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**The State of Democratic Governance in India**

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# The State of Democratic Governance in India

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## I. Introduction

India, as a democratic republic, will be 60 years old in about a year from now. In the Indian tradition, successful completion of 60 years (*shastipoorti*) has a great symbolic significance in the life of an individual. It is considered as a memorable turning point – an occasion to celebrate, review the past and renew life with new vigour. The journey of India's democracy began in 1950, with a great promise to secure to all its citizens social, economic and political justice, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, and equality of status and opportunity. Explaining why the Preamble to the Constitution of India was printed after the table of contents of his book *Principles of Social & Political Theory*, Ernest Barker wrote in August 1950: "It seemed to me, when I read it, to state in brief and pithy form the argument of much of the book; and it may accordingly serve as a key-note. I am the more moved to quote it because I am proud that the people of India should begin their independent life by subscribing to the principles of a political tradition which we in the West call western, but which is now something more than western."

The promise of democracy in India has inspired many and continues to do so, as it sets the tone for the idea and practice of democracy. As democratic India turns 60, it is time to remember the promise, to review the achievements, ponder over the difficulties and renew the life to meet the new tasks in the changed situation. When we think of assessing democratic governance of India today at this meeting, this promise or the mission statement of the people of India made 60 years ago would probably provide us with a standard to measure the quality and condition of democracy in the country.

Democratic governance, the term recently added to the vocabulary of politics, signifies more than what the two words signify separately. A compound is not what its constituents are. From the term itself it is clear that democratic governance is not merely democratic usually understood in its minimalist sense as government of people's representatives elected in a free and competitive situation. Nor is it merely governance as one of limited government charged with the task of enforcement of law and order, and overseeing the contracts among individuals living in a state or to facilitate, promote and regulate markets. Democratic governance is a condition in which the promise of justice, liberty and equality is realized in a democratic political framework, where the

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government is sensitive to the people's identities, aspirations and needs and where people feel secure and contented.

With hindsight, we can say that India took upon itself this task when it embarked upon the path of democracy 60 years ago. The task was one of democratic development in a country that came into existence by the merger of the British India and a very large number of princely states and a vast country inhabited by people most of whom were illiterate and poor, speaking several different languages and holding different social, cultural and religious identities. The country was primarily agricultural without any manufacture worth the name. Nor did it have the wherewithal such as capital, technology and manpower to take off. The "preconditions" for the introduction of democracy and its survival, such as reasonable levels of economic development, education and social homogeneity, were not simply there. The task of building a durable democratic India, therefore, was truly a gigantic and a daunting one. The challenges were many and these challenges had to be encountered all at the same time: to ensure basic political and civil liberties, to promote equality among citizens, to bring out economic development and eradicate poverty, to forge a nation and a national government, and to navigate through the turbulent times of modernity without losing the anchorage in its civilization. Under these circumstances, several questions haunted the minds of political observers and political scientists. Can Indian democracy survive under the conditions of mass poverty and illiteracy? Can India achieve economic development under a democratic political order? For many, it appeared that democracy came to India prematurely, the pre-modern and the modern would collide headlong and the multiple identities would tear the country apart. There were predictions that these contradictions and pressures would smother the infant democracy to death sooner than later.

Fortunately, such fears and predictions were belied. Despite the deficiencies and the lurking dangers, India survived as democracy and continues to be so. There can be any number of views and arguments on the success and failures of India's democracy and their extent, on the tensions and problems that afflict the Indian state and society and their nature, and the direction in which the country is likely to progress and the one it should take. In the present context of assessing democratic governance, we may need to answer a set of interrelated questions based on people's perceptions and views on the state, society and government in India. That is the objective of this paper.

The analysis is based on the data generated from the cross-section survey conducted in India as part of the State of Democracy in South Asia (SDSA) project located at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi. Sample for this Survey was drawn using the multistage random sampling method covering all the major states of India. The achieved sample size was

5387. Face to face interviews were conducted by trained field investigators during late 2004 and early 2005. The interview schedule used for the Survey contained several questions similar to the ones asked in barometric surveys in other regions. However, the scope of this paper is limited to discussing a few aspects related to democratic governance by making comparisons across different social sections and regions.<sup>1</sup>

## **II. General condition of India's democracy**

From the political commentaries and the media reporting on what is happening in India, one would tend to get a view that Indian democracy is in a thorough mess, that it is breaking down under the pressure of rising aspirations and increasing demands of the people on the state, that disaffection with incumbent governments grows because of populist promises of the political leaders and their inability to meet those demands, and that the people are seething with anger and dissatisfaction at the failure of democracy or its decay. It appears as if the elites are dissatisfied with populism, vote bank politics, as well as mal-governance by the self-seeking political leaders, and the masses are dissatisfied with the governments falling short of their aspirations and promises that political leaders make and the elite capture of the benefits of the economic growth and opportunities that are available in the society.

The survey findings do not quite support such a dismal view of the state of affairs in the country. When asked how satisfied you are with the way democracy works in the country, more than a majority of the respondents said that they are very much satisfied or somewhat satisfied. Only 15 per cent said that they are dissatisfied. The proportion of those satisfied with the working of democracy in the country is more than three times to that of those who are dissatisfied. It is possible that in their response to this question, some of the respondents might have in mind the working of the actual existing governments at that time at the national or provincial levels or at both the levels. Nearly 30 per cent do not have an opinion on this question. They either could not understand the question or found it difficult to articulate an opinion, if they have one. More among women, dalits and illiterates do not have an opinion on this. Satisfaction with democracy increases with the levels of education, income, social status and living in urban areas. Education and satisfaction with the working of democracy have a strong positive association, where the proportion of those satisfied is as low as 36 per cent among the illiterates and as high as 73 per cent among those who have received graduate education (Table 1).

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<sup>1</sup> This paper draws on the observations and data analysis made in the Report on *State of Democracy in South Asia* (Oxford University Press, Delhi: 2008).

However, there is no much variation in perceiving the working of democracy across religious communities. In fact, the response pattern among them is surprisingly close to each other. The view that there exists a divide between the majority community and the religious and cultural minorities in India in their satisfaction with democracy, and that there has been alienation among religious minorities seems to stem more from imagination than from the reality. We do find some variation across caste groups and economic classes arranged in terms of their income, but this could be largely due to the greater no response from certain social groups and poorer classes, which itself could be due to their relatively lower levels of education, income and media exposure.

In four separate questions, citizens were asked to assess the overall state of affairs. These relate to the three dimensions of democracy we talked about, namely, equality, freedom and welfare. A fourth question ascertains whether people feel that they have the power to change a government they do not like. Three-fifths of the respondents agreed that everyone in India enjoys equal rights, while 28 per cent disagreed with that suggestion (Table 2a). In terms of proportions, there are as many Muslims, Christians and Sikhs as there are Hindus among those who felt that every one in India enjoys equal rights. However, the proportion of those who disagreed with this view is more among the Christians.

A similar proportion of people (57 per cent) feel that they are free to speak their mind without fear. But 32 per cent of the respondents felt the other way (Table 2b). At least a majority of every section of the society, whether they are rich or poor, less or highly educated, living in rural areas or towns, hold different religious faiths or belong to different social groups, felt that they enjoy freedom of expression. We should also note here that equality and freedom are not merely the outcomes of the happenings in the political realm, as the constraints to these two principal features of democracy are embedded in the social relations. However, when nearly one-third of the respondents do not think that everyone in the country enjoys equal rights or free to speak out their views and opinions this should be a matter of concern.

A country cannot be regarded as a democracy merely on the ground that the rulers are elected. To be a stable democracy, people should have the power to reelect the incumbents of power or to reject them by choosing new ones for office. Parties and leaders should accept people's verdict in elections and turnover power accordingly to the winning party. We know that India has gone through this turnover test several times in a democratic and peaceful manner to make it a long-term or established democracy. But what do people of India actually think about it? Nearly two-thirds of the respondents in the survey felt that they have the power to change the government they do not like. About 20 per cent felt that they cannot do much in this matter. The proportion of people with such a positive estimation of their power to change governments is not less than 50

per cent among any social category we have identified, and the negative feeling does not go beyond one-fourth (Table 2c).

One litmus test for any democracy in a less developed country is whether its people have the basic necessities like food, clothes and shelter. Many elections in India at the national level and in the states were fought on this promise of providing these basic necessities of life. Of course, we can add education, health and dignity of the individual to this list. It is one thing that people may highly value democracy as an ideal, but they judge democracy by what it delivers to them in reality. While it may be true that democracies may not fare better than dictatorships in achieving economic growth, people under democracies expect a better distribution on nation's wealth, at least in terms of fulfilling the basic needs. Although the percentage of people living below the poverty line has been declining in India, the numbers are still very high. Estimates vary on the extent of poverty, but the studies show that nearly one-third of its people are poor.

This concern with lack of basic necessities of life is evident from the survey. Of all the indicators to measure the overall state of affairs, Indian democracy fares poorly on this aspect. A majority of the respondents do not agree with the suggestion that most people of the country have the basic necessities of life. Only 41 per cent of the respondents think that they have (Table 2d). The proportion of those who agreed with the statement is less among the poor, less educated and the socially and economically backward classes. Among the religious groups, a majority of Muslims approved the statement, and the proportion of respondents approving the statement is the highest among the Muslims. We should also note that those who disagreed with the statement are in considerable numbers among the highly educated sections, urban residents and even among the economically well-off sections. The view that the middle and upper classes are contemptuous towards the poor does not find support from the data, as they disagree with the statement that most people have basic necessities of life, as much as poorer sections, illiterates and socially backward groups.

The survey shows that about two-thirds of the respondents feel that general elections in India are fair or somewhat fair. About 23 per cent feel that they are unfair (Table 3). Thus, we notice a mixed reaction to this question. Sikhs show a rather low level of confidence in the way elections are conducted in the country. There are no big differences across other communities or social groups. Notwithstanding the impression that the elites have a disdain to the electoral process in the country, the survey shows that elites have as much confidence in the elections as do the masses. Overall, India has a fair record of holding regular elections to legislatures, except when the general elections in 1976 were delayed. However, the process of elections has not been free of controversies and friction among the contending parties. Media regularly reports violation of

code of conduct in carrying out elections campaigns, electoral malpractices including the offers of money and other freebies to lure voters and also the use of violence and threats of violence and intimidation to make voters to vote in a particular way or not to vote at all. We hear complaints of rigging and fraudulent voting. There have been occasions when elections in an entire Lok Sabha or Assembly constituency were countermanded on grounds of electoral malpractices and fresh elections were held. However, given the vastness of the country and the electorate such malpractices have not become a major problem to threaten the very process of choosing the representatives. The legitimacy of the government has never been questioned on account of free and fair elections, except a few elections to the State legislatures.

### **III. Economic well-being**

India is passing through a complex situation where its economy has been recording high rates of growth in recent decades but poverty is refusing to go. Still one-fourth of the world's poor live in India. Poverty count by the official agencies and researchers shows that the proportion of population living in the conditions of poverty has been declining over the years, although there are differences in the estimates. The official figures show that the percentage of people below poverty line has come down from about 55 per cent in 1973-74 to about 22 per cent in 2004-05. In terms of numbers, this percentage would come to about 250 millions. Questions are often asked: Did or does the high economic growth means any improvement to the living conditions of the poor? Are the benefits of economic growth appropriated by the minority of the urban elites? What can governments do to bring more and more people out of poverty?

We cannot say that even those who are above the poverty line are leading a comfortable life in terms of meeting their daily needs, since poverty line is defined as the bare minimum to keep oneself alive. The per capita income in India is several times less than the per capita income of the old democracies, less than half of the global average and even less than global average for developing countries. The high incidence of poverty and low levels of economic condition will impact upon the quality of democracy of the country and how politics are conducted.

This reality gets reflected in the citizens' perceptions about their income situation. Only 8 per cent of the respondents said that their income covers the needs well and are able to save a little or more from their incomes. Another 27 per cent of the respondents said that their incomes cover their needs all right, without much difficulty. That would mean about one-third of the people lead a comfortable life as far their incomes are concerned. About 39 per cent said that they face difficulties in meeting their needs out of their income. There are about 23 per cent who feel that their income does not cover their needs and that they have to face great hardships in their lives.

The proportion of such persons who find it highly difficult to make both the ends meet is more among rural people, socially backward classes and illiterates (Table 4).

But the findings on how satisfied are people with their current economic condition are somewhat surprising. People's responses to these questions do not match to the figures of poverty and economic deprivation. About 50 per cent of the sample respondents say that they are either very satisfied or satisfied with their household economic condition. Of course, there is a variation in satisfaction across different economic classes on the evaluation of their household economic condition, as poor tend to take a dimmer view than those who are better off. Yet, except for the very poor, the overall sense of every other section is largely positive. Even among the poor and the very poor, many do not wish to complain or developed stoical attitudes towards these hardships. Only about 40 per cent of the very poor and 29 per cent of the poor expressed their dissatisfaction with their household economic condition. Compared to the evaluations of personal economic condition, people tend to be a little more dissatisfied when asked about the condition of the country's economy. However, a larger proportion of the respondents could not give any opinion on this question (Table 5a).

More interesting are the findings on the evaluations concerning the current economic condition of the household and the country when compared to the condition a few years ago. Near about 43 per cent of the respondents reported improvement in their household economic condition, while 37 per cent said that it remained the same. That means about 80 per cent felt that their economic condition has either improved or remained the same. Only 18 per cent said that there has been deterioration in their condition. Similar responses came when asked to assess the change in the economic conditions of the country (Table 5b). People's perceptions on economic condition tally well with the claims of government that poverty has declined over the years in recent times. While we draw some satisfaction from these findings, we cannot jump to the conclusion that Indian democracy is doing very well. Still more than a quarter of the population is not happy with either the family's condition or the country's condition. The National Democratic Alliance that went to the general elections with the slogans of 'Shining India' and 'Feel good' did not do well at the polls. While it is true that India has been making progress it is also true that a considerable portion of its people have to live in conditions where they cannot make both the ends meet and not satisfied with their economic condition.

We get a more positive response when we asked the respondents about the possibility of improvement in the economic condition in the coming years. About 59 per cent of the respondents expect that their economic condition would be better. This strong sense of optimism in various degrees is found across different classes of people. Only a small proportion of the



respondents (about 8 per cent) felt that their economic condition would become worse in the coming years (Table 5c).

#### **IV. Role of the State and economic reform policies**

Some social scientists observed that people in India look upon government as *maa-baap* (mother and father), in the sense that they expect the rulers to be benevolent and take care of the welfare and the needs of the people. For whatever reasons, the state in post-independent India came to play an active role in economic development and social change. Before the onset of liberal economic reforms in the early 1990s, the Indian economy was dominated by the public sector industries, which are considered to be its 'commanding heights'. However, throughout the 1990s vehement arguments were put forth attributing the slow rate of economic growth to the extended role of the state into economic activities and its enormous expenditure on subsidies and public services. Of course, soon it is realized that in a country like India, or for that matter in any country, state cannot withdraw from certain core areas including public services. The discourse of democratic governance to some extent brought the focus back on the development of the economy in such a way not to hurt the interests of the poorer sections and the marginalized.

The survey shows that an overwhelming majority of the people want the government to play an active role in running the public services, such as electricity, hospitals, schools, drinking water and public transport (Table 6). They emphatically say no to hand over these responsibilities to private companies. Stronger opposition to privatization of public services comes from the less privileged groups such as the poor, non-literate and the rural dwellers. As we have seen earlier, people do not complain too much about their low economic condition, but they want the state to be there in providing these services. We need to distinguish between politics of clientelism, about which political scientists take a disparaging view, and the people's views on the role of the state. We need not club people's views for an active role in providing public services with clientelism or a tendency to depend on the state.

Similarly, the survey shows the existence of strong opposition to the policies of privatization and the general philosophy of the advocates of liberalization programmes. Reflecting on the interaction between economics and politics in the post-liberalization era some economists (such as Pranab Bardhan and Deepak Nayyar) have pointed out the disjuncture between the two. It is difficult to mediate in the conflicts between economic development and political democracy because there is no consensus on economic reforms. If we look at the data on the perceptions of certain positions relating to the economy we find strong opposition to the suggestion for downsizing the government and dismantling the public sector. Near about a majority agree to the

idea of imposing a ceiling on incomes and wealth. Opposition to the free entry of foreign capital is also considerable at 40 per cent (Table 7).

Much to our surprise, the view that the elites and the middle classes want the reforms and the masses do not is not supported by the findings of the survey. This disapproval to the principles and policies of liberalization is more among the middle and upper classes, the better educated and city dwellers. Similar pattern of responses was recorded in the National Election Study conducted by the CSDS in May 2004 and earlier. That there is strong opposition to reckless privatization and liberalization reforms becomes certain from the SDSA survey. One might attribute this opposition to the old mindset about the virtues of planned economy, the need for government regulation and its role in redistribution of wealth. One might also attribute this resistance to the stakes developed by the educated sections and middle classes who had benefited and continue to benefit under the extended state system or the public sector. What appears from the survey is that the people's attitudes are still largely shaped by the ideas of nationalism and egalitarianism.

## **V. Concerns of security and safety**

We have seen how people of India made overall assessment of the security environment of one kind that we these days include under non-traditional security, such as those relating to individual well-being and conditions of life. Let us now look at another kind of security concerns, such as those relating to peaceful life, freedom from fear of being attacked by others, etc. State functioning is generally understood by its ability to provide security to the life, property and dignity of the individual, which we call law and order. We shall seek answers to a few questions related to this domain. How much safe do people of India generally feel in their localities? What are the major sources of insecurity? How much safe are women when they go out, or at their work places or at home? Do the citizens see any improvement or deterioration in the security condition over the years?

A little more than three-fifths of the respondents said that they feel generally safe in the city, town or village where they live. About 17 per cent reported that they feel a little unsafe, while about 5 per cent said they feel unsafe (Table 8). This feeling of safety is evenly distributed across all social groups, men and women, rich or poor. We see no difference between the elites and the masses in this matter. Only among Sikhs we find a higher proportion of people reporting that they feel a little unsafe or unsafe. From the media coverage of crime and violence in India we get a feeling that the security situation in large parts of the country is very grim. The survey shows that actually the proportion of people feeling unsafe is low. However, one might as well argue that

feeling of being unsafe among 5 per cent of the people of a nation does not represent a happy condition.

The aggregate figures do not reveal the complete story, as the condition varies across regions and states. The proportion of people who feel unsafe is low in the South, whereas it is high in the Northern and Northeast regions. People in the Western and Eastern regions report their perception of being unsafe at the same levels. Further, there is also variation across the states. More people in the Northeast states like Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura report that they feel either a little unsafe or unsafe. It is surprising to note that about 14 per cent of the respondents in Delhi say that they feel unsafe.

What are the sources of people's insecurity? Theft and robbery, physical attacks and harassment, riots and mob violence appear to cause more worry for people, compared to other problems such as attack from another country, terrorist attacks and actions by militants and insurgents (Table 9). Nearly one-third of the respondents in the Northern and Northeastern region feel unsafe due to the fear of police or insurgent actions. In states that witnessed high insurgent activities either in the recent past or still undergoing a difficult situation, more people said that they feel unsafe due to police or insurgent activities.

Feeling of insecurity seems to be related to lack of confidence in the police force and governments and also dissatisfaction with the way democracy works in the country. However, the cause and effect relation between these aspect is not clear: whether the lack of security leads to loss of trust in institutions or the malfunctioning of the political institutions charged with the safety of the individual leads to the feeling of insecurity.

Perceptions of security and insecurity at a given point of time depend on the 'normal' levels that usually prevail in the locality and these perceptions may change over time. Some indication of this relative sense of security across time emerges on probing about whether people feel more secure or less secure now than they did in the last few years. About one-fifth of the respondents reported that they feel less safe now (Table 10). From the responses we find that a greater relative deterioration in the Northern and Northeastern regions. Nearly, 50 per cent of the respondents in Delhi say that they feel less safe. Probably, people living in the capital city of Delhi suffer from the syndrome of perpetual threat perception. But we need a larger sample to come to any definitive view in this regard. However, near about two-thirds of the respondents in the Southern states say that they feel more safe now than earlier.

The perceptions of men and women do not differ much on the question of women's security. The survey findings do not support the view that, given the widespread patriarchal relations in the

country, women feel more insecure. The findings also do not support the view that the attitudes of men and women would be different towards the difficulties faced by women at their work place, or when women go out or violence against women at home (Table 11). Variation in perceptions also do not differ much across the regions, except that a larger proportion of respondents (about 13.8 per cent) in the Eastern states say that women are unsafe at the place where they work. An equal proportion of respondents (14.1 per cent) from the Southern region said that women are unsafe due to violence imposed on women at home. About a quarter of the respondents in Andhra Pradesh felt this way.

## **VI. Conclusion**

In their overall assessment of the state of affairs in India, more than a majority of its citizens feel that they enjoy equal rights, freedom of speaking out their mind and the political right of choosing the government they like. The way the Indian democracy works also gains the approval of more than a majority of its population, and only 15 per cent are not satisfied with it. This is no small achievement for a country that began its journey towards an ideal democracy under highly difficult and challenging circumstances.

We find that different social sections, economic classes and communities hold similar views and opinions on a different questions and issues. Differences in views and opinions are there but they do not follow the social, religious and ethnic divisions. On the question whether most people have their basic necessities fulfilled, there are as many persons among the elites and the upper classes who said no, as there as among the mass publics and lower classes who felt so. Probably, this indicates the robustness of India's democracy. There seems to be a consensus in India on the need for government that promotes the welfare of the marginal and disadvantaged citizens, although people may differ or even quarrel on the details and orientation of specific public policies.

People's attitudes and orientations towards issues related to governance are largely influenced by the ideas of egalitarianism and economic sovereignty of the nation, although we find variation in the support for or opposition to different ideas and policies. Most Indians feel that government should not abandon its responsibility of providing public services such as health, education and transport. There is also greater support for an active role of the state in the economy. However, this need not be immediately interpreted as stemming form a mindset of dependence on the state or a hangover the erstwhile economic model of planned development.

Surprisingly, poor living conditions do not lead to dissatisfaction with the economic condition of one's household or the country. Half of the respondents said that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their economic condition. This does not mean that people are complacent or have resigned to their fate. We find a strong sense of optimism across all classes of people. Surely, contentment and optimism are marks of a vibrant nation.

The level of satisfaction with the way democracy works in the country has a direct and positive relation with a person's education and income. A majority feel that India's democracy was not successful in providing basic necessities to all its citizens. About a quarter of its population say that their incomes are so low that they face great difficulty to cover their basic needs. India faces this challenge of democratic development so that democracy continues to be relevant and meaningful to the lives and aspirations of the marginal and disadvantaged sections of its society.

## Tables

### 1. Satisfaction with the working of democracy in India

	Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	<b>Satisfied</b>	Somewhat dissatisfied	Totally dissatisfied	<b>Dissatisfied</b>	No opinion	N
<b>Gender</b>								
Male	19.3	42.8	<b>62.1</b>	10.1	7.8	<b>17.9</b>	20.0	2823
Female	13.6	33.1	<b>46.7</b>	7.6	4.8	<b>12.4</b>	40.8	2565
<b>Locality</b>								
Village	16.3	36.1	<b>52.4</b>	8.4	5.2	<b>13.6</b>	34.0	3997
Town	17.1	41.9	<b>59</b>	11.8	9.5	<b>21.3</b>	19.7	633
City	18.0	46.0	<b>64</b>	9.4	9.6	<b>19</b>	17.0	757
<b>Religion</b>								
Hindu	17.3	37.7	<b>55</b>	8.9	6.2	<b>15.1</b>	30.0	4275
Muslim	14.4	41.4	<b>55.8</b>	7.8	6.3	<b>14.1</b>	30.0	637
Christian	16.6	36.4	<b>53</b>	19.2	2.6	<b>21.8</b>	25.2	151
Sikh	10.4	40.4	<b>50.8</b>	8.7	16.4	<b>25.1</b>	24.0	183
Others	14.3	37.9	<b>52.2</b>	4.3	2.9	<b>7.2</b>	40.7	140
<b>Caste</b>								
SC	16.0	32.5	<b>48.5</b>	6.7	6.3	<b>13</b>	38.4	1024
ST	10.9	36.2	<b>47.1</b>	8.8	3.8	<b>12.6</b>	40.3	442
OBC	17.4	37.8	<b>55.2</b>	8.2	5.6	<b>13.8</b>	31.0	2089
Others	17.4	42.3	<b>59.7</b>	11.0	7.8	<b>18.8</b>	21.6	1832
<b>Economic class</b>								
Very poor	12.7	31.8	<b>44.5</b>	7.7	5.8	<b>13.5</b>	42.0	1864
Poor	16.7	35.9	<b>52.6</b>	8.1	4.9	<b>13</b>	34.3	1455
Middle	21.5	44.7	<b>66.2</b>	11.2	5.5	<b>16.7</b>	17.2	1318
Upper	17.6	47.1	<b>64.7</b>	9.6	11.7	<b>21.3</b>	14.0	750
<b>Education</b>								
Illiterate	11.4	24.7	<b>36.1</b>	5.6	4.6	<b>10.2</b>	53.7	1965
Primary	17.8	43.1	<b>60.9</b>	10.0	5.8	<b>15.8</b>	23.4	2049
Middle	22.5	49.8	<b>72.3</b>	12.3	8.7	<b>21</b>	6.7	921
Graduate+	22.3	50.9	<b>73.2</b>	11.7	11.7	<b>23.4</b>	3.3	452
<b>Social strata</b>								
Elites	21.4	49.3	<b>70.7</b>	10.8	13.1	<b>23.9</b>	5.4	351
Mass publics	16.3	37.4	<b>53.7</b>	8.8	5.9	<b>14.7</b>	31.7	5036
Total	16.6	38.2	<b>54.8</b>	8.9	6.3	<b>15.2</b>	29.9	5387

Question wording:

On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in our country - very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, totally dissatisfied?

1. Very satisfied
2. Somewhat satisfied
3. Somewhat dissatisfied
4. Totally dissatisfied

## 2. Citizens' assessment of the overall state of affairs in India

### 2a. Everyone enjoys equal rights

	Strongly agree	Agree	<b>Agree</b>	Disagree	Strongly disagree	<b>Disagree</b>	No opinion
<b><i>Social strata</i></b>							
Elites	37.6	33.9	<b>71.5</b>	21.7	5.1	<b>26.8</b>	1.7
Mass publics	30.3	30.9	<b>61.2</b>	20.1	8.4	<b>28.5</b>	10.3
<b><i>Economic class</i></b>							
Very poor	29.0	29.2	<b>58.2</b>	18.4	9.0	<b>27.4</b>	14.4
Poor	28.0	31.8	<b>59.8</b>	21.1	7.5	<b>28.6</b>	11.6
Middle	33.3	32.2	<b>65.5</b>	21.2	8.7	<b>29.9</b>	4.6
Upper	36.6	32.6	<b>69.2</b>	21.0	6.4	<b>27.4</b>	3.5
<b><i>Education</i></b>							
Illiterate	27.4	29.2	<b>56.6</b>	16.1	7.7	<b>23.8</b>	19.6
Primary	30.6	33.4	<b>64.0</b>	21.8	8.4	<b>30.2</b>	5.8
Middle	36.0	29.2	<b>65.2</b>	24.6	8.3	<b>32.9</b>	1.8
Graduate+	35.8	33.4	<b>69.2</b>	21.2	8.4	<b>29.6</b>	1.1
<b><i>Locality</i></b>							
Village	30.5	29.8	<b>60.3</b>	19.8	9.0	<b>28.8</b>	10.9
Town	31.9	34.7	<b>66.6</b>	21.6	4.4	<b>26.0</b>	7.4
City	31.4	35.4	<b>66.8</b>	20.7	6.7	<b>27.4</b>	5.8
<b><i>Religion</i></b>							
Hindu	31.3	29.8	<b>61.1</b>	21.1	7.9	<b>29.0</b>	9.9
Muslim	26.3	38.8	<b>65.1</b>	17.6	7.2	<b>24.8</b>	10.1
Christian	27.5	33.3	<b>60.8</b>	20.3	14.4	<b>34.7</b>	4.6
Sikh	37.4	31.9	<b>69.3</b>	15.4	12.6	<b>28.0</b>	2.7
Others	31.0	33.8	<b>64.8</b>	9.9	7.7	<b>17.6</b>	17.6
<b><i>Caste</i></b>							
SC	28.2	30.2	<b>58.4</b>	21.8	10.1	<b>31.9</b>	9.8
ST	27.6	31.4	<b>59.0</b>	21.0	7.9	<b>28.9</b>	12.0
OBC	32.2	29.2	<b>61.4</b>	20.6	7.3	<b>27.9</b>	10.6
Others	31.5	33.8	<b>65.3</b>	18.5	8.0	<b>26.5</b>	8.2
<b>Total</b>							
	30.8	31.1	<b>61.9</b>	20.2	8.2	<b>28.4</b>	9.8

**2b. People are free to speak their mind**

	Strongly agree	Agree	<b>Agree</b>	Disagree	Strongly disagree	<b>Disagree</b>	No opinion
<b><i>Social strata</i></b>							
Elites	34.3	30.6	<b>64.9</b>	25.4	7.7	<b>33.1</b>	2.0
Mass publics	26.4	29.8	<b>56.2</b>	24.3	8.1	<b>32.4</b>	11.4
<b><i>Economic class</i></b>							
Very poor	25.8	28.4	<b>54.2</b>	22.2	7.9	<b>30.1</b>	15.7
Poor	21.9	31.0	<b>52.9</b>	25.7	8.7	<b>34.4</b>	12.7
Middle	31.5	29.8	<b>61.3</b>	25.5	7.3	<b>32.8</b>	5.9
Upper	31.1	31.6	<b>62.7</b>	25.1	8.4	<b>33.5</b>	3.7
<b><i>Education</i></b>							
Illiterate	22.0	28.6	<b>50.6</b>	20.3	7.6	<b>27.9</b>	21.5
Primary	26.8	31.0	<b>57.8</b>	26.7	8.7	<b>35.4</b>	6.7
Middle	34.1	30.3	<b>64.4</b>	26.9	6.8	<b>33.7</b>	2.0
Graduate+	33.6	29.8	<b>63.4</b>	26.0	9.3	<b>35.3</b>	1.3
<b><i>Locality</i></b>							
Village	26.6	28.5	<b>55.1</b>	23.9	8.9	<b>32.8</b>	12.1
Town	26.4	38.0	<b>64.4</b>	22.9	5.1	<b>28.0</b>	7.6
City	28.8	30.2	<b>59.0</b>	28.0	6.0	<b>34.0</b>	7.0
<b><i>Religion</i></b>							
Hindu	26.3	28.9	<b>55.2</b>	25.7	8.5	<b>34.2</b>	10.6
Muslim	26.6	36.6	<b>63.2</b>	17.6	5.2	<b>22.8</b>	14.0
Christian	27.8	35.8	<b>63.6</b>	20.5	9.9	<b>30.4</b>	6.0
Sikh	42.1	26.8	<b>68.9</b>	23.5	4.9	<b>28.4</b>	2.7
Others	26.2	27.7	<b>53.9</b>	21.3	7.1	<b>28.4</b>	17.7
<b><i>Caste</i></b>							
SC	24.5	27.9	<b>52.4</b>	27.0	10.3	<b>37.3</b>	10.4
ST	23.1	33.5	<b>56.6</b>	22.9	6.6	<b>29.5</b>	14.0
OBC	26.5	27.4	<b>53.9</b>	26.2	8.2	<b>34.4</b>	11.7
Others	29.6	33.0	<b>62.6</b>	21.2	6.9	<b>28.1</b>	9.3
<b>Total</b>							
Total	26.9	29.9	<b>56.8</b>	24.4	8.0	<b>32.4</b>	10.8



2c. People have the power to change the government they do not like

	Strongly agree	Agree	<b>Agree</b>	Disagree	Strongly disagree	<b>Disagree</b>	No opinion
<b><i>Social strata</i></b>							
Elites	44.7	33.0	<b>77.7</b>	15.1	4.6	<b>19.7</b>	2.6
Mass publics	32.5	29.5	<b>62.0</b>	14.0	6.0	<b>20.0</b>	18.1
<b><i>Economic class</i></b>							
Very poor	30.1	26.0	<b>56.1</b>	14.2	4.8	<b>19.0</b>	25.0
Poor	29.4	30.1	<b>59.5</b>	14.4	6.3	<b>20.7</b>	19.8
Middle	38.4	32.3	<b>70.7</b>	13.7	7.1	<b>20.8</b>	8.4
Upper	40.0	34.0	<b>74.0</b>	13.6	5.3	<b>18.9</b>	7.1
<b><i>Education</i></b>							
Illiterate	26.5	25.0	<b>51.5</b>	11.4	5.4	<b>16.8</b>	31.7
Primary	32.9	31.1	<b>64.0</b>	16.6	6.7	<b>23.3</b>	12.7
Middle	42.5	33.8	<b>76.3</b>	15.9	4.7	<b>20.6</b>	3.3
Graduate+	46.1	36.2	<b>82.3</b>	10.4	6.2	<b>16.6</b>	1.1
<b><i>Locality</i></b>							
Village	32.5	28.2	<b>60.7</b>	13.4	6.0	<b>19.4</b>	19.8
Town	36.3	32.7	<b>69.0</b>	17.1	5.5	<b>22.6</b>	8.4
City	34.9	35.5	<b>70.4</b>	14.7	5.3	<b>20.0</b>	9.6
<b><i>Religion</i></b>							
Hindu	32.6	29.5	<b>62.1</b>	14.5	6.2	<b>20.7</b>	17.2
Muslim	33.0	30.3	<b>63.3</b>	12.1	4.6	<b>16.7</b>	20.1
Christian	40.8	34.2	<b>75.0</b>	13.2	5.9	<b>19.1</b>	5.9
Sikh	46.2	31.3	<b>77.5</b>	13.2	4.9	<b>18.1</b>	4.4
Others	32.6	27.7	<b>60.3</b>	10.6	2.8	<b>13.4</b>	26.2
<b><i>Caste</i></b>							
SC	30.3	29.8	<b>60.1</b>	16.2	5.2	<b>21.4</b>	18.6
ST	30.8	29.0	<b>59.8</b>	11.8	4.3	<b>16.1</b>	24.2
OBC	32.8	28.4	<b>61.2</b>	14.7	6.3	<b>21.0</b>	17.7
Others	36.2	31.3	<b>67.5</b>	12.6	6.1	<b>18.7</b>	13.8
<b>Total</b>							
Total	33.3	29.7	<b>63.0</b>	14.0	5.9	<b>19.9</b>	17.0

## 2d. Most people have basic necessities like food, clothes and shelter

	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	N
<b><i>Social strata</i></b>								
Elites	17.0	24.1	<b>41.1</b>	35.8	20.5	<b>56.3</b>	2.6	352
Mass publics	18.6	22.4	<b>41.0</b>	29.0	20.8	<b>49.8</b>	9.2	5037
<b><i>Economic class</i></b>								
Very poor	19.1	19.6	<b>38.7</b>	27.5	20.5	<b>48.0</b>	13.3	1865
Poor	16.6	23.0	<b>39.6</b>	30.3	21.0	<b>51.3</b>	9.1	1456
Middle	18.1	25.0	<b>43.1</b>	30.5	21.7	<b>52.2</b>	4.7	1316
Upper	21.2	24.4	<b>45.6</b>	31.0	19.6	<b>50.6</b>	3.7	751
<b><i>Education</i></b>								
Illiterate	18.4	20.1	<b>38.5</b>	25.8	19.5	<b>45.3</b>	16.3	1965
Primary	17.4	24.0	<b>41.4</b>	29.7	22.6	<b>52.3</b>	6.3	2049
Middle	21.1	22.1	<b>43.2</b>	33.3	21.6	<b>54.9</b>	1.8	921
Graduate+	18.3	26.9	<b>45.2</b>	36.6	16.8	<b>53.4</b>	1.3	453
<b><i>Locality</i></b>								
Village	19.7	21.6	<b>41.3</b>	27.8	21.0	<b>48.8</b>	9.8	3997
Town	18.4	22.0	<b>40.4</b>	34.8	18.8	<b>53.6</b>	6.0	632
City	12.0	27.6	<b>39.6</b>	33.6	21.2	<b>54.8</b>	5.5	755
<b><i>Religion</i></b>								
Hindu	18.3	21.3	<b>39.6</b>	29.3	22.4	<b>51.7</b>	8.6	4274
Muslim	22.3	28.8	<b>51.1</b>	27.4	11.2	<b>38.6</b>	10.4	636
Christian	21.7	16.4	<b>38.1</b>	39.5	17.8	<b>57.3</b>	4.6	152
Sikh	10.9	32.8	<b>43.7</b>	33.3	18.6	<b>51.9</b>	4.4	183
Others	11.4	22.9	<b>34.3</b>	28.6	21.4	<b>50.0</b>	15.7	140
<b><i>Caste</i></b>								
SC	18.6	20.5	<b>39.1</b>	29.6	22.2	<b>51.8</b>	9.1	1023
ST	19.2	21.9	<b>41.1</b>	27.4	22.2	<b>49.6</b>	9.3	442
OBC	17.5	20.1	<b>37.6</b>	29.7	23.4	<b>53.1</b>	9.4	2091
Others	19.4	26.4	<b>45.8</b>	29.7	16.7	<b>46.4</b>	7.8	1830
Total	18.5	22.5	<b>41.0</b>	29.5	20.8	<b>50.3</b>	8.8	5387

Question wording:

Now I am going to read to you a list of statements that describe how people often feel about the state of affairs in [country name]. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements.

- Every one enjoys equal rights
- People are free to speak their mind without fear
- People have the power to change the government they do not like
- Most people have basic necessities like food, clothes and shelter

### 3. Perceptions about fairness in the conduct of general elections

	Fair	Somewhat fair	Unfair	No opinion	N
<b>Gender</b>					
Male	38.7	30.3	24.2	6.8	2823
Female	34.5	25.5	20.2	19.8	2565
<b>Locality</b>					
Village	37.4	26.7	21.5	14.5	3997
Town	35.7	29.5	23.8	11.1	633
City	34.1	33.7	25.5	6.7	757
<b>Religion</b>					
Hindu	37.1	27.9	21.9	13.1	4275
Muslim	35.8	27.6	22.1	14.4	637
Christian	44.7	31.6	18.4	5.3	151
Sikh	12.6	36.6	39.9	10.9	183
Others	50.0	17.9	17.9	14.3	140
<b>Caste</b>					
SC	32.6	29.2	23.8	14.5	1024
ST	43.2	26.9	15.4	14.5	442
OBC	38.9	25.8	21.3	13.9	2089
Others	34.9	30.1	24.2	10.7	1832
<b>Economic class</b>					
Very poor	35.0	25.4	20.7	18.8	1864
Poor	39.0	26.2	20.7	14.1	1455
Middle	37.4	32.0	23.4	7.2	1318
Upper	35.0	31.1	27.5	6.4	750
<b>Education</b>					
Illiterate	31.3	24.9	19.7	24.1	1965
Primary	42.7	26.6	21.7	9.0	2049
Middle	35.5	34.3	26.5	3.7	921
Graduate+	35.5	34.9	28.0	1.5	452
<b>Social strata</b>					
Elites	34.8	35.6	26.5	3.1	351
Mass publics	36.8	27.5	22.0	13.7	5036
<b>Total</b>					
Total	36.7	28.0	22.3	13.0	5387

Question wording:

Thinking of the way the elections are conducted in India, what do you feel – are elections fair, somewhat fair or unfair.

1. Fair                      2. Somewhat fair                      3. Unfair

#### 4. Citizens' evaluations of the household and the country's economic condition

##### *Perceptions about income situation*

	Covers the needs well and save	Covers the needs all right	Does not cover the needs: there are difficulties	Does not cover the needs: there are great difficulties	No opinion
<b>Gender</b>					
Male	8.7	28.6	40.1	21.2	1.3
Female	8.0	24.7	38.0	25.6	3.7
<b>Locality</b>					
Village	5.2	24.6	41.5	26.4	2.3
Town	10.4	32.6	36.9	16.8	3.3
City	23.4	33.0	28.5	12.7	2.4
<b>Religion</b>					
Hindu	8.2	26.5	39.4	23.7	2.2
Muslim	6.9	28.1	39.9	21.5	3.5
Christian	3.3	29.1	35.1	26.5	6.0
Sikh	24.6	30.6	28.4	14.8	1.6
Others	5.7	18.6	45.7	26.4	3.6
<b>Caste</b>					
SC	4.3	16.7	45.2	31.9	1.9
ST	3.4	16.5	39.4	38.0	2.7
OBC	6.6	25.7	39.8	25.4	2.5
Others	13.9	36.1	34.8	12.6	2.6
<b>Economic class</b>					
Very poor	2.8	14.0	41.4	38.0	3.8
Poor	3.3	22.5	45.8	26.9	1.5
Middle	10.8	36.9	40.2	10.1	2.0
Upper	27.8	49.0	18.4	2.9	1.9
<b>Education</b>					
Illiterate	2.7	16.2	40.0	37.5	3.5
Primary	5.8	26.6	44.4	21.1	2.1
Middle	14.0	41.3	34.9	8.2	1.5
Graduate+	33.3	43.0	19.6	2.6	1.3
<b>Social strata</b>					
Elites	30.6	50.9	15.7	1.7	1.1
Mass publics	6.8	25.1	40.7	24.8	2.5
<b>Total</b>					
Total	8.4	26.8	39.1	23.3	2.4

Question wording:

I will read out few statements about your income. Please tell me, which of the following statement is closest to your situation?

1. Our income covers the needs well, we can save
2. Our income covers the needs all right, without much difficulty
3. Our income does not cover the needs, there are difficulties
4. Our income does not cover our needs, there are great difficulties

## 5. Evaluations on economic condition

### 5A. Satisfaction with the present economic condition of the household and the country

	Very poor	Poor	Middle	Upper	Total
<b>Household</b>					
Very much satisfied	4.2	5.4	10.1	22.0	8.1
Satisfied	31.6	39.1	53.2	53.6	41.5
<b>Satisfied</b>	<b>35.8</b>	<b>44.5</b>	<b>63.3</b>	<b>75.6</b>	<b>49.6</b>
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	21.6	24.5	22.8	13.6	21.7
Dissatisfied	30.8	23.6	11.2	8.5	21.4
Very much dissatisfied	9.5	5.1	2.3	1.4	5.6
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	<b>40.3</b>	<b>28.7</b>	<b>13.5</b>	<b>9.9</b>	<b>27</b>
No opinion	2.3	2.4	0.4	1.0	1.7
<b>Country</b>					
Very much satisfied	2.8	4.8	4.8	6.1	4.2
Satisfied	25.1	33.7	45.6	47.6	35.1
<b>Satisfied</b>	<b>27.9</b>	<b>38.5</b>	<b>50.4</b>	<b>53.7</b>	<b>39.3</b>
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	15.1	17.9	18.7	18.9	17.2
Dissatisfied	16.1	12.8	14.2	14.9	14.6
Very much dissatisfied	4.9	4.2	3.0	2.0	3.9
<b>Dissatisfied</b>	<b>21.0</b>	<b>17.0</b>	<b>17.2</b>	<b>16.9</b>	<b>18.5</b>
No opinion	36.0	26.7	13.7	12.3	25.0

### 5B. Perceptions on present economic condition when compared to the condition a few years ago

	Very poor	Poor	Middle	Upper	Total
<b>Household</b>					
Much better	5.3	6.0	8.6	19.9	8.0
Better	26.2	30.3	45.1	50.8	34.8
<b>Better</b>	<b>31.5</b>	<b>36.3</b>	<b>53.7</b>	<b>70.7</b>	<b>42.8</b>
Same	40.2	43.8	35.1	19.5	37.5
Worse	21.1	13.4	9.4	6.1	14.4
Much worse	4.8	3.1	1.1	1.7	3.1
<b>Worse</b>	<b>25.9</b>	<b>16.5</b>	<b>10.5</b>	<b>7.8</b>	<b>17.5</b>
No opinion	2.4	3.4	0.7	2.0	2.2
<b>Country</b>					
Much better	6.3	4.8	8.9	12.9	7.3
Better	30.4	38.7	48.8	51.5	39.6
<b>Better</b>	<b>36.7</b>	<b>43.5</b>	<b>57.7</b>	<b>64.4</b>	<b>46.9</b>
Same	15.2	15.7	14.2	10.2	14.5
Worse	8.8	8.5	10.7	9.5	9.3
Much worse	1.3	1.6	1.4	2.0	1.5
<b>Worse</b>	<b>10.1</b>	<b>10.1</b>	<b>12.1</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>10.8</b>
No opinion	38.0	30.7	16.0	13.9	27.8

5C. Exceptions about economic condition in the future

	Very poor	Poor	Middle	Upper	Total
<b>Household</b>					
Much better	6.5	9.4	15.1	24.7	11.6
Better	41.8	50.0	50.6	49.7	47.1
<b>Better</b>	<b>48.3</b>	<b>59.4</b>	<b>65.7</b>	<b>74.4</b>	<b>58.7</b>
Same	23.7	17.0	15.8	10.5	18.3
Worse	7.6	5.5	4.8	7.4	6.3
Much worse	2.3	1.5	0.5	.03	1.4
<b>Worse</b>	<b>9.9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5.3</b>	<b>7.43</b>	<b>7.7</b>
No opinion	18.1	16.6	13.1	7.4	15.2
<b>Country</b>					
Much better	10.0	7.0	11.7	15.3	10.2
Better	31.1	40.5	47.8	46.1	39.5
<b>Better</b>	<b>41.1</b>	<b>47.5</b>	<b>59.5</b>	<b>61.4</b>	<b>49.7</b>
Same	11.2	10.6	12.4	8.1	11.0
Worse	3.9	5.1	5.9	10.5	5.5
Much worse	0.9	1.2	1.8	2.4	1.4
<b>Worse</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>7.7</b>	<b>12.9</b>	<b>6.9</b>
No opinion	42.9	35.6	20.4	17.6	32.5

Question wording:

How satisfied are you with the economic condition of your household today? Are you very satisfied, satisfied, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Dissatisfied
5. Very dissatisfied

As compared to a few years ago, how is the economic condition of your household today? Would you say it has become much better, better, remained the same, became worse, or much worse?

1. Much better
2. Better
3. Remain the same
4. Worse
5. Much worse

What do you think will be the economic condition of your household in the coming few years? Would you say that it will become much better, better, remain the same, become worse or much worse?

1. Much better
2. Better
3. Remain the same
4. Worse
5. Much worse

How satisfied are you with the economic condition of India today? Are you very satisfied, satisfied, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Dissatisfied
5. Very dissatisfied

As compared to a few years ago, how is the economic condition of India today? Would you say it has become much better, better, remained the same, became worse, or much worse?

1. Much better
2. Better
3. Remain the same
4. Worse
5. Much worse

What do you think will be the economic condition of India in the coming few years? Would you say that it will become much better, better, remain the same, become worse or much worse?

1. Much better
2. Better
3. Remain the same
4. Worse
5. Much worse

## 6. Provision of civic amenities and services

Service	Government	Private companies	Both	No opinion
Electricity	78.3	7.8	6.5	7.4
Hospitals	76.8	6.8	9.7	6.8
Schools	76.1	5.3	12.1	6.5
Drinking Water	81.2	4.9	6.4	7.5
Public transport	67.0	8.7	17.2	7.1

Question wording:

I will read out names of few services. Tell me whether these services should be run mainly by the government or they should be run mainly by private companies?

- Electricity
- Hospitals
- Schools
- Drinking water
- Transport

## 7. Perceptions on policy issues

	Very poor	Poor	Middle	Upper	Total
<b><i>The number of government employees should be reduced</i></b>					
Agree	18.1	21.3	24.2	29.7	21.9
Disagree	43.0	48.5	61.6	58.4	50.8
No opinion	38.9	30.1	14.2	11.8	27.3
<b><i>Government companies should be privatized</i></b>					
Agree	6.8	11.9	11.6	15.9	10.5
Disagree	44.0	49.9	70.8	66.6	54.7
No opinion	49.3	38.2	17.6	17.6	34.8
<b><i>There should be a ceiling on income and wealth</i></b>					
Agree	44.3	43.5	51.4	41.6	45.4
Disagree	20.8	26.4	32.0	40.5	27.4
No opinion	35.0	30.1	16.5	17.9	27.2
<b><i>Foreign companies should be freely allowed into the country</i></b>					
Agree	17.0	19.5	31.4	39.2	23.8
Disagree	34.4	41.6	47.4	42.2	40.4
No opinion	48.6	38.9	21.1	18.6	35.8

	Illiterate	Primary	Middle	Graduate	Total
<b><i>The number of government employees should be reduced</i></b>					
Agree	17.1	23.0	24.5	33.2	21.9
Disagree	34.7	56.1	69.8	61.7	50.9
No opinion	48.2	20.9	5.7	5.2	27.3
<b><i>Government companies should be privatized</i></b>					
Agree	6.1	10.9	12.6	23.8	10.5
Disagree	35.1	60.6	77.7	69.4	54.7
No opinion	58.8	28.5	9.7	6.7	34.9
<b><i>There should be a ceiling on income and wealth</i></b>					
Agree	37.7	50.7	50.0	47.2	45.4
Disagree	16.5	28.3	41.1	44.6	27.4
No opinion	45.8	21.0	8.9	8.3	27.2
<b><i>Foreign companies should be freely allowed into the country</i></b>					
Agree	12.1	24.4	34.3	53.1	23.8
Disagree	27.8	45.7	56.5	40.1	40.4
No opinion	60.1	29.8	9.1	6.8	35.8

	Village	Town	City	Total
<b><i>The number of government employees should be reduced</i></b>				
Agree	19.2	36.3	23.2	21.9
Disagree	49.7	44.7	63.1	50.8
No opinion	31.1	19.0	13.7	27.3
<b><i>Government companies should be privatized</i></b>				
Agree	8.6	16.0	16.0	10.5
Disagree	51.5	57.0	70.3	54.7
No opinion	39.9	27.0	13.7	34.9
<b><i>There should be a ceiling on income and wealth</i></b>				
Agree	44.8	51.3	43.5	45.4
Disagree	25.8	25.3	38.7	27.4
No opinion	29.4	23.3	17.9	27.2
<b><i>Foreign companies should be freely allowed into the country</i></b>				
Agree	20.6	31.9	34.1	23.8
Disagree	38.7	41.5	49.0	40.4
No opinion	40.6	26.6	16.9	35.8

Question wording:

Now I will read out two statements on various issues. Tell me whether you agree with statement one (1) or statement two (2)?

(1) The number of government employees should be reduced

(2) The number of government employees should not be reduced

1. Agree with (1)      2. Agree with (2)      0. Could not understand      8. No opinion

(1) Government companies should be sold to private companies

(2) Government companies should not be sold to private companies

1. Agree with (1)      2. Agree with (2)      0. Could not understand      8. No opinion

(1) Government should impose a ceiling on income and wealth

(2) Government should not impose a ceiling on income and wealth

1. Agree with (1)      2. Agree with (2)      0. Could not understand      8. No opinion

(1) The government should allow foreign companies to come into our country

(2) The government should not allow foreign companies to come into our country

1. Agree with (1)      2. Agree with (2)      0. Could not understand      8. No opinion



## 8. Perceptions about safety/security

	Safe	A little unsafe	Unsafe	No opinion	N
<b>Gender</b>					
Male	76.1	17.2	5.7	1.0	1548
Female	75.5	16.2	3.8	4.5	1436
<b>Locality</b>					
Village	76.8	15.6	4.7	2.9	2210
Town	74.7	18.7	4.5	2.1	332
City	71.4	20.9	5.4	2.3	444
<b>Religion</b>					
Hindu	76.1	16.2	4.8	2.9	2335
Muslim	75.8	18.8	3.9	1.4	356
Christian	72.2	16.7	10.0	1.1	90
Sikh	70.5	23.5	5.3	0.8	132
Others	75.5	9.5	4.1	10.8	74
<b>Caste</b>					
SC	75.5	16.0	4.7	3.8	550
ST	75.0	17.4	3.6	3.9	304
OBC	74.2	17.4	5.8	2.7	1111
Others	78.0	16.3	3.9	1.8	1020
<b>Economic class</b>					
Very poor	75.6	16.1	4.7	3.5	993
Poor	76.1	15.1	5.7	3.1	786
Middle	77.5	17.2	3.8	1.5	754
Upper	72.8	19.9	4.9	2.4	453
<b>Education</b>					
Illiterate	74.7	15.7	4.2	5.3	1069
Primary	76.7	16.9	4.7	1.7	1141
Middle	76.8	17.8	4.6	0.8	517
Graduate+	73.7	18.1	7.7	0.4	259
<b>Social strata</b>					
Elites	75.7	18.9	4.4	1.0	206
Mass publics	75.8	16.5	4.8	2.8	2780
<b>Region</b>					
North	74.3	15.4	6.4	3.9	1175
West	86.2	9.3	3.7	0.8	356
South	80.6	16.8	1.1	1.6	638
East	69.2	24.9	3.8	2.1	289
Northeast	67.2	23.2	6.4	3.2	875
<b>Total</b>					
Total	75.8	16.7	4.8	2.7	2986

Question wording:

Generally speaking, how safe is living in this city/town/village – safe, a little unsafe, or unsafe?

1. Safe 2. A little unsafe 3. Unsafe

## 9. Sources of insecurity

Source of insecurity	Insecure	Somewhat insecure	A little insecure	Not at all insecure	No opinion
Theft and robbery	31.0	22.7	13.2	30.5	2.7
Attack and harassment	23.6	22.3	14.9	35.6	3.5
Riots and mob violence	20.2	16.7	14.2	40.9	7.9

Question wording:

I will read out some things that people feel insecure about these days. Tell me, how insecure do you personally feel about the following – insecure, somewhat insecure, a little insecure or not at all insecure?

- a. Theft/robbery
- b. Physical attack/ harassment
- c. Riots/Mob violence

## 10. Perceptions about improvement or otherwise in safety/security environment compared to the earlier situation

	More Safe	Less safe	Same as before	No opinion	N
<b>Gender</b>					
Male	46.3	18.6	33.7	1.4	1548
Female	44.5	15.9	33.4	6.1	1436
<b>Locality</b>					
Village	45.0	15.6	35.1	4.3	2210
Town	49.4	19.6	28.3	2.7	332
City	44.7	24.2	29.6	1.6	444
<b>Religion</b>					
Hindu	44.1	16.8	35.2	3.9	2335
Muslim	49.4	18.3	29.5	2.8	356
Christian	51.7	25.8	20.2	2.2	90
Sikh	54.1	21.1	23.3	1.5	132
Others	43.8	12.3	35.6	8.2	74
<b>Caste</b>					
SC	42.4	17.1	35.5	5.1	550
ST	41.6	16.2	37.6	4.6	304
OBC	46.7	17.4	32.0	3.9	1111
Others	46.9	17.7	33.0	2.5	1020
<b>Economic class</b>					
Very poor	47.3	16.5	30.4	5.8	993
Poor	42.5	17.9	35.5	4.1	786
Middle	45.8	15.3	37.2	1.7	754
Upper	45.9	21.4	30.9	1.8	453
<b>Education</b>					
Illiterate	43.8	14.3	34.8	7.1	1069
Primary	45.0	18.5	34.2	2.3	1141
Middle	47.0	17.8	33.7	1.5	517
Graduate+	51.0	23.6	25.5	0.0	259
<b>Social strata</b>					
Elites	47.3	18.5	33.7	0.5	206
Mass publics	45.3	17.2	33.5	3.9	2780
<b>Region</b>					
North	39.3	19.0	36.0	5.7	1175
West	47.5	14.6	37.1	0.8	356
South	62.2	14.3	21.9	1.6	638
East	42.6	13.8	39.8	3.8	289
Northeast	39.4	21.7	36.0	3.0	875
<b>Total</b>					
Total	75.8	16.7	4.8	2.7	2986

Question wording:

Compared to the situation in this city/town/village a few years ago, do you now feel more safe, less safe or the same as before?

1. More safe                      2. Less safe                      3. Same as before

North includes the states of Delhi, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Punjab, Haryana and Jammu & Kashmir; West includes the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat; South includes Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, and Tamil Nadu; East includes Orissa and West Bengal; and Northeast includes Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim.

### 11. Perceptions about safety of women

	Safe	A little unsafe	Unsafe	No opinion
<b><i>How safe are women at the place where they work?</i></b>				
Male	58.6	25.6	13.0	2.8
Female	58.4	21.8	13.4	6.5
Total	58.5	23.8	13.2	4.6
<b><i>How safe are women from domestic violence and harassment?</i></b>				
Male	56.7	25.2	8.3	9.8
Female	55.6	20.7	7.8	15.9
Total	56.2	23.0	8.0	12.8
<b><i>How safe are women when they go out after sunset?</i></b>				
Male	58.2	23.7	9.6	8.5
Female	55.7	21.7	10.3	12.2
Total	57.0	22.8	9.9	10.3

Question wording:

How safe are women in this (city/town/village) in the following situation. Would you say that women are safe, a little unsafe or unsafe?

- a. When they go out after sunset
- b. At the place where they work
- c. From beating, etc. (*maar/peet*) from their family members inside their home