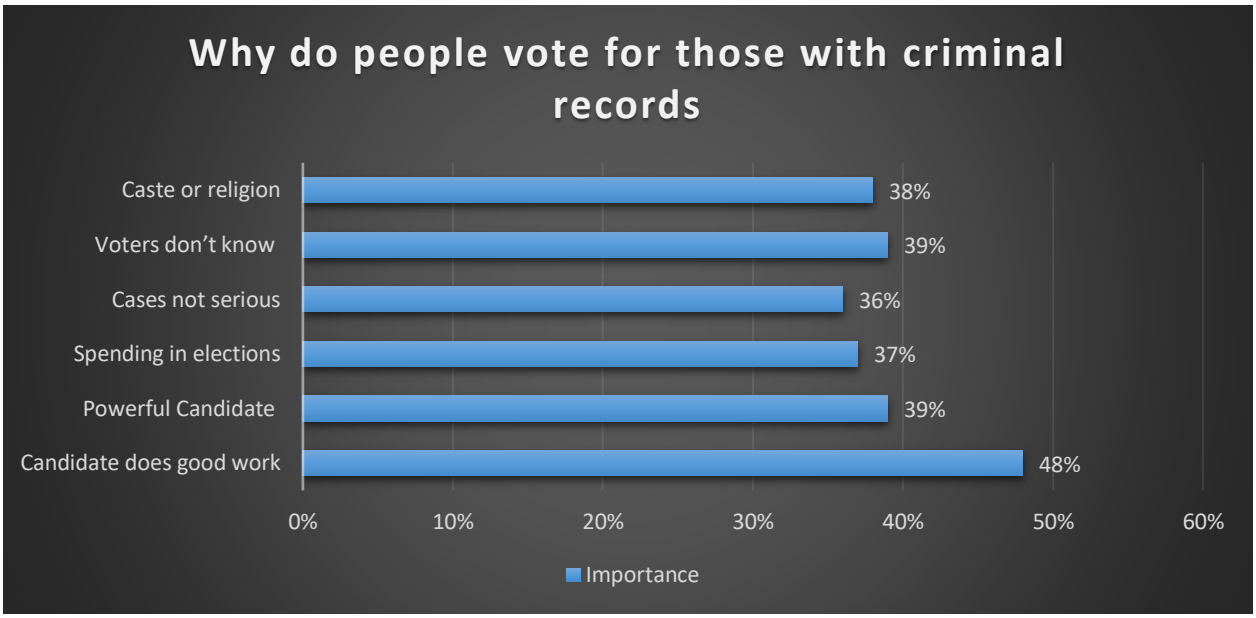
ROLE of CASTE, RELIGION, CRIME and MONEY in ELECTIONS

The survey also tried to identify if voters are aware of the use of money and muscle power in elections**.** Specifically, whether they are aware of distribution of gifts and money by candidates before polls or they have the knowledge about the criminal record of their candidates.

It was observed that nearly **77 per cent** of people in **India** are well aware that distribution of gifts and money by candidates ahead of elections is illegal. However, only 36 per cent people knew that they can get information about the criminal records of their candidates easily.



Contrary to popular notion, over 40 per cent people in India said that they'll ignore the criminal record of their candidates because they feel such candidates have done "*good work*." Whereas around 38 per cent people vote for candidates facing criminal charges because they were of their own caste/ religion.



CONCLUSION

The survey assessed the voter characteristics and the voter perception towards issues of importance to them and how they think the Government has performed on those issues. Thus the analysis brings out mainly two important questions to the forefront? What important factors may drive divergence? What can be done to improve congruence?

Through the analysis we can see that Indian men and women whether in rural or urban areas, are equally interested in politics and have actively participated in bringing forth their concerns. The decisions of the policy makers are likely to differ from the preferences of the constituents, however, this survey provides an opportunity to the policy makers to evaluate the issues that the respondents have raised and work towards minimizing the gap between voters and Government.

The voters have to make a choice from among those candidates that are available. It is assumed that the voters vote for candidates that have similar opinions, based on the promises made during election campaigns and in their election manifesto. However, besides the lack of information with the constituents, the candidate's own preferences are not transparent, they advertise what seems to be good for election or re-election, and they avoid talking or declaring anything that could be unpopular.

The relative importance of these promises shift with proximity to the elections. The fact that the electorate has no role once the politician is elected and the suspended animation of electorate is brought back to life only when next elections are due allows the priority of the candidates elected to be determined by the political parties. It is then hoped that the electorate takes care to elect a better politician to represent them.

Political representation is about championing constituents' preferences. In the larger and complete report we also provide constituency wise information. However the top two issues of employment and better health services remain relevant across the country. We hope this report will help people's representatives to do their work more effectively. The gap between people's expectations and its fulfilment needs to be addressed.

QUESTIONAIRRE

ALL INDIA VOTER SURVEY – 2016
By Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR)

MP Constituency: …….. MLA Constituency: ……

BLOCK (Taluka): ……..……...Gram Panchayat Name: ……..……...

Town/City Name: ……...Ward Number: ……..

First Name of Respondent (in BLOCK letters only)	Last Name (in BLOCK letters only)

Age				Home roof type	
				Kuccha	
Gender		No. of Children			
Male				Semi-Pucca	
Female					
Married		Location		Pucca	
Yes		Rural			
No		Urban			

Are you a migrant, when did you migrate to this location?

Less than a year ☐

1- 5 years ☐

5- 10 years ☐

More than 10 years ☐

Religion, Caste	**Qualification**	**Occupation**		**Stove Type**	**Assets Owned**	**Did you vote in the last election?**
Buddhist ☐	No Education ☐	Agriculture ☐	Government ☐	Wood ☐	Television ☐	
Christian ☐	Primary ☐	Housewife ☐	Info Tech ☐	Kerosene ☐	Motorbike/Scooter ☐	Yes ☐ No ☐
Hindu ☐	High School ☐	Defence ☐	Others ☐	LPG ☐	Car/Jeep ☐	**If You did not vote, why?**
Jain ☐	PUC ☐	Labour ☐	Private Service ☐	Charcoal ☐	Cow/Buffalo ☐	Missing Name ☐
Muslim ☐	Degree ☐	Retired ☐	Self-employed ☐	Natural/Biogas ☐		Not Interested ☐
Sikh ☐	Engg/Diploma ☐	Professional/CA ☐	Unemployed ☐	Others ☐		Not in town ☐
Others ☐	Medical ☐	Student ☐				Not Registered ☐
Gen ☐	Above Degree ☐	Contractor ☐				No Leave ☐
OBC ☐						
ST ☐						
SC ☐						

Behaviour									
What are the reasons you vote for a candidate?					**Yes**	**No**	**Why do you think people vote for candidate with a criminal record?**	**Yes**	**No**
	Not Important	**Important**	**Very Important**	Do you know that distribution of Cash/money/gifts are illegal?			Candidate is of similar caste/religion		
The Candidate				Are you aware of instances of distribution of money/cash/gifts/liquor in your constituency during the last election?			Candidate is powerful		
Candidate's Party				Do you know that you can get information on criminal records of the candidates?			Candidate otherwise does good work		
Candidate's caste or religion				Do you think people should vote for candidates with a criminal record/arrested in jail?			Cases against him are not serious		
Chief Ministerial Candidate							Candidate has spent generously in elections		
Distribution of cash liquor, gifts etc.							Voters don't know about the criminal record		

In deciding who to vote for in an election, whose opinion mattered the most?

Local Political Leader? ☐

Husband/Wife ☐

Other Family Members ☐

Caste/Community Leaders ☐

Friends/Neighbours ☐

Colleagues ☐

Voted on my own ☐

Others ☐

District Code	Sub District Code	Location Code	Constituency Code	Investigator's Name
				Date

What are the issues that are important to you in an election?		From the list of issues listed on the left, can you mention issues which acc to you are the MOST important for your area				
Importance		1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
For Rural Resident Only						
1	Agriculture loan availability					
2	Electricity for agriculture					
3	Agriculture subsidy for seeds/fertilisers					
4	Availability of Water for agriculture					
5	Higher Price realization for farm Products					
6	Sand and stone quarrying/mining					
7	Water, river, lake pollution					
For Rural and Urban Resident						
8	Better employment opportunities					
9	Better hospitals/Primary Health care centres					
10	Better law and order/Policing					
11	Better Public Transport					
12	Better roads					
13	Drinking Water					
14	Electricity for domestic use					
15	Empowerment of women and security					
16	Eradication of corruption					
17	Reservation for jobs and education					
18	School education					
19	Subsidised food distribution/Ration					
20	Terrorism					
21	Training for jobs					
22	Lower food prices for consumers					
23	Strong defence/Military					
24	Better garbage clearance					
25	Encroachment of public land, lakes etc.					

26	Others (Specify)……					
For urban resident only						
27	Traffic congestion					
28	Mining/Quarrying					
29	Facility for cyclists and pedestrians on roads					
30	Water and Air pollution					
31	Noise Pollution					

And how as your Government performed on them?		Of the issues/items listed on the side, mention TWO issues/items in which the performance of the government in the area has been GOOD/AVERAGE and BAD?							
IMPORTANCE		**Good 1**	**Good 2**		**Average 1**	**Average 2**		**Bad 1**	**Bad 2**
For Rural Resident Only									
1	Agriculture loan availability								
2	Electricity for agriculture								
3	Agriculture subsidy for seeds/fertilisers								
4	Availability of Water for agriculture								
5	Higher Price realization for farm Products								
6	Sand and stone quarrying/mining								
7	Water, river, lake pollution								
For Rural and Urban Resident									
8	Better employment opportunities								
9	Better hospitals/Primary Health care centres								
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24	Better garbage clearance								
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26	Others (Specify)……								
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