

District _____ Taluk _____ Village _____ Respondent _____

Participant number _____
Date _____
Village _____
Taluk _____
District _____
Interviewer _____

1st number (for name) _____
2nd number (if needed) _____
Politician's name _____
Speech 1 or 2 : _____

Thank you for your participation in our study about political speeches. We would like to know what you thought of the speech that we have shown you.

[FOR THE FOLLOWING TWO QUESTIONS, SHOW THE PICTURE OF THE LADDER]

1. Please look at this ladder, which has 7 steps. Suppose the first step of the ladder means “very bad,” and the 7th step means “very good.” On what step would you place the quality of the speech of (*name of politician*) that you just heard? (*Circle the choice*)

(1= very bad, 7= very good)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Now, suppose the first step of the ladder means “no, not at all” and the 7th step means “yes, completely.” Where would you put your answer to the following question: Does the speech of (*name of politician*) make you want to vote for this candidate? (*Circle the choice*)

(1= No, not at all, 7= Yes, completely)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. In your opinion, is the politician in the video, (*name of politician*), very unlikeable, unlikeable, neither likeable nor unlikeable, likeable, or very likeable? (*mark the choice*)

- ☐ 1. Very unlikeable
- ☐ 2. Unlikeable
- ☐ 3. Neither unlikeable nor likeable
- ☐ 4. Likeable
- ☐ 5. Very likeable

4. In your opinion, is the politician in the video, (*name of politician*), not at all intelligent, a little intelligent, intelligent, quite intelligent, or very intelligent? (*mark the choice*)

- ☐ 1. Not at all intelligent
- ☐ 2. A little intelligent
- ☐ 3. Intelligent
- ☐ 4. Quite intelligent
- ☐ 5. Very intelligent

5. In your opinion, is the politician in the video, (name of politician), not at all trustworthy, a little trustworthy, trustworthy, quite trustworthy, or very trustworthy? *(mark the choice)*

- ☐ 1. Not at all trustworthy
- ☐ 2. A little trustworthy
- ☐ 3. Trustworthy
- ☐ 4. Quite trustworthy
- ☐ 5. Very trustworthy

6. In your opinion, is the politician in the video, (name of politician), not at all competent, a little competent, competent, quite competent, or very competent? *(mark the choice)*

- ☐ 1. Not at all competent
- ☐ 2. A little competent
- ☐ 3. Competent
- ☐ 4. Pretty competent
- ☐ 5. Very competent

[FOR THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS, PLEASE SHOW THE LADDER WITH SEVEN RUNGS].

Please look again at the ladder with seven steps. Suppose that the first step means “I do not agree at all” and the 7th step means “I agree completely.”

Where on the ladder would you place your degree of agreement with the following statements?

(1 = do not agree at all, 7 = agree entirely)
(Circle the choice)

7. “You were impressed by the candidate, (name of the politician).”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. “You agree with the political ideas of (name of the politician).”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. “The candidate, (name of the politician), has good motives for running for office.”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. “The candidate, (name of the politician), will be capable of facing the challenges of office.”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. “If he were elected, (name of the politician) would do a good job in office.”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. “If he were elected, (name of the politician) would defend others and fight for his ideals.”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. “The candidate, (name of the politician), cares about people like you.”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. “The candidate, (name of the politician), cares about the same sorts of things as you do.”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. “If he were elected, (name of the politician) would keep his promises.”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. “If (name of the politician) broke his promises, people like you would know about it.”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. “If (name of the politician) broke his promises, people like you could hold him accountable.”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. “If (name of the politician) were elected, people like you would receive more benefits from the welfare schemes of the government.”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

19. “If (name of the politician) were elected, people like you would have a better chance of getting a job with the government.”

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

20. Now, I would like to ask you, does this speech remind you of other political speeches that you have already heard?

☐ 1. Yes (please describe below)

☐ 2. No

Description: _____

21. In your opinion, to what caste (*jati*) does (*name of the politician*) belong?

_____ (*write here*)

(IF THE RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW THE CASTE/JATI, PLEASE ASK/INSIST THAT THE RESPONDENT GUESS).

22. The candidate, (*name of politician*), belongs to the caste (*jati*) you just mentioned. Can you tell me about how many of your close friends are part of this same caste (*jati*)?

0 1-2 3-4 5-9 10 or more

23. And can you tell me about how many of your acquaintances (people who you see regularly but who are not as close as friends) are part of this same caste (*jati*)?

0 1-2 3-4 5-9 10 or more

24. In your opinion, if this politician were elected as the adhyaksha of the Gram Panchayat in this area, would he favor people of his own caste or category? That is, would he give people from his own caste or category more jobs or greater access to benefits from welfare schemes?

- ☐ 1. Yes
☐ 2. No
☐ 3. Does not know/Did not reply

25. In your opinion, to what category or group (*varga*) does (*name of politician*) belong -- Forward Caste, Backward Caste (A), Backward Caste (B), Scheduled Caste, or Scheduled Tribe?

- ☐ 1. Forward Caste
☐ 2. Backward Caste – Category I, or A
☐ 3. Backward Caste – Category II, or B
☐ 4. Scheduled Caste (SC)
☐ 5. Scheduled Tribe (ST)
☐ 6. Other _____ (*please write here*)
☐ 7. Does not know
☐ 8. Did not reply

26. The candidate, (*name of politician*), belongs to (*mention the name of the caste group identified in the previous question*). Can you tell me how about many of your close friends belong to this same caste group (*varga*)?

0 1-2 3-4 5-9 10 or more

27. And can you tell me about how many of your acquaintances (people who you see regularly but who are not as close as friends) belong to this caste group (*varga*)?

0	1-2	3-4	5-9	10 or more
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28. Do you think that if this politician were elected as the adhyaksha of the Gram Panchayat, he would favor people of (*mention the name of the caste group identified in question 25*)? That is, would he give people of this caste (*jati*)/group (*varga*) more jobs or benefits from welfare schemes?

- ☐ 1. Yes
- ☐ 2. No
- ☐ 3. Does not know/Did not reply

Now, we want to turn to a new topic. We want to ask you some questions about the Grama Panchayath in your area [*mohalu*].

29a. In the last year or two, have you participated in a meeting of a Gram Sabha?

- ☐ 1. Yes (*GO TO QUESTION 29b*)
- ☐ 2. No (*GO TO QUESTION 30a*)
- ☐ 3. Does not know (*GO TO QUESTION 30a*)
- ☐ 4. Did not reply (*GO TO QUESTION 30a*)

29b. (*If yes*) How effective do you think your participation in the Gram Sabha was? That is, how much did your participation help you to obtain an outcome or resolution to a problem that was important to you ?

(1 = not at all effective, 7 = very effective)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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29c. In this Gram Sabha, did you discuss the revenues and expenditures of this Gram Panchayat ? For example, did you discuss how much funds are available for particular projects?

- ☐ 1. Yes
- ☐ 2. No
- ☐ 3. Does not know
- ☐ 4. Did not reply

29d. What other topics did you discuss in the Gram Sabha?

(write here)

30a. In the last year or two, have you participated in a meeting of a Ward Sabha?

- ☐ 1. Yes (*GO TO QUESTION 30b*)
- ☐ 2. No (*GO TO QUESTION 31a*)
- ☐ 3. Does not know (*GO TO QUESTION 31a*)
- ☐ 4. Did not reply (*GO TO QUESTION 31a*)

30b. (*If yes*) How effective do you think your participation in the Ward Sabha was? That is, how much did your participation help you to obtain an outcome or resolution to a problem that was important to you ?

(1 = not at all effective, 7 = very effective,)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

30c. In this Ward Sabha, did you discuss the revenues and expenditures of this Gram Panchayat? For example, did you discuss how much funds are available for particular projects?

- ☐ 1. Yes
- ☐ 2. No
- ☐ 3. Does not know
- ☐ 4. Did not reply

30d. What other topics did you discuss in the Ward Sabha?

(write here)

31a. In the last year or two, have you participated in a Panchayat Jamabandi (social audit) exercise?

- ☐ 1. Yes (*GO TO QUESTIONS 31b, 31c, and 31d*)
- ☐ 2. No (*GO TO QUESTION 32a*)
- ☐ 3. Does not know (*GO TO QUESTION 32a*)
- ☐ 4. Did not reply (*GO TO QUESTION 32a*)

31b. (*If yes*) How effective do you think your participation in the Panchayat Jamabandi (social audit) exercise was? That is, how much did your participation help you to obtain an outcome or resolution to a problem that was important to you ?

(1 = not at all effective, 7 = very effective)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

31c. In this Panchayat Jamabandi, did you discuss the revenues and expenditures of this Gram Panchayat? For example, did you discuss how much funds are available for particular projects?

- ☐ 1. Yes (*GO TO QUESTIONS 31b, 31c, and 31d*)
- ☐ 2. No (*GO TO QUESTION 32*)
- ☐ 3. Does not know (*GO TO QUESTION 32*)
- ☐ 4. Did not reply (*GO TO QUESTION 32*)

31d. What other topics did you discuss in the Panchayat Jambandi?

_____ (*write here*)

32a. In the last year or two, have you ever received a job or another benefit through your Grama Panchayat ?

- ☐ 1. Yes (*GO TO QUESTIONS 32b, 32c, 32d, and 32e*)
- ☐ 2. No (*GO TO QUESTION 33*)
- ☐ 3. Does not know (*GO TO QUESTION 33*)
- ☐ 4. Did not reply (*GO TO QUESTION 33*)
- ☐ 5. Did not reply (*GO TO QUESTION 33*)

32b. What sort of job or benefit did you receive ?

[*PLEASE WRITE THE NAME OF THE SPECIFIC SCHEME NEXT TO THE ANSWER*]

- ☐ 1. Job _____ (*please write here*)
- ☐ 2. Housing _____ (*please write here*)
- ☐ 3. Other income support _____ (*please write here*)
- ☐ 4. Does not know
- ☐ 5. Did not reply

32c. Did you present an income or caste certificate to obtain this job or benefit? That is, was it necessary to present an income certificate, a caste certificate, both income and caste certificates, or any other certificate or document?

- ☐ 1. Yes, income certificate
- ☐ 2. Yes, caste certificate
- ☐ 3. Yes, both income and caste certificates
- ☐ 4. No, neither income nor caste certificate
- ☐ 5. Does not know
- ☐ 6. Did not reply
- ☐ 7. Other (specify) _____

32d. How did you receive this job or benefit?

_____ (write here)

32e. It is well-known that sometimes citizens must offer bribes or gifts in order to gain access to jobs or welfare schemes. I would like to know, did you have to pay any kind of bribe or gift in order to secure this job or benefit?

- ☐ 1. Yes
- ☐ 2. No
- ☐ 3. Does not know
- ☐ 4. Did not reply

33. Do you know another person who has received a job or another benefit through your Grama Panchayat in the last year or two?

- ☐ 1. Yes (*GO TO QUESTIONS 33b AND 33c*)
- ☐ 2. No (*GO TO QUESTION 34*)
- ☐ 3. Does not know (*GO TO QUESTION 34*)
- ☐ 4. Did not reply (*GO TO QUESTION 34*)

33a. Do you know the names of any of the ward members (representatives) to the gram panchayat from your ward or village?

- ☐ 1. Yes: _____
(*write names here ; LIST AS MANY AS THE RESPONDENT KNOWS*)
- ☐ 2. Does not know
- ☐ 3. Did not reply

33b. What sort of job or benefit did this person receive?

[*PLEASE WRITE THE NAME OF THE SPECIFIC SCHEME NEXT TO THE ANSWER*]

- ☐ 1. Job _____ (*please write here*)
- ☐ 2. Housing _____ (*please write here*)
- ☐ 3. Other income support _____ (*please write here*)
- ☐ 4. Does not know
- ☐ 5. Did not reply

33c. How did this person receive this job or benefit ?

_____ (write here)

33d. In your opinion, did this person deserve to receive this job or benefit ? Was this person very deserving, somewhat deserving, neither deserving nor undeserving, somewhat undeserving, or very undeserving ?

- ☐ 1. Very deserving
- ☐ 2. Somewhat deserving
- ☐ 3. Neither deserving nor undeserving
- ☐ 4. Somewhat undeserving
- ☐ 5. Somewhat undeserving
- ☐ 6. Does not know/does not reply

34. Do you know the name of the adhyaksha of your gram panchayat?

- ☐ 1. Yes: _____
(write name here)
- ☐ 2. Does not know
- ☐ 3. Did not reply

35. With which political party is the adhyaksha of your gram panchayat affiliated ?

- ☐ 1. Indian National Congress (INC)
- ☐ 2. Janata Dal (S)
- ☐ 3. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)
- ☐ 4. Janata Dal (U)
- ☐ 5. Other (please specify) _____
- ☐ 6. Does not know
- ☐ 7. Did not reply

36. In your opinion, to what caste (*jati*) does the adhyaksha of your Gram Panchayat belong?

(write name here)

37. In your opinion, to what caste category (*varga*) does the adhyaksha of your Gram Panchayat – that is, to a Forward Caste, Backward Caste (A), Backward Caste (B), Scheduled Caste, or Scheduled Tribe ?

- ☐ 1. Forward Caste (Brahmin, etc.)
- ☐ 2. Backward Caste – Category I or A
- ☐ 3. Backward Caste – Category II or B
- ☐ 4. Scheduled Caste (SC)
- ☐ 5. Scheduled Tribe (ST)
- ☐ 6. Other _____
- ☐ 7. Does not know

☐ 8. Did not reply

38. In general, in deciding on works and projects to undertake, do you think that adhyakshas of gram panchayats tend to favor their own villages?

- ☐ 1. Yes
- ☐ 2. No
- ☐ 3. Does not know
- ☐ 4. Did not reply

39a. In general, in allocating jobs and benefits from various schemes, do you feel that adhyakshas of gram panchayats favor people from their own caste or tribe?

- ☐ 1. Yes (*GO TO QUESTION 39b*)
- ☐ 2. No (*GO TO QUESTION 40*)
- ☐ 3. Does not know (*GO TO QUESTION 40*)
- ☐ 4. Did not reply (*GO TO QUESTION 40*)

39b. Why do they favor people from their own caste or tribe? For example, do they care more about people from their own caste or tribe, do they fear that people from their own caste or tribe will find a way to hold them accountable, or for some other reason?

- ☐ 1. Adhyakshas care more about people from their own caste group
- ☐ 2. If they do not favor their own caste or tribe, members of their caste or tribe will find a way to hold them accountable
- ☐ 3. Other _____
(*please write answer here*)
- ☐ 4. Does not know
- ☐ 5. Did not reply

40. In your opinion, which particular group in this community has the most power or influence over this Gram Panchayat?

(*write answer above*)

- ☐ 3. Doesn't know
- ☐ 4. Doesn't reply
- ☐ 9. N.A.

41. To which particular group in this community do you think that this Grama Panchayat gives the most priority, for example, in allocating funds for projects and schemes?

(*write answer above*)

- ☐ 3. Doesn't know
- ☐ 4. Doesn't reply
- ☐ 9. N.A.

42. I would like to know, in your opinion, how effectively this Gram Panchayat responds to the needs of previously-disadvantaged citizens in this area, such as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Would you say that this Gram Panchayat responds very effectively, somewhat effectively, neither effectively nor ineffectively, somewhat ineffectively, or very ineffectively?

- ☐ 1. Very effectively
- ☐ 2. Somewhat effectively
- ☐ 3. Neither effectively nor ineffectively
- ☐ 4. Somewhat ineffectively
- ☐ 5. Very ineffectively
- ☐ 6. Doesn't know/Doesn't reply

43. I would like to know if you voted in your most recent Gram Panchayat elections ?

- ☐ 1. Yes (*GO TO QUESTION 44b*)
- ☐ 2. No (*GO TO QUESTION 45*)
- ☐ 3. Does not know (*GO TO QUESTION 45*)
- ☐ 4. Did not reply (*GO TO QUESTION 45*)

43a. In your opinion, from what party was the candidate for whom you voted?

- ☐ 1. Indian National Congress (INC)
- ☐ 2. Janata Dal (S)
- ☐ 3. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)
- ☐ 4. Janata Dal (U)
- ☐ 5. Other (please specify) _____
- ☐ 6. Does not know
- ☐ 7. Did not reply

43b. I want you to think about the candidate who you most preferred, among all the candidates. Can you tell me the name of this candidate ?

(please write name here)

- ☐ . Does not know
- ☐ . Does not reply

43c. In your opinion, from what party was this candidate?

- ☐ 1. Indian National Congress (INC)
- ☐ 2. Janata Dal (S)
- ☐ 3. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

- ☐ 4. Janata Dal (U)
- ☐ 5. Other (please specify) _____
- ☐ 6. Does not know
- ☐ 7. Did not reply

43d. In your opinion, to what Caste (*Jati*)/Tribe did this candidate belong ?

(write name here)

43e. And why did you most prefer this candidate, among all the candidates?

(write above)

We are almost finished with the interview. However, we would like to ask you some final questions about your participation in politics and your political opinions.

In answering these questions, I ask you to think not just about elections for your gram panchayat but also elections for Members of the Legislative Assembly—that is, the state government in Bangalore—as well as elections for Members of Parliament—that is, the national government in Delhi.

44. In general, do you think that your vote is secret, or do you think that members of a political party, the government, your friends or neighbors, or other people can learn for whom you voted in an election ?

- ☐ 1. Somebody can learn how I voted (*GO TO QUESTION 45b*)
- ☐ 2. Vote is secret (*GO TO QUESTION 46*)
- ☐ 3. Not sure (*GO TO QUESTION 46*)
- ☐ 4. Didn't reply (*GO TO QUESTION 46*)

44a. Who is most likely to learn for whom you voted?

- ☐ 1. Elected politicians
- ☐ 2. Other member of a political party
- ☐ 3. Government official/member of the bureaucracy
- ☐ 4. Your friends and neighbors
- ☐ 5. Other (please specify) _____

45. Have you ever received a gift from a political party or political candidate before an election, to convince you to vote for that party or candidate?

- ☐ 1. Yes (*GO TO QUESTION 46b*)
- ☐ 2. No (*GO TO QUESTION 47*)
- ☐ 3. Not sure (*GO TO QUESTION 47*)

☐ 4. Didn't reply (*GO TO QUESTION 47*)

45a. (*If yes*) From what party was that candidate? (please specify) _____

45b. And how much obligation did you feel to vote for that candidate? Did you feel no obligation whatsoever, a little obligation, some obligation, or quite a lot of obligation ?

- ☐ 1. No obligation whatsoever
- ☐ 2. A little obligation
- ☐ 3. Some obligation
- ☐ 4. Quite a lot of obligation

45c. Did you think that if you did not vote for that party or candidate, you might not receive some job or benefit from the government in the future?

- ☐ 1. Yes
- ☐ 2. No
- ☐ 3. Not sure
- ☐ 4. Does not reply

46. In general, do you think that members of political parties monitor whether you go to vote or not?

- ☐ 1. Yes
- ☐ 2. No
- ☐ 3. Not sure
- ☐ 4. Does not reply

47. Have you ever received a gift from a political party or political candidate before an election, to induce you to turn out to vote on election day?

- ☐ 1. Yes (*GO TO QUESTION 48b*)
- ☐ 2. No (*GO TO QUESTION 49a*)
- ☐ 3. Not sure (*GO TO QUESTION 49a*)
- ☐ 4. Didn't reply (*GO TO QUESTION 49a*)

47b. From what party was that candidate? (please specify) _____

47c. And how much obligation did you feel to turn out to vote?

- ☐ 1. None whatsoever
- ☐ 2. A little
- ☐ 3. Quite a lot

48. Did you think that if you did not turn out to vote, you might not receive some job or benefit from the government in the future?

- ☐ 1. Yes
- ☐ 2. No

- ☐ 3. Not sure
- ☐ 4. Does not reply

49a. Are you a member of any political party?

- ☐ 1. Yes (*GO TO QUESTION 49b*)
- ☐ 2. No (*GO TO QUESTION 50*)
- ☐ 3. Does not know/doesn't reply (*GO TO QUESTION 50*)

49b. (*If yes*) To which party do you belong?

- ☐ 1. Indian National Congress (INC)
- ☐ 2. Janata Dal (S)
- ☐ 3. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)
- ☐ 4. Janata Dal (U)
- ☐ 5. Other (please specify) _____

50. (*If no to 49a*) To which political party do you feel the closest?

- ☐ 1. Indian National Congress (INC)
- ☐ 2. Janata Dal (S)
- ☐ 3. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)
- ☐ 4. Janata Dal (U)
- ☐ 5. Other (please specify) _____
- ☐ 6. None
- ☐ 7. Doesn't know/didn't reply

51. Finally, would you feel comfortable marrying someone from a different caste (*jati*)?

- ☐ 1. Not at all comfortable
- ☐ 2. Not very comfortable
- ☐ 3. Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- ☐ 4. Quite comfortable
- ☐ 5. Extremely comfortable

With that, we conclude the interview. Thank you very much for your time and your assistance.