29 pages of code

407-7-0001

Survey Research Center — University of California

INTERNATIONAL SURVEY REFERENCE SERVICE

Title of Study: ALL-INDIA POLITICAL POLL

Chief Investigator: ~~Indian Institute of Public Opinion~~

Organization(s) which collected and/or processed data:

Indian Institute of Public Opinion

Date(s) of data collection: September-November 1961

Principle problems or topics on which data was collected:

Nos. 74,75,76: An Analysis of the Structure of Indian Political Opinion

Nos 77, 78: An Analysis of Indian Opinion on International Issues

No. 82: Indian Attitudes to a Third World War; A Study of Indian Newspaper Readership

Sample

1. Characteristics of universe: (French Catholics; men,40-60; factory workers;etc.)

   Cross-section of the population

2. Location: (national; residents of X city; employees or members of specific organization; etc.)

   National

3. Method of sampling: (quota; probability; etc.)

4. Number of cases: ~~3540~~ 3537 (1080 urban, 2460 rural)

5. Method of data collection: (personal interviews; mailed questionnaires; census or other records; etc.)

   Interviews

Reports (if published)
Please give author, title and other facts of publication. Use other side if necessary.

Monthly Public Opinion Surveys of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion
Vol. VII, Nos. 2,3,4 November, December 1961, January 1962

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Berkeley, California

407-50-0001

A NOTE ON THE SAMPLES USED.

I: Standard Sample for Political Poll

(Ref: "The Monthly Public Opinion Surveys" Nos. 74, 75, 76, 77, 78 and 82.)

1. The details of individual samples used are explained in the respective issues of "The Monthly Public Opinion Surveys".

2. The general principle that is followed is to obtain a proportional sample both for the urban as well as the rural population. In certain cases where urban opinion needs to be obtained with greater precision than a proportional sample would permit, the urban sample size is generally doubled. The all India estimates are, however, obtained by giving suitable weightages to rural and urban estimates.

3. For Political Polls and also for the subsidiary polls attached with them, the Electoral lists form the 'frame' for selecting the sample. The state-wise allocation of the sample is, however, made proportional to the total population; the urban and rural sample sizes are also based on population proportions in urban and rural areas in the states. The actual "interviewing areas" were selected not in any strict random basis but purposively on the basis of past experience and the knowledge of local conditions available with us. The actual selection was found to be appropriate on a comparison of estimates obtained with actual results. The same areas are also generally used for other opinion surveys not connected with political factors.

4. Around the following towns and cities (state-wise) the interviewing areas are located. The towns or cities are used to obtain the urban opinion. The rural opinion is obtained from two villages around each city/town which are at least 15 to 20 miles away from the selected urban area and also from any other urban centre. This was necessary to eliminate technically rural areas but which have, due to proximity, have at least partially urban outlook.

SAMPLE AREAS FOR POLITICAL POLL

Andhra Pradesh

Hyderabad
Vijayawada
Vishakapatanam

Bihar

Patna
Arah
Jamalpur

Gujarat

Ahmedabad
Baroda
Anand

Kerala

Trivandrum
Quilon
Thiruvalla

M.P.

Bhopal
Indore
Murwara

Madras

Madras
Coimbatore
Madurai

Maharashtra

Bombay
Poona
Nasik

Mysore

Mysore
Bangalore
Dharwar

Orissa

Cuttack
Berhampur
Puri

Punjab

Ambala
Jullundur
Ludhiana

Rajasthan

Jaipur
Jodhpur
Bhilwara

U.P.

Meerut
Lucknow
Agra
Kanpur
Benares

West Bengal

Calcutta
Burdwan
Kharagpur

Delhi

Delhi

II. A Modified Sample used for Surveys given in "The Monthly Public Opinion Surveys" 87 and 89.

The sample used for the surveys published in "The Monthly Public Opinion Surveys" 87 and 89 is, however, somewhat different from the standard sample described above. This change has become necessary in view of specifications given by the client, with whose survey the two special questionnaires on Economic Discontents and Political Opinion were added. In view of the primary objectives of the client's survey it was thought necessary to distinguish between a small and a big town. Therefore the urban areas in India are divided into three categories namely those with populations of above one lakh (which according to the census terminology are called cities) and towns with populations between 50,000 to one lakh and towns with populations of less than 50,000. The list given below give the location of the sample in each state and for each category of towns. In certain states where a certain category is not important on the basis of total population content, no selection was made of such towns.

State	Category of Urban Areas		
	I	II	III
Andhra Pradesh	Hyderabad	Bhodhan	..
Bihar	Patna	Arah	Jamalpur

State	Category of Urban Areas		
	I	II	III
Gujarat	Ahmedabad	Broach	Anand
Kerala	Trivandrum	Quilon	Thiruvalla
Madhya Pradesh	Bhopal	Indore	..
Madras	Madras	Kancheepuram	Chingelput
Maharashtra	Bombay	Nasik	Deolali Cantt
Mysore	Bangalore	Davangere	Tunkur
Orissa	Puri	..	..
Punjab	Ludhiana	Ambala	Simla
Rajasthan	Jaipur	..	Bilwara
U.P.	Lucknow	Etawah	Unnao
West Bengal	Calcutta	Burdwan	Barrackpur
Delhi	Delhi	..	..

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The Indian Institute of Public Opinion
Surveys No. 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 82

All India Political Poll

407-50-0001

Questionnaire and Code

2 CARDS/CASE

Card I

CASE ID COLS. 1-4

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

CARD ID 80

N = 3537

Column		Question and Code
1,2,3,4		Serial Number
5		**SEX**
	2834	1. Male
	703	2. Female
6		**SIZE OF FAMILY**
	79	1. 1
	152	2. 2
	268	3. 3
	405	4. 4
	453	5. 5
	511	6. 6
	407	7. 7
	410	8. 8
	812	9. 9 or more
	40	0. Unable to specify
7-8		**NO. OF VOTERS IN THE HOUSEHOLD**
		99. Unable to specify
9		**AGE GROUP**
	1689	1. 21 - 35
	1132	2. 36 - 50
	654	3. Above 50
	62	9. Unspecified
10-11		**OCCUPATION**
	44	01. Artisans
	289	02. Skilled workers
	226	03. Unskilled workers
	369	04. Retail traders
	228	05. Professions
	529	06. Housewives
	666	07. Owner cultivators

Cont'd...

Column		Question and Code
10-11 Cont'd.	88	08. Non-owner cultivators
	209	09. Agricultural labourers
	344	11. Clerks and labourers
	18	12. Domestic servants
	141	13. Retired and unemployed
	51	14. Students
	61	15. Landlords
	254	16. Others
	7	17. Business above Rs. 500/-
	(12) 1321	[illegible] NOT ASCERTAINED
12		CLASS
	47	1. Upper class
	821	2. Middle class
	1302	3. Lower Middle class
	1227	4. Working class
	138	9. Unable to specify
13		EDUCATION
	1361	1. Illiterate
	1357	2. Under-matric
	529	3. Matric
	330	4. Graduate & above
	65	9. Unable to specify
14		RELIGION
	3007	1. Hindu
	295	2. Muslim
	114	3. Christian
	26	4. Others
	57	5. Sikh
	38	9. Unable to specify
15		INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)
	1597	1. 1 - 100
	1978	2. 101 - 200
	527	3. 201 - 350
	155	4. 351 - 700
	59	5. Over 700
	88	6. Unable to specify

16-26 NO CODE

Column		Question and Code
27-28		STATE
	[illegible]	01. Andhra Pradesh
	[illegible]	02. Bihar
	[illegible]	03. Delhi
	[illegible]	04. Gujarat
	125	05. Kerala
	[illegible]	06. Madhya Pradesh
	325	07. Madras
	[illegible]	08. Maharashtra
	[illegible]	09. Mysore
	135	10. Orissa
	170	11. Punjab
	[illegible]	12. Rajasthan
	618	13. Uttar Pradesh
	264	14. West Bengal
29		AREA
	2457	1. Rural
	1020	2. Urban
		Ask All
30		Q 1. First tell me do you take interest in Political matters?
	1304	1. Yes
	1815	2. No
	718	3. No opinion
		For Yes answers to Q 1. (30/1):
31		Q 1a. Do you attend Public Meetings?
	1004	1. Yes
	267	2. No
	58	3. No Opinion
	2207	0. Not applicable
32		Q 1b. Join demonstration/rallies
	413	1. Yes
	803	2. No
	112	3. No Opinion
	2208	0. Not applicable

Column

33 Q 1c. Listen to speeches by candidates & leaders.

1054 1. Yes
212 2. No
60 3. No Opinion
2208 0. Not applicable

34 Q 1d. Read newspaper reports

1054 1. Yes
206 2. No
73 3. No Opinion
2209 0. Not applicable
1 [illegible]

35 Q 1e. Which party appeals to you more?

1068 1. Congress
62 2. P.S.P.
152 3. Communist
24 4. Swatantra
20 5. Jan Sangh
18 6. Socialist
3 7. Hindu Mahasabha
9 8. Independent
838 9. Unable to specify
857 X. No Opinion/Can't Say
311 Y. No party
165 0. Others: (Akali, D.M.K., Vadarba Party, Republican Party, S.M.

Ask All

Q 2. Has your economic condition improved or deteriorated (a) since 1952 and (b) since 1957, the last general election?

36 Chinese in Economic Conditions Since 1952 Elections

976 1. Improved
946 2. Worsened
1247 3. Same
247 4. Don't know
1 [illegible]

37 Since the last 1957 Elections

958 1. Improved
1079 2. Worsened
1164 3. Same
336 4. Don't know

Column | Question and Code

For those answering 'worsened' (1957)(37/2):

38 — Q 2i. Is this because your income has not risen?

1. Yes
359 2. No
220 3. No Opinion
2468 0. Not applicable
1 [illegible]

39 — Q 2ii. Or, have prices risen more than your Income?

926 1. Yes
34 2. No
109 3. No Opinion
2468 0. Not applicable

40 — Q 2iii. Has your income fallen?

479 1. Yes
424 2. No
172 3. No Opinion
2462 0. Not applicable

For 'Yes' answer to Q 2(iii) (40/1):

41-42 — Q 2iv. Why has your income fallen?

75 99. Can't say
3050 00. Not applicable
0 01. Due to seasonal fluctuation in income
56 02. No earning member (Husband died, brother, mother, father died)
35 03. More family members --earning member very sick, weak, disabled etc.)
62 04. Retirement and unemployment
55 05. Due to competition and fluctuation of trade and under-employment
24 06. Duty enhanced, less profit or loss (loss due to fire, theft and price fluctuations)
81 07. Low yield of crops, failure due to heavy rain and heavy land revenue
2 08. Due to unusual death of cattle, animals etc.
39 09. Due to land ceiling (New land legislation)
16 10. Low pay scale and very high prices
11 11. Heavy taxation
7 12. Fragmentation of land
6 13. Heavy debt due to marriages
11 14. No proper source of income

Cont'd...

Column		Question and Code
41-42 Cont'd.	0	15. High standard of living
	3	16. Due to litigation
	2	17. No more income from land due to the abolition of Zamidari System
	1	18. Low yield of fish for the last two years
	1	[illegible]

Ask all:

43 Q 3. Has your standard of living achieved your expectations or not?

634	1. Yes
1871	2. No
1021	3. No Opinion
10	9. Unable to specify
1	[illegible]

For 'No answers' to Q 3. (43/2):

Q 3a. Which of the following have you been unable to obtain?

44 Q 3b. Enough foodgrains whether obtained

614	X. Yes
1237	9. No
1658	0. Not applicable
28	8. Can't say/Unspecified

45 Q 3c. To whose policy do you ascribe this short-fall?

520	1. Government
237	2. Others
158	3. Both
323	4. Don't know
2242	0. Not applicable
7	8. Can't say/Unspecified

46 Q 3d. Enough Cloth Whether Obtained

528	X. Yes
1323	9. No
1660	0. Not applicable
26	8. Can't say/Unspecified

47 Q 3e. To whose policy do you ascribe this short-fall?

536	1. Government
258	2. Others
182	3. Both
347	4. Don't know
2206	0. Not applicable
8	8. Can't say/Unspecified

Column		Question and Code
48		Q 3f. Enough Housing Space Whether Obtained:
	[illegible]	X. Yes
	1218	9. No
	[illegible]	0. Not applicable
	19	8. Can't say/Unspecified
49		Q 3g. To whose policy do you ascribe this short-fall?
	[illegible]	1. Government
	[illegible]	2. Others
	[illegible]	3. Both
	[illegible]	4. Don't know
	2319	0. Not applicable
	6	8. Can't say/Unspecified
50		Q 3h. Enough Education Whether Obtained:
	451	X. Yes
	1391	9. No
	1652	0. Not applicable
	[illegible]	8. Can't say/Unspecified
51		Q 3i. To whose policy do you ascribe this short-fall?
	476	1. Government
	283	2. Others
	272	3. Both
	358	4. Don't know
	2149	0. Not applicable
	8	8. Can't say/Unspecified
52		Q 3j. Enough Travel Whether Obtained:
	407	X. Yes
	1434	9. No
	1680	0. Not applicable
	45	8. Can't say
	1	[illegible]
53		Q 3k. To whose policy do you ascribe this short-fall?
	397	1. Government
	274	2. Others
	247	3. Both
	450	4. Don't know
	2104	0. Not applicable
	8	8. Can't say/Unspecified

Column | Question and Code

54 — Q 31. Employment Whether Obtained

X. Yes
9. No
0. Not applicable
8. Can't say/Unspecified

55 — Q 3m. To whose policy do you ascribe this short-fall?

1. Government
2. Others
3. Don't know
4. Both
0. Not applicable
8. Can't say/Unspecified

Ask all:

56 — Q 4. Which party can best provide cheaper food?

1. Congress
2. P.S.P.
3. Communist
4. Jan Sangh
5. Socialist
6. Hindu Mahasabha
7. Swatantra Party
8. Undecided
9. No Opinion

57 — (Q 4.) Which party can best provide more jobs?

1. Congress
2. P.S.P.
3. Communist
4. Jan Sangh
5. Socialist
6. Hindu Mahasabha
7. Swatantra Party
8. Undecided
9. No Opinion

58 — (Q 4.) Which party can best provide better income?

1. Congress
2. P.S.P.
3. Communist
4. Jan Sangh
5. Socialist

Cont'd...

Column		Question and Code
58 Cont'd.	5	6. Hindu Mahasabha
	40	7. Swatantra
	44[illegible]	8. Undecided
	1474	9. No Opinion
		[illegible]
59		(Q 4.) Which party can best provide more benefits?
	1284	1. Congress
	[illegible]	2. P.S.P.
	185	3. Communist
	17	4. Jan Sangh
	28	5. Socialist
	5	6. Hindu Mahasabha
	27	7. Swatantra
	444	8. Undecided
	1476	9. No Opinion
		Ask all:
		Q 5. Do you think that the Congress was right to:
60		Q 5a. Introduce prohibition
	1994	1. Yes
	237	2. No
	1305	3. No Opinion
	1	4. NOT ASCERTAINED
61		Q 5b. Impose a ceiling on land holding
	1517	1. Yes
	359	2. No
	1661	3. No Opinion
62		Q 5c. Seek production through land co-operatives
	1286	1. Yes
	456	2. No
	1795	3. No Opinion
63		Q 5d. Increase direct taxation
	877	1. Yes
	806	2. No
	1854	3. No Opinion
	1	4. NOT ASCERTAINED
64		Q 5e. Increase indirect taxation
	458	1. Yes
	1162	2. No
	1906	3. No Opinion
	1	4. NOT ASCERTAINED

Column | Question and Code

65 — Q 5f. Take Basic Industries in Public Sector

1123 1. Yes
191 2. No
2222 3. No Opinion

66 — Q 5g. Restrict the Field for the Private Sector

873 1. Yes
275 2. No
2291 3. No Opinion

67 — Q 5i. Would Congress be justified in curtailing the present field of operation of the private sector?

665 1. Yes
297 2. No
2576 3. No Opinion
1 4. [illegible] ATTAINED

If 'Yes' (67/1):

68-69 — Q 5ii. Indicate the field in which you would prefer further restrictions?

3 98. Vague answer
325 99. Unable to specify
2867 00. Not applicable
4 01. Sugar Mills should be nationalised
35 02. Textile Industries (Cotton, Wool and Rayon and Coal etc.)
31 03. All basic industries (agricultural, mining)
1 04. Transport and oil (Motor and fuel oil)
21 05. Heavy and key industries (Iron and steel, automobile)
3 06. The film industries
7 07. Other large and medium private industries like the Tatas should be in Public Sector
10 08. Restriction of private land cooperative
All Industries should be nationalised (Transport, Steel, Jute, Textile, Mining, Chemical, Mineral Oil, Trading (Private) Medical Profession, Film, Plantation, Banking, General Insurance etc.)
1 10. Leather Industries
5 11. Electrical and Electronic Industries
2 12. Vanaspati Oil and Ghee
3 13. Tobacco Industries (Cigarettes)
1 14. Rubber Industries
11 15. Excepting Small Scale Industries all Economic activities should be nationalised
6 16. State should take up trading of food grains

Cont'd...

Column		Question and Code
68-69 Cont'd.	2	17. Chemical fertilizers
	1	18. Essential consumer good industries
	2	19. Management of Industries (Private) should be strictly controlled
	74	20. Banking and general insurance should be nationalised
	4	21. In all fields of national importance where there is exploitation of public by the private sector
	4	22. All Public utilities should be nationalised
	7	23. Plantation and Banking especially foreign Tea, Coffee and Rubber
	1	24. Municipal administration and education in the country
	1	25. Small Scale Industries

If 'No' (67/2):

70-71 Q 5iii. What are your reasons?

146	99.	Unable to specify
3247	00.	Not applicable
3	01.	Cannot expand (private) our production
9	02.	A lot of corruption by nationalising private industries and bringing them under useless bureaucracy of Govt. officials
27	03.	Private entrepreneurs work on low-cost-cum quality basis (private sector is quite efficient compared to public sector -- industries. Private entrepreneurs display good, better and satisfactory performance in their private fields)
10	04.	It is undemocratic in its process, it leads to regimentation of industries in the country, Government Monopoly (due to 'Nationalisation) Kills private incentives and drive
9	05.	Loss to private business and incentives for quality production are lost and results in the ultimate destruction of our national economy
17	06.	Individual efficiency will not work out in public sector
9	07.	When citizens want to prosper Government should allow them to do so provided they do not jeopardise others' rights
5	08.	'Competition' between the public-owned and private industries is essential in order to develop efficiency in private and public sector
7	09.	Sufficient scope should be given for individual initiative and enterprise
1	10.	Instead of further restricting the activities of private sector, between private and public sector, there should be cooperative sector (to make a compromise)

Cont'd...

Column		Question and Code
70-71 Cont'd.	2	11. Monopoly of the field (industrial) leads to unwieldy administration -- a factor for causing inefficiency in administration and management
	4	12. Mixed economy should be adopted throughout for the success of Democracy
	2	13. Due to more rigid attitude towards private sector, private industries cannot be developed because it infringes individual liberty and causes economic waste and proves regimentation
	19	14. There should be as much freedom and support to private sector as is required for the rapid industrialisation of the country, for it has a vital role to play in this regard. Curtailment of the field of private sector also means the curtailment of the pace of country's economic development.
	5	15. The Government (the present) is incompetent and highly corrupt to take up the industrialisation of the country. Whenever anything in the private sector is taken up by the Govt. it brings more burden on the shoulders of the tax payers of the country
	1	16. As Gandhiji has said 'the Best Government is the one which governs the least'
	1	17. In the interest of private capital which is a major contributor to the 'capital formation' in the country and thus for its effective and economic use in the private industries
	1	18. There will be slow drift towards communism
	1	19. Congress has failed in all spheres -- political, economic and administrative
	2	20. Restriction or (Curtailing progress)
	1	21. Concentration of power (more and more) corrupts any Government
	3	22. Interference affects healthy working of democracy, affects efficiency in administration and management, against the principle of individual liberty
	6	23. Free enterprise is necessary for progress
	2	24. Law of personal management

72-76 100 CODE

Survey Research Center

IIPO
No. 74,75,76,77,78,82
Card I

LIST OF SERIAL NUMBER OF URBAN AND RURAL AREA

STATE	Serial Number	Total	Urban	Rural
Andhra Pradesh	1 - 320	320	95	225
Bihar	321 - 680	360	45	315
Delhi	3511 - 2540	30	25	5
Gujarat	681 - 860	180	75	105
Kerala	861 - 995	135	35	100
Madhya Pradesh	996 - 1250	255	55	200
Madras	1251 - 1575	325	125	200
Maharashtra	1576 - 1935	360	160	200
Mysore	1936 - 2145	210	80	130
Orissa	2146 - 2280	135	15	120
Punjab	2281 - 2450	170	60	110
Rajasthan	2451 - 2615	165	50	115
Uttar Pradesh	2616 - 3225	610	150	640
West Bengal	3226 - 3510	285	110	175
All India		3540	1080	2460

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The Indian Institute of Public Opinion
Surveys No. 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 82

All India Political Poll

Questionnaire and Code

Card II

Column		Question and Code
		Q 6. What is your opinion about:
30		(Q 6.) Nehru as Prime Minister
	1679	1. Very good
	1092	2. Good
	94	3. Fair
	25	4. Bad
	10	5. Very bad
	637	6. Don't know & others
31		(Q 6.) Jaya Prakash Narayan
	167	1. Very good
	940	2. Good
	306	3. Fair
	35	4. Bad
	19	5. Very bad
	2070	6. Don't know & others
32		(Q 6.) Morarji Desai
	69	1. Very good
	690	2. Good
	402	3. Fair
	95	4. Bad
	47	5. Very bad
	2234	6. Don't know & others
33		(Q 6.) Lal Bahadur Shastri
	61	1. Very good
	725	2. Good
	408	3. Fair
	45	4. Bad
	19	5. Very bad
	2279	6. Don't know & others

Column		Question and Code
34		(Q 6.) S.K. Patil
	28	1. Very good
	523	2. Good
	389	3. Fair
	93	4. Bad
	33	5. Very bad
	2471	6. Don't know & others
35		(Q 6.) V.K. Krishna Menon
	176	1. Very good
	870	2. Good
	286	3. Fair
	62	4. Bad
	39	5. Very bad
	2104	6. Don't know & others
36		(Q 6.) Y.B. Chavan
	60	1. Very good
	500	2. Good
	262	3. Fair
	32	4. Bad
	36	5. Very bad
	2647	6. Don't know & others
37		(Q 6.) Jagjivan Ram
	30	1. Very good
	462	2. Good
	358	3. Fair
	81	4. Bad
	44	5. Very bad
	2562	6. Don't know & others
38		Q 6a. Of these who would you favour as a successor to Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru as Prime Minister of India?
	396	1. Jaya Prakash Narayan
	269	2. Morarji Desai
	70	3. Lal Bahadur Shastri
	18	4. S.K. Patil
	248	5. V.K. Krishna Menon
	60	6. Y.B. Chavan
	46	7. S.A. Dange
	8	8. Jagjivan Ram

Cont'd...

Column		Question and Code
38 Cont'd.	17	9. Any other Leftist Leader (Mr. C.N. Annadurai, Mr. Bupesh Gupta, Mr. E.M.S. Nambodripad, Mr. Ajoy Ghosh, Mr. A.K. Gopalan, Prof. Hiren Mukherjee)
	120	Y. Any other rightist leader (Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Dr. S. Ramakrishnan, Shri K.M.Munshi, Mr. Ashok Mehta, Shri C. Rajagopalachary, Shri K.N. Katju, Dr. B.C. Roy, Shri R. P. Mukherjee, Shri P.C. Sen, Shri Kamaraja Nadar, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Shri Bijoyanand Patnaik (Orissa)
	82	0. None
	2203	X. No Opinion
		If 'None' (38/0):
39-40		Q 6b. What are your reasons?
	6	01. None of these has ability to govern the country
	8	02. Nobody realises the responsibilities as Pt. Nehru
	7	03. These persons do not seem to be very intelligent
	2	04. All are self-seekers
	12	05. Because none of them is capable and they have not as much prestige or status as to deserve the post of Prime Minister
	4	06. They are all hopeless
	1	07. Because I have not much knowledge about them
	1	08. Mr. Nehru is a veteran politician and a true democratic leader
	32	99. Unable to specify
	3458	00. Not applicable
	6 {1 5	11. 98. } NOT ASCERTAINED
		Q 7. If there were an election today which party will you vote to (1) Lok Sabha (II) the State Legislature?
41.		(Q 7. (1)) LOK SABHA
	1575	1. Congress
	325	2. P.S.P.
	313	3. Communist
	196	4. Swatantra Party
	64	5. Jan Sangh
	62	6. Socialist
	19	7. Hindu Mahasabha
	99	8. Independent
	527	9. Undecided
	167	Y. Other parties
	190	X. Refusal

Column		Question and Code
42		(Q 7. (II)) STATE LEGISLATURE
	1554	1. Congress
	326	2. P.S.P.
	308	3. Communist
	196	4. Swatantra Party
	63	5. Jan Sangh
	63	6. Socialist
	20	7. Hindu Mahasabha
	103	8. Independent
	532	9. Undecided
	179	Y. Other parties
	193	X. Refusal
		Q 7.i. Did you vote this very party to the Lok Sabha (i) in 1952, (ii) 1957?
43		IN 1952
	1451	1. Yes
	193	2. No
	360	3. Don't know
	491	4. Did not vote in 1952
	995	9. Not applicable
	47	5. Refusal
44		IN 1957
	1656	1. Yes
	182	2. No
	327	3. Don't know
	352	4. Did not vote in 1957
	975	0. Not applicable
	45	5. Refusal
		Q 7.ii. If answer is 'No' for 1952 Which party you voted for then?
45	101	1. Congress
	3	2. P.S.P.
	14	3. Communist
	1	4. Swatantra
	2	5. Jan Sangh
	4	6. Socialist
	0	7. Hindu Mahasabha
	18	8. Independent
	16	9. Undecided
	5	Y. Other parties
	19	X. Refusal/Unable to specify
	3354	0. Not applicable

Column		Question and Code
		What were your reasons for this voting preference?
46-47	22	01. The only party to approach at that time
	3	02. They must belong to Communist party only
	2	03. Being the candidate of my own (caste, friend, and relative)
	7	04. Ex-rulers influence on my community
	6	05. He (the candidate) works efficiently
	5	06. They promised to do something good or to help us or to give us free land etc.
	2	07. Because my (friends, relatives) voted in favour of this party
	4	08. After independence this was the best party
	7	09. We think it will come to our expectations
	8	10. Had an idea that this party would ameliorate the conditions of the people
	8	11. As I lost faith (my) in Congress or any other party
	2	12. Its policy no more appeals to me
	1	13. Corruption and other mal-practices of the Congress made me vote against it
	3	14. I preferred a 'leftist party' to form an opposition to the ruling Congress party
	3	15. They (Congress) brought freedom to us
	3	16. The Congress did not put up a good candidate
	3	17. Vague answers
	13	18. For the country's good
	1	19. Because it is bringing economic freedom to us by adopting and implementing 5 year plans
	1	20. So that we can get the country as only for the Maharashtrians
	54	99. Unable to specify
	22	XX. Don't remember
	3355	00. Not applicable
	2	98. DOES ASCERTAINED
		Q 7. iii. <u>If answer is 'No' for 1957</u>
48		Which party you voted for then?
	90	1. Congress
	8	2. P.S.P.
	10	3. Communist
	2	4. Swatantra
	1	5. Jan Sangh
	4	6. Socialist
	0	7. Hindu Mahasabha
	21	8. Independent
	15	9. Undecided
	5	Y. Other parties
	17	X. Refusal/Unable to specify
	3364	0. Not applicable

Column | Question and Code

49-50 What are your reasons for this voting preference?

19 01. The only party at that time
4 02. Must belong to Communist party
2 03. Being of my own caste
5 04. Ex-ruler's influence on my community
7 05. He or they works/work efficiently
6 06. They or he promised to help/work for us or helped us
3 07. It appeared that they had a great role to play which they failed to do
4 08. My interest (being my friend, relative etc.)
7 09. Others voted for this party
7 10. The best candidate
11 11. It is a lesser evil
2 12. My country's good (interest)
3 13. With any other party there was no candidate
3 14. It is a strong opposition party
2 15. It has brought independence
1 16. I was under the impression that Communist party will be better than the Congress
2 17. No communist candidate and the independent candidate was supported by the C.P.I.
14 18. The Congress could not put a good candidate
63 99. Unable to specify reason
3349 00. Not applicable
19 XX. Don't know/Don't remember
4 98. NOT ASCERTAINED

Q 7. iv. What is your single most important reason for the voting preference of today?

51 LOK SABHA
241 1. My interest
1264 2. My country's interest
225 3. Only 'All-India Party'
97 4. A lesser evil
558 9. Unable to specify reason
4 X. Others
146 Y. DONT KNOW
1001 0. NOT APPLICABLE
1 8. NOT ASCERTAINED

52 STATE LEGISLATURES
242 1. My interest
1248 2. My country's interest
229 3. Only 'All-India Party'
103 4. A lesser evil
560 9. Unable to specify reason
147 Y. ~~Others~~ DON'T KNOWS
1003 0. NOT APPLICABLE, NO VOTING PREFERENCES
1 X. OTHERS
4 8. NOT ASCERTAINED

Q 8. Would you like to see a liberal, but non-socialist party, such as Swatantra Party in opposition to the Congress?

53 478 1. Yes
770 2. No
460 3. No opinion
1823 4. Don't know
1 C. NOT ASCERTAINED

Column | Question and Code

Q 8a. If 'No'

Would you like a party of the left such as P.S.P. or the Communist party as the main opposition to the Congress?

54

468 1. Yes
281 2. No
35 3. No opinion
2753 0. Not applicable

Q 8b. If 'Yes' to Q 8a.

Why do you prefer a party of the left to be in opposition instead of a non-socialist liberal party?

55-56

13 01. It seems to be stronger and well-established than Swatantra
25 02. The world trend is leftist, and the P.S.P. or Communist can better govern rightists in the interest of the common man and work for the peasants
47 03. Communist is a very good party, can properly check the action of the party which is in power; Communist is the only party which stands for the people
22 04. P.S.P. is more democratic than any other party. It is an effective opposition to the Congress and flexible in its methods
3 05. It is non-communal and national party
13 06. India is poor and only this socialist party can look after the interests of the poor who are uneducated and are in majority
9 07. Better than others and they have more belief in Socialism
9 08. They have better progressive ideas
6 09. It represents masses, can think of welfare of the people (public) and they have better hold on the masses
3 10. They stand for equality
6 11. I feel there will be 'Socialism' in India and for the success of 'Socialism', so that India may show her worth in future
5 12. Its stability
10 13. It is (Communist) well organised
1 14. A lesser evil
3 15. India does not need imperialists or capitalists
3 16. Swatantra party supports the big and most corrupted leading business sections of our country
2 17. They can represent better our (workers) interests

Cont'd...

Column		Question and Code
55-56 Cont'd.	8	18. Just to criticise the Government
	4	19. In the interest of the Common people at large. Common man is more important than the business community
	4	20. Socialist parties can prove a better opposition for the public
	11	21. A non-Socialist liberal party will only retard the pace of development in India
	8	22. A democratic opposition or a leftist opposition only can make Congress active in solving the problems of the country
	8	23. Only a militant party like the Communist can bring people's problems in the eyes of law
	2	24. There is no such liberal party. The Swatantra party is an outmoded party though it consists of some intelligentsia
	14	25. It is not a non-socialist opposition that is required because we have rightly decided to establish a Socialist pattern of Society in India. A Democratic Socialist opposition only can get the Congress nearer to the Active Socialistic Pattern of Society and none else.
	4	26. It is my liking (one's own personal liking)
	1	27. Communist party is the All-India Party next to Congress which claims mass support in the country (C.P.I.)
	5	28. Democratic Socialist Opposition is the need of the day
	2	29. It is the progressive Socialist party that is required to be in opposition to the Congress and not a liberal non-Socialist party
	3	30. I believe in public enterprises and ultimate socialism (restricted free enterprise)
	1	31. P.S.P. stands for equalitarian Society organised under a democratic form of Government
	1	32. A non-Socialist liberal party in opposition will only give fillip to the reactionary elements in the Congress
	4	33. The only party for good administration
	2	34. Next to the Congress there are good leaders in P.S.P. and it is nearest to the Congress party
	1	35. Otherwise Congress will be dictatorship party
	2	36. Without opposition the Government will not run smoothly
	5	37. It is in this way that they can look after both the rich and the poor
	1	38. To prevent autocracy
	53	98. Vague answers
	9	97. Others
	162	99. Unable to specify
	3	XX. No opinion
	3037	00. Not applicable
	1	41. NOT ASCERTAINED

Column | Question and Code

57 Q9. Do you think that cold war between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. can be ended soon?

672 1. Yes
452 2. No
2413 3. No opinion

For 'Yes' answer to Q 9.

58 What should be India's role to help U. S. and U.S.S.R. to end the cold war of the blocs?

40 1. Support the U.S.S.R.
29 2. Support the West
545 3. Be strictly neutral
61 4. NO OPINION
2862 8. NOT APPLICABLE

Q 10. Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in verious countries. Please tell what your feelings are about their role: Have they helped to (i) increase cold war, (ii) decrease cold war, (iii) promote peace or (iv) serve only own national interest?

59 President Kennedy

284 1. Increased cold war
226 2. Decreased cold war
313 3. Promoted world peace
161 4. Serve own national interest
2553 5. Don't know/No opinion

60 Premier Nikita S. Khruschev

415 1. Increased cold war
166 2. Decreased cold war
283 3. Promoted world peace
166 4. Served own national interest
2507 5. Don't know/No opinion

61 Mr. Mao Tse Tung

463 1. Increased cold war
15 2. Decreased cold war
29 3. Promoted world peace
280 4. Served own national interest
2750 5. Don't know/No opinion

Column		Question and code
62		President Nasser
	35	1. Increased cold war
	122	2. Decreased cold war
	221	3. Promoted world peace
	388	4. Served own national interest
	2771	5. Don't know/No opinion
63		General DeGaulle, President of France
	229	1. Increased cold war
	37	2. Decreased cold war
	52	3. Promoted world peace
	254	4. Served own national interest
	2965	5. Don't know/ No opinion
64		Dr. Knorad Adenauer, Chancellor of West Germany
	159	1. Increased cold war
	31	2. Decreased cold war
	28	3. Promoted world peace
	299	4. Served own national interest
	3020	5. Don't know/No opinion
65		President Ayub Khan of Pakistan
	523	1. Increased cold war
	9	2. Decreased cold war
	11	3. Promoted world peace
	541	4. Served own national interest
	2454	5. Don't know/No opinion
	2 {1	2.} NOT ASCERTAINED
	2 {1	9.}
		Q 11. In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to the following countries?
66		The United States
	898	1. Friendly to Asian countries
	1135	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
MULTIPLE	311	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
	146	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
ANSWERS	523	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country
	238	6. War loving
	546	7. Peace loving
	1257	0. Never read or heard about the country
	1020	9. Unable to specify

Column		Question and code
67		Russia
MULTIPLE ANSWERS	688	1. Friendly to Asian countries
	917	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
	460	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
	133	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
	384	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country
	296	6. War loving
	413	7. Peace loving
	1262	0. Never read or heard about the country
	1067	9. Unable to specify
68		Great Britain
MULTIPLE ANSWERS	453	1. Friendly to Asian countries
	567	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
	136	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
	91	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
	192	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country
	110	6. War loving
	427	7. Peace loving
	1304	0. Never read or heard about the country
	1282	9. Unable to specify
69		West Germany
MULTIPLE ANSWERS	240	1. Friendly to Asian countries
	325	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
	102	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
	47	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
	151	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country
	141	6. War loving
	181	7. Peace loving
	1333	0. Never read or heard about the country
	1556	9. Unable to specify
70		France
MULTIPLE ANSWERS	147	1. Friendly to Asian countries
	71	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
	26	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
	48	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
	74	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country

Cont'd...

Column		Question and code
70 Cont'd.	142	6. War loving
	114	7. Peace loving
	1348	0. Never read or heard about the country
	1787	9. Unable to specify
	1	8. NOT ASCERTAINED
71		China
MULTIPLE ANSWERS	51	1. Friendly to Asian countries
	8	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
	68	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
	132	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
	56	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country
	485	6. War loving
	58	7. Peace loving
	1337	0. Never read or heard about the country
	1577	9. Unable to specify
	1	8. NOT ASCERTAINED
72		Japan
MULTIPLE ANSWERS	265	1. Friendly to Asian countries
	234	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
	126	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
	33	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
	141	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country
	41	6. War loving
	249	7. Peace loving
	1339	0. Never read or heard about the country
	1623	9. Unable to specify
	1	8. NOT ASCERTAINED
80		2. SECOND CARD

407-50-0001

Survey Research Center
University of California
Berkeley 4, California

The Indian Institute of Public Opinion
Surveys No. 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 82

All India Political Poll

Questionnaire and Code

Card II

Column		Question and Code
		Q 6. What is your opinion about:
30		(Q 6.) Nehru as Prime Minister
	1679	1. Very good
	1092	2. Good
	94	3. Fair
	25	4. Bad
	10	5. Very bad
	637	6. Don't know & others
31		(Q 6.) Jaya Prakash Narayan
	167	1. Very good
	940	2. Good
	306	3. Fair
	35	4. Bad
	19	5. Very bad
	2070	6. Don't know & others
32		(Q 6.) Morarji Desai
	69	1. Very good
	690	2. Good
	402	3. Fair
	95	4. Bad
	47	5. Very bad
	2234	6. Don't know & others
33		(Q 6.) Lal Bahadur Shastri
	61	1. Very good
	725	2. Good
	408	3. Fair
	45	4. Bad
	19	5. Very bad
	2279	6. Don't know & others

Column		Question and Code
34		(Q 6.) S.K. Patil
	28	1. Very good
	513	2. Good
	389	3. Fair
	93	4. Bad
	33	5. Very bad
	2477	6. Don't know & others
35		(Q 6.) V.K. Krishna Menon
	176	1. Very good
	870	2. Good
	286	3. Fair
	62	4. Bad
	29	5. Very bad
	2104	6. Don't know & others
36		(Q 6.) Y.B. Chavan
	60	1. Very good
	500	2. Good
	262	3. Fair
	52	4. Bad
	36	5. Very bad
	2647	6. Don't know & others
37		(Q 6.) Jagjivan Ram
	130	1. Very good
	462	2. Good
	258	3. Fair
	81	4. Bad
	44	5. Very bad
	2562	6. Don't know & others
38		Q 6a. Of these who would you favour as a successor to Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru as Prime Minister of India?
	296	1. Jaya Prakash Narayan
	269	2. Morarji Desai
	70	3. Lal Bahadur Shastri
	18	4. S.K. Patil
	248	5. V.K. Krishna Menon
	60	6. Y.B. Chavan
	46	7. S.A. Dange
	8	8. Jagjivan Ram

Cont'd...

Column		Question and Code
38 Cont'd.	17	9. Any other Leftist Leader (Mr. C.N. Annadurai, Mr. Bupesh Gupta, Mr. E.M.S. Nambodripad, Mr. Ajoy Ghosh, Mr. A.K. Gopalan, Prof. Hiren Mukherjee)
	120	Y. Any other rightist leader (Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Dr. S. Ramakrishnan, Shri K.M.Munshi, Mr. Ashok Mehta, Shri C. Rajagopalachary, Shri K.N. Katju, Dr. B.C. Roy, Shri R. P. Mukherjee, Shri P.C. Sen, Shri Kamaraja Nadar, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Shri Bijoyanand Patnaik (Orissa)
	82	0. None
	2205	X. No Opinion
		If 'None' (38/0):
39-40		Q 6b. What are your reasons?
	6	01. None of these has ability to govern the country
	8	02. Nobody realises the responsibilities as Pt. Nehru
	7	03. These persons do not seem to be very intelligent
	2	04. All are self-seekers
	12	05. Because none of them is capable and they have not as much prestige or status as to deserve the post of Prime Minister
	4	06. They are all hopeless
	1	07. Because I have not much knowledge about them
	1	08. Mr. Nehru is a veteran politician and a true democratic leader
	32	99. Unable to specify
	3458	00. Not applicable
	615	11.? NOT ASCERTAINED
		Q 7. If there were an election today which party will you vote to (I) Lok Sabha (II) the State Legislature?
41		(Q 7. (I)) LOK SABHA
	1575	1. Congress
	325	2. P.S.P.
	313	3. Communist
	196	4. Swatantra Party
	64	5. Jan Sangh
	62	6. Socialist
	19	7. Hindu Mahasabha
	99	8. Independent
	527	9. Undecided
	167	Y. Other parties
	190	X. Refusal

Column | Question and Code

42 (Q 7. (II)) STATE LEGISLATURE

1. Congress
2. P.S.P.
3. Communist
4. Swatantra Party
5. Jan Sangh
6. Socialist
7. Hindu Mahasabha
8. Independent
9. Undecided
Y. Other parties
X. Refusal

Q 7.i. Did you vote this very party to the Lok Sabha (i) in 1952, (ii) 1957?

43 IN 1952

1451 1. Yes
193 2. No
360 3. Don't know
491 4. Did not vote in 1952
905 9. Not applicable
47 5. Refusal

44 IN 1957

1656 1. Yes
2. No
627 3. Don't know
552 4. Did not vote in 1957
975 0. Not applicable
45 5. Refusal

Q 7.ii. If answer is 'No' for 1952
Which party you voted for then?

45 1. Congress
2. P.S.P.
3. Communist
4. Swatantra
5. Jan Sangh
6. Socialist
7. Hindu Mahasabha
8. Independent
9. Undecided
Y. Other parties
X. Refusal/Unable to specify
0. Not applicable

Column | Question and Code

What were your reasons for this voting preference?

46-47

01. The only party to approach at that time
02. They must belong to Communist party only
03. Being the candidate of my own (caste, friend, and relative)
04. Ex-rulers influence on my community
05. He (the candidate) works efficiently
06. They promised to do something good or to help us or to give us free land etc.
07. Because my (friends, relatives) voted in favour of this party
08. After independence this was the best party
09. We think it will come to our expectations
10. Had an idea that this party would ameliorate the conditions of the people
11. As I lost faith (my) in Congress or any other party
12. Its policy no more appeals to me
13. Corruption and other mal-practices of the Congress made me vote against it
14. I preferred a 'leftist party' to form an opposition to the ruling Congress party
15. They (Congress) brought freedom to us
16. The Congress did not put up a good candidate
17. Vague answers
18. For the country's good
19. Because it is bringing economic freedom to us by adopting and implementing 5 year plans
20. So that we can get the country as only for the Maharashtrians
99. Unable to specify
XX. Don't remember
00. Not applicable
98. NOT ASCERTAINED

Q 7. iii. If answer is 'No' for 1957

48 Which party you voted for then?

1. Congress
2. P.S.P.
3. Communist
4. Swatantra
5. Jan Sangh
6. Socialist
7. Hindu Mahasabha
8. Independent
9. Undecided
Y. Other parties
X. Refusal/Unable to specify
0. Not applicable

Column | Question and Code

49-50 What are your reasons for this voting preference?

01. The only party at that time
02. Must belong to Communist party
03. Being of my own caste
04. Ex-ruler's influence on my community
05. He or they works/work efficiently
06. They or he promised to help/work for us or helped us
07. It appeared that they had a great role to play which they failed to do
08. My interest (being my friend, relative etc.)
09. Others voted for this party
10. The best candidate
11. It is a lesser evil
12. My country's good (interest)
13. With any other party there was no candidate
14. It is a strong opposition party
15. It has brought independence
16. I was under the impression that Communist party will be better than the Congress
17. No communist candidate and the independent candidate was supported by the C.P.I.
18. The Congress could not put a good candidate
99. Unable to specify reason
00. Not applicable
XX. Don't know/Don't remember
98. NOT ASCERTAINED

Q 7. iv. What is your single most important reason for the voting preference of today?

51 LOK SABHA
1. My interest
2. My country's interest
3. Only 'All-India Party'
4. A lesser evil
9. Unable to specify reason
X. Others
Y. DONT KNOW
0. NOT APPLICABLE
8. NOT ASCERTAINED

52 STATE LEGISLATURES
1. My interest
2. My country's interest
3. Only 'All-India Party'
4. A lesser evil
9. Unable to specify reason
Y. ~~Others~~ Don't know
0. NOT APPLICABLE, NO VOTING PREFERENCES
X. OTHERS
8. NOT ASCERTAINED

Q 8. Would you like to see a liberal, but non-socialist party, such as Swatantra Party in opposition to the Congress?

53
1. Yes
2. No
3. No opinion
4. Don't know

Column | Question and Codes

Q 8a. If 'No'

Would you like a party of the left such as P.S.P. or the Communist party as the main opposition to the Congress?

54

1. Yes
2. No
3. No opinion
0. Not applicable

Q 8b. If 'Yes' to Q 8a.

Why do you prefer a party of the left to be in opposition instead of a non-socialist liberal party?

55-56

01. It seems to be stronger and well-established than Swatantra
02. The world trend is leftist, and the P.S.P. or Communist can better govern rightists in the interest of the common man and work for the peasants
03. Communist is a very good party, can properly check the action of the party which is in power; Communist is the only party which stands for the people
04. P.S.P. is more democratic than any other party. It is an effective opposition to the Congress and flexible in its methods
05. It is non-communal and national party
06. India is poor and only this socialist party can look after the interests of the poor who are uneducated and are in majority
07. Better than others and they have more belief in Socialism
08. They have better progressive ideas
09. It represents masses, can think of welfare of the people (public) and they have better hold on the masses
10. They stand for equality
11. I feel there will be 'Socialism' in India and for the success of 'Socialism', so that India may show her worth in future
12. Its stability
13. It is (Communist) well organised
14. A lesser evil
15. India does not need imperialists or capitalists
16. Swatantra party supports the big and most corrupted leading business sections of our country
17. They can represent better our (workers) interests

Cont'd...

Column		Question and Code
55-56 Cont'd.	9	18. Just to criticise the Government
	4	19. In the interest of the Common people at large. Common man is more important than the business community
	4	20. Socialist parties can prove a better opposition for the public
	1	21. A non-Socialist liberal party will only retard the pace of development in India
	3	22. A democratic opposition or a leftist opposition only can make Congress active in solving the problems of the country
	8	23. Only a militant party like the Communist can bring people's problems in the eyes of law
	2	24. There is no such liberal party. The Swatantra party is an outmoded party though it consists of some intelligentsia
	14	25. It is not a non-socialist opposition that is required because we have rightly decided to establish a Socialist pattern of Society in India. A Democratic Socialist opposition only can get the Congress nearer to the Active Socialistic Pattern of Society and none else.
	4	26. It is my liking (one's own personal liking)
	1	27. Communist party is the All-India Party next to Congress which claims mass support in the country (C.P.I.)
	5	28. Democratic Socialist Opposition is the need of the day
	2	29. It is the progressive Socialist party that is required to be in opposition to the Congress and not a liberal non-Socialist party
	3	30. I believe in public enterprises and ultimate socialism (restricted free enterprise)
	1	31. P.S.P. stands for equalitarian Society organised under a democratic form of Government
	1	32. A non-Socialist liberal party in opposition will only give fillip to the reactionary elements in the Congress
	4	33. The only party for good administration
	2	34. Next to the Congress there are good leaders in P.S.P. and it is nearest to the Congress party
	1	35. Otherwise Congress will be dictatorship party
	2	36. Without opposition the Government will not run smoothly
	5	37. It is in this way that they can look after both the rich and the poor
	1	38. To prevent autocracy
	5	98. Vague answers
	9	97. Others
	16	99. Unable to specify
	3	XX. No opinion
	3	00. Not applicable

[illegible]

Column Question and Code

57 Q9. Do you think that cold war between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. can be ended soon?

1. Yes
2. No
3. No opinion

For 'Yes' answer to Q 9.

58 What should be India's role to help U. S. and U.S.S.R. to end the cold war of the blocs?

1. Support the U.S.S.R.
2. Support the West
3. Be strictly neutral
4. NO OPINION
0. NOT APPLICABLE

Q 10. Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in verious countries. Please tell what your feelings are about their role. Have they helped to (i) increase cold war, (ii) decrease cold war, (iii) promote peace or (iv) serve only own national interest?

59 President Kennedy

1. Increased cold war
2. Decreased cold war
3. Promoted world peace
4. Serve own national interest
5. Don't know/No opinion

60 Premier Nikita S. Khruschev

1. Increased cold war
2. Decreased cold war
3. Promoted world peace
4. Served own national interest
5. Don't know/No opinion

61 Mr. Mao Tse Tung

1. Increased cold war
2. Decreased cold war
3. Promoted world peace
4. Served own national interest
5. Don't know/No opinion

Column	Question and code
62	President Nasser
35	1. Increased cold war
120	2. Decreased cold war
221	3. Promoted world peace
338	4. Served own national interest
2771	5. Don't know/No opinion
63	General DeGaulle, President of France
209	1. Increased cold war
37	2. Decreased cold war
52	3. Promoted world peace
254	4. Served own national interest
2965	5. Don't know/ No opinion
64	Dr. Knorad Adenauer, Chancellor of West Germany
159	1. Increased cold war
31	2. Decreased cold war
28	3. Promoted world peace
299	4. Served own national interest
3020	5. Don't know/No opinion
65	President Ayub Khan of Pakistan
523	1. Increased cold war
9	2. Decreased cold war
11	3. Promoted world peace
541	4. Served own national interest
2454	5. Don't know/No opinion
2 { 1	3. } NOT ASCERTAINED
	Q 11. In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to the following countries?
66	The United States
893	1. Friendly to Asian countries
1135	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
MULTIPLE 311	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
146	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
ANSWERS 523	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country
238	6. War loving
546	7. Peace loving
1257	0. Never read or heard about the country
1020	9. Unable to specify

Column		Question and code
67		Russia
MULTIPLE ANSWERS	689	1. Friendly to Asian countries
	917	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
	460	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
	133	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
	384	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country
	296	6. War loving
	413	7. Peace loving
	1262	0. Never read or heard about the country
	1067	9. Unable to specify
68		Great Britain
MULTIPLE ANSWERS	453	1. Friendly to Asian countries
	567	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
	136	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
	91	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
	193	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country
	110	6. War loving
	427	7. Peace loving
	1304	0. Never read or heard about the country
	1292	9. Unable to specify
69		West Germany
MULTIPLE ANSWERS	240	1. Friendly to Asian countries
	825	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
	102	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
	47	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
	151	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country
	141	6. War loving
	181	7. Peace loving
	1383	0. Never read or heard about the country
	1556	9. Unable to specify
70		France
MULTIPLE ANSWERS	147	1. Friendly to Asian countries
	71	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
	26	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
	43	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
	74	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country

Cont'd...

Column		Question and code
70 Cont'd.	142	6. War loving
	114	7. Peace loving
	1345	0. Never read or heard about the country
	1787	9. Unable to specify
	1	8. NOT ASCERTAINED
71		China
MULTIPLE ANSWERS	51	1. Friendly to Asian countries
	8	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
	64	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
	132	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
	56	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country
	485	6. War loving
	58	7. Peace loving
	1337	0. Never read or heard about the country
	1577	9. Unable to specify
	1	8. NOT ASCERTAINED
72		Japan
MULTIPLE ANSWERS	265	1. Friendly to Asian countries
	234	2. Generously giving aid to India for economic development
	126	3. Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment
	33	4. Her economic system leads to exploitation
	141	5. Her economic system leads to rise in standard of all in the country
	41	6. War loving
	249	7. Peace loving
	1339	0. Never read or heard about the country
	1623	9. Unable to specify
	1	8. NOT ASCERTAINED
80		2. SECOND CARD

MONTHLY

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OF

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Vol. VII. Nos. 2, 3 & 4. November, December 1961, & January, 1962

IN THIS ISSUE

In this triple issue of Monthly Public Opinion Surveys there is presented the result of an All-India poll conducted in September and October, 1961 covering both urban and rural areas, primarily designed to analyse the structure of voting intention and to correlate it with factors which are likely to influence it, such as the personalities in different parties and the economic condition of people in relation to their "expectations".

Voting Intention

In relation to the poll conducted in April, 1959 and described fully in issues 45, 46, 47, and 48, the interesting point is the stability of the Congress vote at about 45 per cent. This surface stability can, however, be extremely misleading. It now transpires substantial progress has been made by the Congress in Maharashtra and Gujarat, but there are serious losses in Delhi, Rajasthan and Kerala and that the situation, although similar in outward form, has undergone some significant changes. In the Punjab in particular, the non-Congress vote is so large today that one cannot be too sure that Congress will form the Government. This seems to be equally true of Rajasthan. In Kerala a significant feature has been the rise of the Communist vote which is reckoned at 44.4 per cent, whereas the Congress vote is as low as 22.9 per cent. The P.S.P. vote has grown at 17.1 per cent and, therefore, but for a coalition, the outlook for non-Communist parties would be bleak.

Special attention needs to be given to the structure of opinion covered by "other" parties. It would appear that this includes some substantial portion of the Swatantra vote which in urban areas is as high as 8 and odd per cent, but is very little known in the villages except by its affiliated local parties. It is probable that the Swatantra vote may eventually be almost as high as the Communist "popular" vote. One might broadly conclude that the Communist, Praja Socialist and Swatantra Parties would seem to have, over India as a whole, about equal strength with roughly an 8 to 10 per cent popular vote. The exact significance of the large undecided vote of 22 per cent is not at the moment clear, but one can hazard the conclusion from past analysis that it is neither a Congress nor a Communist vote. If it voted at all, the chances are that it will express itself much more on the Jan Sangh or Swatantra sides since there is evidence that voters wish to hide their particular affiliations in these two cases.

Economic Condition and Voting Intention

A special factor in this survey deals, as in the 1957 and 1959 polls, with a relation between economic conditions and voting intentions. This is covered by a series of interesting tables, but, broadly, the picture remains as before, meaning that adverse economic conditions are not causal in terms of the Congress vote, but in particular States it is definitely associated with Opposition parties. There has been additional proof that age and education are not major factors in voting intention ; income tends to be more important. But there is some evidence now that there has been a change in the position by which the minorities were substantially more Congress than non-Congress. Thus, while on the surface the situation looks highly stable, the forces of change are operating powerfully below the surface and it may well be that, if the undecided vote goes against the Congress, a substantial reverse in the number of seats won by the ruling party may take place. It is not impossible on a drop of popular vote of 4 to 5 percentage points that there might be a loss of 20 to 30 seats in the Lok Sabha.

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An Analysis of the Structure of Indian Political Opinion : October 1961

An All-India Survey on Political Attitudes

The Indian Institute of Public Opinion conducted in the months of September and October, 1961 its third comprehensive all-India urban and rural political poll. It may be recalled that the first all-India political poll conducted in India was undertaken by this Institute in January 1957 and the results were published in a quadruple issue of the "Monthly Public Opinion Surveys" Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19. The second, conducted during April and May, 1959, was published in the issues No. 45, 46, 47, 48 during August, 1959. Partial urban or rural polls have been conducted frequently in the intervals between these comprehensive all-India studies. The present survey, the third in the series, was framed on similar lines to facilitate comparisons of opinions and attitudes as presented in the two previous surveys. The present issue deals only with the structure of opinion on important domestic problems ; the attitudes on international issues will be treated in a subsequent issue.

The Sample

As on previous occasions, the "effective" sample consisted of 3,000 interviews spread all over the country. As before, Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Manipur, Tripura and Himachal Pradesh were excluded. A strict division of this sample on the basis of the urban and the rural population would have meant numerically a smaller sample in the urban areas. While this would be statistically in order, it would not have been sufficient to permit reasonable statewise urban breakdowns by age, education or income. While it is true the urban voting figure is only one-fourth of the rural areas, it is an observed fact, that the opinion-forming centres are actually the urban areas. Thus the attitudes and the political preferences of urban areas require a separate Statewise presentation. To enable this to be done, the urban sample of only 540 is doubled and in all 1080 urban interviews were conducted. The rural sample content is as before about 2,500 (or more exactly 2,460 after scrutiny) and the sample for all-India breakdown remains 3,000 interviews. The statewise distribution of the sample is shown in the map on page 3. Detailed breakdowns of the sample on the basis of the background data are to be found on page 2. **The urban breakdowns are thus based on an enlarged sample while for all-India breakdowns suitable weighting was made.** While Statewise breakdowns are given for urban and rural areas separately, the all-India tables are not presented in this fashion.

The Pattern of Presentation

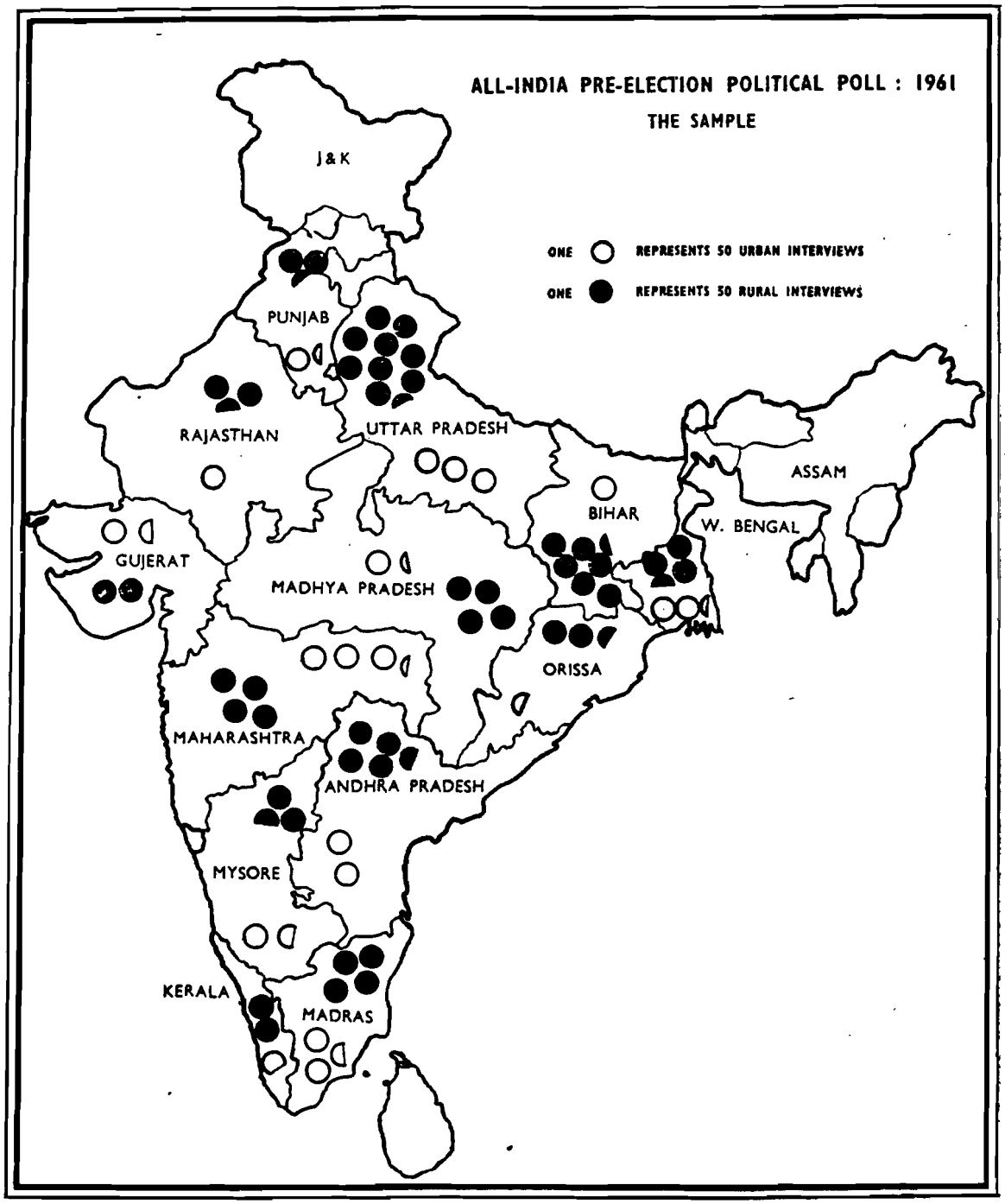
The presentation of data is similar to the one followed in the two previous cases with the exception already mentioned above. The first section deals with the structure of domestic political opinion dominated by voting intention and is firstly given on an all-India basis in the form of summary tables. This is followed by a detailed presentation of data separately for urban and rural areas, but in the text both the all-India picture, as well as the rural and urban patterns, are dealt with jointly.

The second section of the report deals mainly with the economic factors that are of interest not only by themselves but as elements in political behaviour. These tables also are presented separately for urban and rural areas, and summary tables that precede these, are given for India as a whole.

As was stated before, the structure of opinion on the international situation and an analysis of some international factors is not included in this issue, but will be presented in a subsequent issue to appear in February, 1962.

The Sample : All-India "Adjusted"

	All-India		Urban		Rural	
	Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
AGE						
21—35	1404	46.8	571	52.9	1119	45.5
36—50	968	32.3	331	30.6	802	32.6
Above 50	579	19.3	153	14.2	503	20.4
Unspecified	49	1.6	25	2.3	36	1.5
EDUCATION						
Illiterate	1187	39.6	149	13.8	1113	45.3
Under-matric	1184	39.4	350	32.4	1009	41.0
Matric	385	12.8	289	26.8	240	9.8
Graduate and above	197	6.6	265	24.5	65	2.6
Unspecified	47	1.6	27	2.5	33	1.3
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100	1474	49.1	249	23.0	1350	54.9
101—200	905	30.2	348	32.2	731	29.7
201—350	380	12.7	195	27.3	232	9.4
351—700	132	4.4	112	10.4	76	3.1
Above 700	36	1.2	45	4.2	14	0.6
Unspecified	73	2.4	31	2.9	57	2.3
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh	273	9.1	95	8.8	225	9.1
Bihar	338	11.3	45	4.2	315	12.8
Delhi	17	0.5	25	2.3	5	0.2
Gujarat	142	4.7	75	6.9	105	4.3
Kerala	117	3.9	35	3.2	100	4.1
Madhya Pradesh	227	7.6	55	5.1	200	8.1
Madras	263	8.8	125	11.6	200	8.1
Maharashtra	280	9.3	160	14.8	200	8.1
Mysore	170	5.7	80	7.4	130	5.3
Orissa	128	4.2	15	1.4	120	4.9
Punjab	140	4.7	60	5.6	110	4.5
Kajasthan	140	4.7	50	4.6	115	4.7
Uttar Pradesh	535	17.8	150	13.9	460	18.7
West Bengal	130	7.7	110	10.2	175	7.1
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0


ALL-INDIA PRE-ELECTION POLITICAL POLL : 1961
THE SAMPLE
ONE REPRESENTS 50 URBAN INTERVIEWS
ONE REPRESENTS 50 RURAL INTERVIEWS
J&K
PUNJAB
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
BIHAR
ASSAM
W. BENGAL
GUJERAT
MADHYA PRADESH
ORISSA
MAHARASHTRA
ANDHRA PRADESH
MYSORE
KERALA
MADRAS

Political Awareness and Interest

The Measurement of Political "Consciousness"

Nearly forty-four per cent of the respondents have stated that they do take interest in political matters. In rural areas, the percentage is somewhat less at 34 per cent. It is significant to note that in both the areas these percentages represent substantial increases as compared to the position observed in April, 1959.

What may be called the "political consciousness" has, as is to be expected, a discernible trend both over education and income. **While, for example, only 27 per cent in the income group of Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 have stated they take interest in political matters, the percentage of respondents is as high as 69 per cent in the higbest income group of 'over Rs. 700'. In rural areas, this upward trend shows a more significant rise from about 25 per cent in the lowest income group to almost 86 per cent in the highest income group. In terms of education, the range of increase is from 8 per cent among the illiterates to 65 per cent among the graduates in urban areas as compared to about 12 per cent in the illiterate group in rural areas to 65 per cent among the graduates.** Thus on the basis of education, rural and urban areas provide more or less a similar outlook while, in terms of income, the richer sections in the rural areas have greater interest in political matters than the corresponding income groups in the urban areas. Apparently this can be due to the smaller content in the upper income groups in the rural areas.

Amongst States, both in respect of the urban as well as the rural content, Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat lead the rest of the States. Considering only the urban population, Mysore, Rajasthan and, to a certain extent, Maharashtra showed significantly higher percentages as compared to others. It is surprising that the percentage of people taking interest in political matters is, contrary to general expectations, quite low in West Bengal, both in the rural and urban sectors.

The Medium of Communications for the Politically Conscious

The newspaper revealed itself to be the most important channel of communication, in so far as these political matters are concerned. **In urban areas, slightly more than 90 per cent of the people who take interest in political matters stated that they read regularly newspapers, and that this contributes to a large extent towards their understanding of the current problems. While nearly 73 per cent stated that they listen to speeches of candidates and leaders and about 66 per cent also attend public meetings only, 24 per cent have stated that they attend demonstrations and rallies also. Thus it can be stated that only less than a quarter of the politically conscious urban population are "much attached" to their parties ;** the remaining, while sympathising with various political parties, do not normally "go out" in support of their party's programmes. Perhaps this 24 per cent may be described as the "hard core". In rural areas, surprisingly, nearly 36 per cent of the respondents, who show interest in political matters, attend demonstrations and join in the political rallies. Partly this may be due to the relative infrequency of these demonstrations. Newspaper readership is, as can be expected, slightly smaller than in urban areas (75.5 per cent) ; while attendance in public meetings and listening of speeches by candidates and leaders are significantly higher at 81.5 per cent and 84.0 per cent respectively.

Political Awareness

Do you take interest in political matters ?	All-India		Urban		Rural	
	Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
Yes	1070	35.7	472	43.7	834	33.9
No	1554	51.8	521	48.2	1294	52.6
No opinion	376	12.5	87	8.1	332	13 5
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100 0
If "Yes",						
Do you (i) attend public meetings (ii) join demonstrations/rallies (iii) listen to speeches by candidates and leaders (iv) read newspaper reports ?						
Attend public meetings	826	78.1	311	65.9	680	81 5
Join demonstrations/rallies	358	33.5	111	23.5	302	36 2
Listen to speeches by candidates and leaders	872	81.5	343	72.7	700	84 0
Read newspaper reports	844	78 9	427	90.5	630	75 5
Base*	1070	—	472	—	834	—

*No check : provision for multiple answers.

Which party appeals to you most ?						
Congress	890	29.7	355	32.8	712	29 0
P.S.P.	57	1.9	9	0.8	53	2 1
Communist	129	4.3	46	4.3	106	4.3
Swatantra	22	0.7	24	2.2	10	0.4
Jan Sangh	12	0 4	16	1.5	4	0.2
Socialist	15	0 5	6	0.6	12	0.5
*Others	158	5 3	37	3.5	140	5 7
No party	229	7 6	161	14.9	148	6.0
Unable to specify and No opinion	1488	49 6	426	39.4	1275	51.8
Total	3000	100 0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0

*Hindu Mahasabha, Independent, Republican party, Akali, S.M.S., D.M.K. Vidarbha party, Janata and Ganatantra Parishad.

All-India Urban

Do you take interest in political matters?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	571	46.1	47.1	6.8	100.0
36—50	331	42.0	49.5	8.5	100.0
Above 50	153	39.9	51.6	8.5	100.0
Unspecified	25	36.0	36.0	28.0	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	149	8.1	66.4	25.5	100.0
Under-matric	350	40.3	52.0	7.7	100 0
Matric	289	46.7	48.1	5.2	100.0
Graduate and above	265	65.3	33.2	1.5	100.0
Unspecified	27	40.7	48.2	11.1	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	249	26.5	55.8	17.7	100.0
101—200	348	43.4	49.7	6.9	100.0
201—350	295	50.2	46.1	3.7	100.0
351—700	112	54.5	42.0	3.5	100.0
Over 700	45	68.9	28.9	2.2	100.0
Unspecified	31	48.4	41.9	9.7	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	95	81.1	18.9	—	100.0
Bihar	45	8 9	42.2	48.9	100.0
Delhi	25	20.0	68.0	12.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	64.0	20.0	16.0	100.0
Kerala	35	45.7	51.4	2.9	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	32.7	67.3	—	100.0
Madras	125	27.2	69.6	3.2	100.0
Maharashtra	160	53.7	43.8	2.5	100.0
Mysore	80	75.0	16.2	8.8	100.0
Orissa	15	26.7	26.7	46.6	100.0
Punjab	60	10.0	90.0	—	100.0
Rajasthan	50	62.0	26.0	12.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	36.0	60.7	3.3	100.0
West Bengal	110	26.4	59.0	14.6	100.0
Total	1080	43.7	48.2	8.1	100.0

All-India Rural

Do you take interest in political matters ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	1119	36.5	48.7	14.8	100.0
36—50	802	34.2	53.5	12.3	100.0
Above 50	503	27.4	60.4	12.2	100.0
Unspecified	36	36.1	44.4	19.5	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	1113	12.1	68.1	19.8	100.0
Under-matric	1009	48.6	41.5	9.9	100.0
Matric	240	63.3	34.2	2.5	100.0
Graduate & above	65	64.6	33.9	1.5	100.0
Unspecified	33	45.5	42.4	12.1	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	1350	25.2	59.8	15.0	100.0
101—200	731	41.2	47.0	11.8	100.0
201—350	232	52.1	38.4	9.5	100.0
351—700	76	57.9	36.8	5.3	100.0
Above 700	14	85.7	—	14.3	100.0
Unspecified	57	28.0	44.0	28.0	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	225	60.4	39.6	—	100.0
Bihar	315	11.1	48.3	40.6	100.0
Delhi	5	20.0	80.0	—	100 0
Gujarat	105	68.6	20.0	11.4	100.0
Kerala	100	57.0	40.0	3.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	15.0	72.0	13.0	100.0
Madras	200	44.0	43.5	12.5	100.0
Maharashtra	200	57.5	42.0	0.5	100.0
Mysore	130	35.4	63.1	1.5	100.0
Orissa	120	15.0	55 0	30.0	100.0
Punjab	110	11.8	88.2	—	100.0
Rajasthan	115	41.7	27.0	31.3	100 0
Uttar Pradesh	460	31.9	59.4	8.7	100.0
West Bengal	175	16.0	70.8	13.2	100.0
Total	2460	33.9	52.6	13.5	100.0

All-India Urban

Do you (i) attend public meetings (ii) join demonstrations/rallies (iii) listen to speeches by candidates and leaders (iv) read newspaper reports ?

(Asked only of those who said they took interest in political matters)

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Attend public meetings	Join demonstrations Rallies	Listen to speeches by candidates and leaders	Read newspaper reports
AGE GROUP					
21—35	263	69.9	25·5	77.1	93.2
36—50	139	65.4	23.0	72.7	88.5
Above 50	61	54.1	18.0	55.7	83.6
Unspecified	9	44.5	11.1	55.6	88.9
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	12	58.3	41.7	66.7	33.3
Under-matric	141	67.3	29.1	69.6	81.6
Matric	135	68.1	29.6	78.5	94.8
Graduate and above	173	62.4	13.3	70.5	97.7
Unspecified	11	81.8	18.2	81.7	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	66	75.7	36.4	81.8	74.2
101—200	151	72.2	32.5	76.9	91.4
201—350	148	62.1	14.9	65.6	93.3
351—700	61	65.6	14.8	78.7	96.8
Over 700	31	45.2	12.9	61.3	96.8
Unspecified	15	40.0	20.0	60.0	86.7
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	77	62.3	10.4	66.2	97.4
Bihar	4	75.0	50.0	75.0	25.0
Delhi	5	80.0	60.0	80.0	80.0
Gujarat	49	75.5	34.7	83.7	89.8
Kerala	16	87.5	18.8	93.8	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	18	83.3	16.7	88.8	94 4
Madras	34	94.1	32.4	94.1	97.1
Maharashtra	86	73.3	40.7	76.7	76.7
Mysore	60	56.7	8.3	70.0	93.3
Orissa	4	75.0	—	50.0	75.0
Punjab	6	66.7	—	66.7	100.0
Rajasthan	31	32.3	19.4	38.7	90.3
Uttar Pradesh	54	51.9	22.2	55.6	94.4
West Bengal	28	57.1	21.4	89.3	96.4
Total	472	65.9	23.5	72.7	90.5

Note : No check—provision for multiple answers.

All-India Rural

Do you (i) attend public meetings (ii) join demonstrations/rallies (iii) listen to speeches by candidates and leaders (iv) read newspaper reports ?

(Asked only of those who said they took interest in political matters)

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Attend public meetings	Join demonstrations/rallies	Listen to speeches by candidates/ leaders	Read Newspaper reports
AGE GROUP					
21—35	409	81.0	36.4	85.0	81.4
36—50	274	85.0	38.7	85.8	73.0
Above 50	138	76.0	30.4	76.0	63 8
Unspecified	13	84.6	38.5	92.3	69.2
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	135	69.6	32.6	58.5	15.5
Under-matric	490	83.7	39.0	88.8	83.5
Matric	152	85.5	34.2	88.8	100.0
Graduate & above	42	88.1	28.6	97.6	97.6
Unspecified	15	60.0	20.0	66.7	46.7
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	340	84.1	39.4	85.0	62.3
101—200	301	83.4	38.9	86.4	83.0
201—350	121	76.8	27.3	81.8	84.3
351—700	44	75.0	27.3	77.3	88.6
Above 700	12	50.0	25.0	66.7	91.7
Unspecified	16	68.7	18.7	62.5	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	136	86.8	25.0	91.9	93.4
Bihar	35	100.0	31.4	100.0	51.4
Delhi	1	—	—	100.0	100.0
Gujarat	72	91.7	34.7	94.4	86.1
Kerala	57	89.5	64.9	96.5	89.5
Madhya Pradesh	30	76.7	40.0	93.3	56.7
Madras	88	96.6	52.3	98.9	83.0
Maharashtra	115	97.0	52.2	88.7	86.0
Mysore	46	80.6	—	80.4	91.3
Orissa	18	72.2	33.3	83.3	33.3
Punjab	13	92 3	53.8	92.3	92.3
Rajasthan	48	58.3	8.3	35.4	18.7
Uttar Pradesh	147	67.3	37.4	64.6	61.9
West Bengal	28	46 4	17.8	82.1	78.6
Total	834	81.5	36.3	84.0	75.5

No check : provision for multiple answe s.

All-India Urban

Which party appeals to you most ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Congress	P. S. P.	Communist	Swatantra	Jan Sangh	Socialist	Others *	No party	Can't specify & No opinion
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	28.7	1.1	6.1	2.6	1.9	0.4	4.4	16.6	38.2
36—50	331	39.3	0.6	2.8	1.8	0.9	0.6	2.4	11.4	40.2
Above 50	153	34.0	0.7	1.3	2.0	1.3	1.3	2.7	15.0	41.7
Unspecified	25	36.0	—	—	—	—	—	--	20.0	44.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	13.4	—	1.3	—	—	—	6.1	12.1	67.1
Under-matric	350	39.1	0.3	4.6	1.1	0.9	0.6	1.7	12.3	39.4
Matric	289	35.7	0.7	5.9	2.8	2.1	0.3	2.7	14.5	35.3
Graduate & above	265	30.9	2.3	4.2	4.5	2.6	1.2	4.9	19.6	29.8
Unspecified	27	48.2	—	—	—	—	—	3.7	22.2	25.9
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	28.9	0.8	1.7	0.8	0.4	0.4	4.0	16.9	46.1
101—200	348	32.8	1.4	7.2	2.0	1.7	0.9	3.2	13.5	37.3
201—350	295	32.5	0.7	2.7	3.7	1.0	0.7	3.5	17.3	37.9
351—700	112	42.8	—	2.7	0.9	2.7	—	1.8	10.7	38.4
Over 700	45	42.2	—	4.4	2.2	6.7	—	6.7	15.5	22.3
Unspecified	31	19.4	—	12.9	6.4	—	—	3.2	6.5	51.6
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	39.9	2.1	4.2	2.1	—	—	1.1	15.8	34.8
Bihar	45	2.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	13.3	84.4
Delhi	25	32.0	—	4.0	—	—	—	—	—	64.0
Gujarat	75	49.3	2.6	6.7	2.7	6.7	—	1.3	22.7	8.0
Kerala	35	25.7	2.9	8.6	—	—	2.9	—	37.0	22.9
Madhya Pradesh	55	25.5	—	12.7	—	1.8	1.8	—	18.2	40.0
Madras	125	14.4	1.6	7.2	3.2	—	0.8	9.6	8.8	54.4
Maharashtra	160	47.5	0.6	3.1	1.3	1.8	1.3	3.8	30.0	10.6
Mysore	80	23.7	—	3.8	15.0	—	—	1.2	28.8	27.5
Orissa	15	33.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	6.7	60.0
Punjab	60	25.0	—	1.7	—	1.7	—	—	15.0	56.6
Rajasthan	50	46.0	—	—	2.0	6.0	—	—	2.0	44.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	50.6	0.7	2.6	0.7	2.0	0.7	10.0	4.0	28.7
West Bengal	110	14.6	—	3.6	—	—	—	0.9	0.9	80.0
Total	1080	32.8	0.8	4.3	2.2	1.5	0.6	3.5	14.9	39.4

* Hindu Mahasabha, Independent, Republican party, Akali, S. M. S., D. M. K., Vidarba Party, Janata and Ganatantra Parishad.

Note : Horizontal total adds upto 100% in each case.

All-India Rural

Which party appeals to you most?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Congress	P. S. P.	Communist	Swatantra	Jan Sangh	Socialist	*Others	No party	Unable to specify & No opinion
AGE GROUP										
21—35	1119	27.9	3.0	4.9	0.7	0.1	0.7	5.6	5.6	51.5
36—50	802	30.6	2.0	5.1	0.2	0.2	0.4	5.0	5.9	50.6
Above 50	503	29.6	0.6	1.6	—	—	0.2	6.7	6.6	54.7
Unspecified	36	16.7	—	8.3	—	—	—	8.3	16.7	50.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	1113	15.5	0.8	1.8	0.1	—	0.2	5.7	6.4	69.5
Under-matric	1009	40.1	2.9	6.0	0.6	0.2	0.6	5.9	5.7	38.0
Matric	240	41.7	4.2	8.7	1.2	—	1.2	4.6	5.4	33.0
Graduate and above	65	37.0	6.1	4·6	—	3.0	—	4.6	7.7	37.0
Unspecified	33	33.4	3.0	—	—	—	—	9.1	6.0	48.5
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	1350	22.7	1.2	4.2	0.5	0.1	0.3	6.6	6.5	57.9
101—200	731	32.0	3.6	5.4	0.4	—	0.5	4.7	6.1	47.3
201—350	232	47.0	3.0	2.1	—	—	1.7	3.9	4.8	37.5
351—700	76	54.0	2.6	2.6	—	1.3	—	—	4.0	35.5
Above 700	14	64.3	7.1	—	—	7.1	—	7.2	—	14.3
Unspecified	57	22.8	—	5.3	—	—	—	12.3	3.5	56.1
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	225	43.5	—	9,8	0.9	—	1.3	1.3	3.6	39.6
Bihar	315	3.5	0.3	2.6	—	—	0.3	1.0	7.3	85.0
Delhi	5	20.0	—	—	—	20.0	—	—	—	60.0
Gujarat	105	69.5	—	0.9	3.8	—	—	—	3.8	22.0
Kerala	100	21.0	7.0	28.0	—	—	—	1.0	5.0	38.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	8.5	2.5	1.0	1.0	0.5	—	0.5	9.5	76.5
Madras	200	18.5	2.0	13.5	—	—	—	16.5	11.5	38.0
Maharashtra	200	52.5	12.5	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	3.5	19.0	9.0
Mysore	130	23.0	0.8	—	0.8	—	—	0.8	—	74.5
Orissa	120	8.3	—	2.5	—	—	—	—	1.7	87.5
Punjab	110	50.0	—	0.9	—	—	—	5.5	3.6	40.0
Rajasthan	115	30.5	—	—	—	—	—	2.6	0.8	66·1
Uttar Pradesh	460	44.3	2.2	1.3	—	0·2	1.5	17.8	4.3	28.4
West Bengal	175	7.4	—	3.4	—	—	—	—	0.6	88.6
Total	2460	29.0	2.1	4.3	0.4	0.2	0.5	5.7	6.0	51.8

*Hindu Mahasabha, Independent, Republican party, Akali, S.M.S., D.M.K., Vidarbha Party, Janata and Ganatantra Parishad.

Note : Horizontal total adds upto 100% in each ease.

Voting Intention : Urban and Rural

It is natural, with the General Elections just two months away, that major interest should attach to the answer to two questions which were asked in regard to voting intention for the Lok Sabha and for the State Legislatures. The results appear in summary form in the following tables. It is to be remembered that the urban figure needs to be halved in order to be made proportionate to the "popular" vote before it can be combined to the rural vote to obtain an all-India figure.

It will be seen from the table on page 16 that there is no substantial difference between the vote for the Lok Sabha and the vote for the Assemblies among the parties except in regard to the Communist Party and the Swatantra Party. **In the case of the Communist Party, its all-India figure is as high as 12.3 per cent whereas its State Legislature figure is as low as 8.2 per cent. This would suggest that the Communist Party is likely to improve its position in the lok Sabha, but to lose ground in the State Assemblies. The P. S. P. has definitely improved its position as against 1957 and the Swatantra Party is relatively strong in urban areas. But its position in rural areas is clouded, because it has not been known as such there, but by some of its local parties.** It is, therefore, not perhaps suitable for the total Swatantra Party vote that one should combine urban and rural percentages in this fashion. If one assumes, and this seems to be likely, that about half the vote of "other" parties as evaluated either directly or by alliances belongs to the Swatanra Party, the Swatantra vote in State Assemblies might rise to about 7 per cent and in the Lok Sabha perhaps to six per cent. **If this is correct, the Opposition parties seats in the Lok Sabha, so far as percentage vote is concerned, would be in the order—Communist, P.S.P. and Swatantra. But there is a possibility that the three parties might ride on a fairly even keel,** when one remembers that the sampling error in this case, is with a chance of 95 in 100 of the order of two to three percentage points, or with 99 in 100 of about four percentage points.

The Congress Vote

Much interest attaches to the Congress vote and this is best set out in the terms of the actuals in the 1957 elections, the 1959 poll undertaken by the Indian Institute of Public Opinion and the current poll.

Percentages

1957 (Actuals)	1959 I.I.P.O. Poll	1961 I.I.P.O. Poll
48.3	44.5	45.0

The vote shows a high degree of stability and one is very apt to assume that this is a hard unchanging core, exactly where it was before. This is, by no means, the case. Compared with the 1957 elections, the detailed table attached will show that the Congress Party has grown substantially in Maharashtra and in Gujarat and has lost ground in the Punjab and Rajasthan as well as Delhi. Ignoring Delhi for the moment, because of its relatively small total consequences, one might argue that the Punjab and Rajasthan lapses are severe, and might in conceivable circumstances lead to a loss of significant majorities in those States, preventing the Congress Party from forming Governments there.

In Kerala a significant feature has been the rise of the Communist vote which is reckoned at 44.4 per cent, whereas the Congress vote is as low as 22.9 per cent. The P. S. P. vote has grown at 17.1 per cent and, therefore, but for a coalition, the outlook for non-Commnnist parties will be bleak.

On the other hand, it is significant that the Congress Party has grown in Andhra Pradesh, where some few years ago Communist opposition was intense. It is fairly stable in both Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, but it is to be seen how factions will work this out in these two States. It seems fairly certain that none of the undecided vote will go into the Congress fold. Many polls undertaken by the Indian Institute of Public Opinion show that the undecided vote is very seldom in favour of the Congress or the Communist parties because in the former, prestige makes the voter declare his intentions, and, in the case of the Communist Party, because Communism is a creed which tends to attract the out-spoken and somewhat fearless individual, there is no hesitation in proclaiming voting intention. It is likely that the undecided vote will add to the P. S. P., Swatantra and Jan Sangh, probably more to the last than anyone of the others because the communal character of the Party encourages secrecy. **There is some ground for the view that the current position of the undecided vote is one which favours the Opposition and not the Congress.**

Opposition Parties

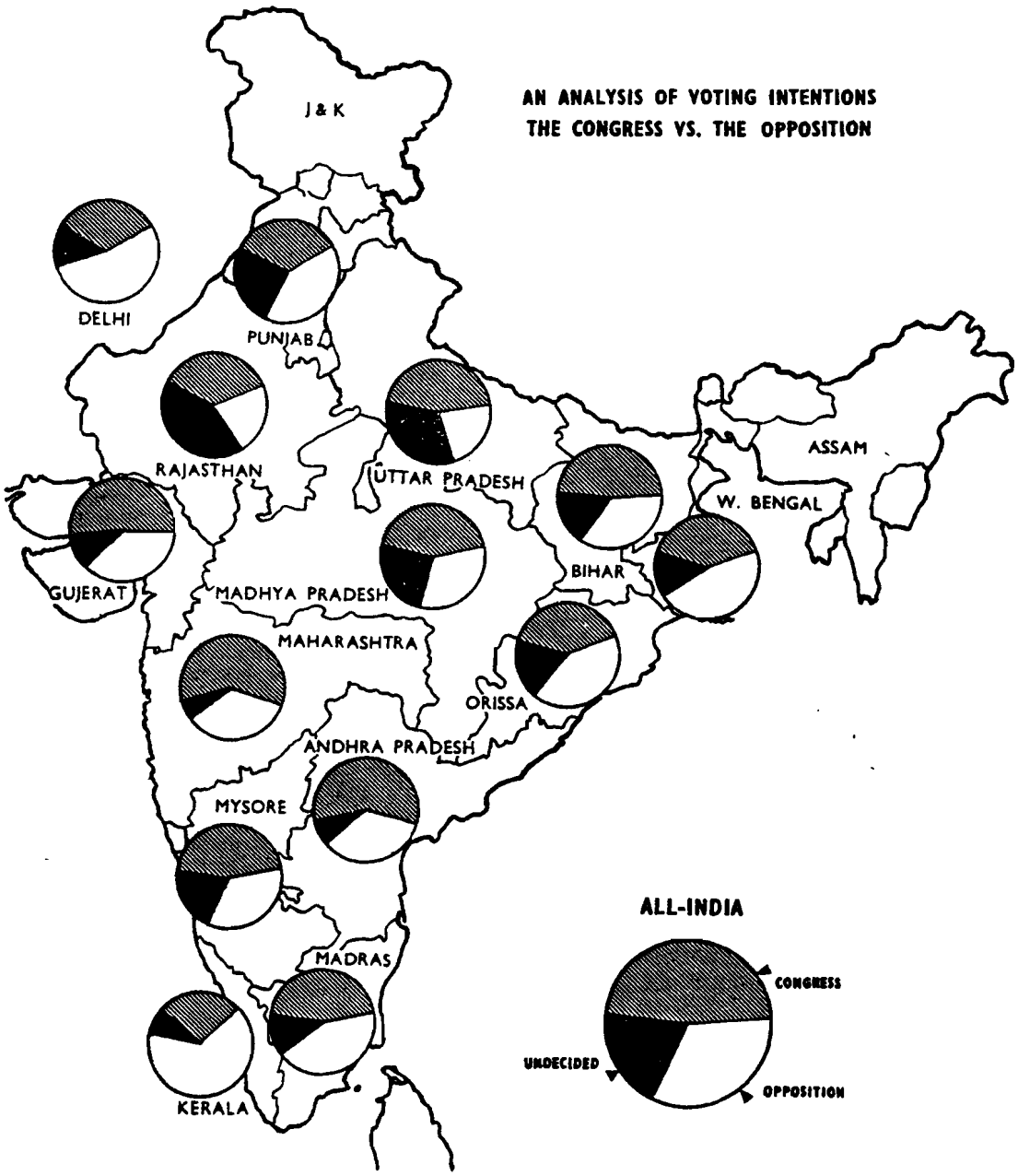
If one looks upon the Opposition parties as a whole they have not much improved their position since the 1959 poll and only very slightly since the 1957 elections. On the other hand, it would be foolish to ignore the fact that the electoral adjustments which have taken place, have greatly strengthened their position to capture seats as against a percentage of the popular vote.

It will be remembered that the Communist Party, in spite of the fact that it had over 40 per cent of the popular vote, did very badly on seats when it faced the electoral manoeuvres of the Congress, P.S.P. and Muslim League in the last State elections in Kerala. Somewhat similar consequences might be achieved in two or three States, notably in Rajasthan and the Punjab against the Congress on this occasion. **We might, therefore, hazard the guess that the net result of the "opposition grouping" though the Opposition vote is no higher, will be to place stronger opposition both in the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies. It could, with the current distribution of voting percentages, affect as many as thirty seats in the Lok Sabha without any change in the 'popular' vote.**

All in all, the voting intention figure should, therefore, be read notwithstanding the stable Congress vote, as likely to reduce the Congress seats, both in the Centre and the States. All these results are to be remembered in terms of a major element which cannot be too strongly stressed, which is that the poll was conducted in September and October, 1961 and might look out of date today. The Indian Institute of Public Opinion is, however, of the view, that in the current political situation, fluctuations in voting intention are of moderate degree. It is held that this is likely to show itself in the General Elections in February, notwithstanding the fact that the poll was taken five months earlier and the Goa episode occurred in the interval.

ALL-INDIA PRE-ELECTION POLITICAL POLL : 1961

AN ANALYSIS OF VOTING INTENTIONS
THE CONGRESS VS. THE OPPOSITION

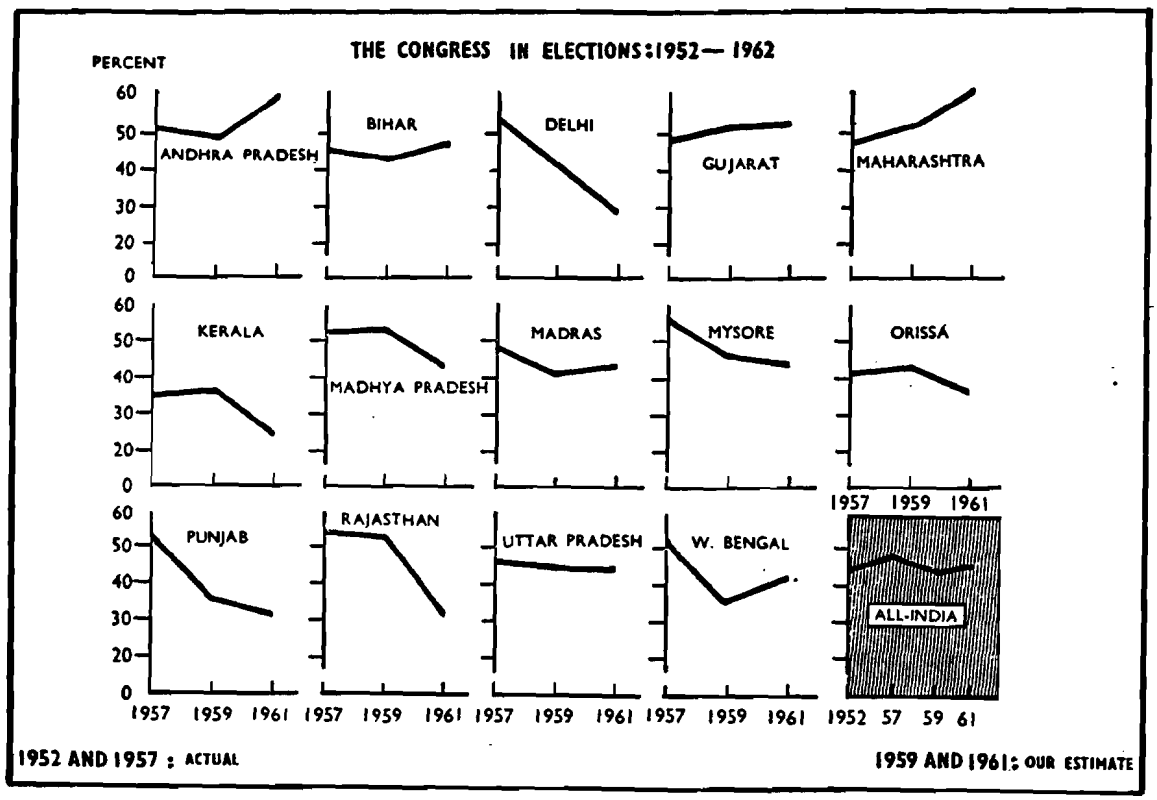


The Parties in Different States

Percentages

STATE	No. of Respon-dents	Congress	P. S. P.	Com-munist	Swatantra	Jan Sangh	Socialist	Indepen-dent	*Others	Refusal-Unde-cided	Total
Andhra Pradesh	273	59.3	4.8	17.2	1 8	0.4	1.1	4.4	0.7	10.3	100.0
Bihar	338	48.2	12.7	8.9	0 6	—	0.9	0.6	8.0	20,1	100.0
Delhi	17	29.4	5.9	5.9	5.9	29.4	—	5.9	—	17.6	100.0
Gujarat	142	52.8	9 9	13.4	2.1	1.4	1.4	2.1	2.8	14.1	100.0
Kerala	117	23 9	17.1	44.4	—	—	0.9	2.6	3.4	7.7	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	227	42.3	11.0	9.3	0.4	4 0	2.6	0.9	4.0	25.5	100.0
Madras	263	43.0	5.7	17.9	3.4	—	—	2.3	12 9	14.8	100.0
Maharashtra	280	60.7	12.9	4.2	2.1	0.4	0.4	5 4	5 0	8.9	100.0
Mysore	170	43.5	11.1	10.6	4.7	0.6	4.1	1.8	1.2	22.4	100 0
Orissa	128	36.7	6.3	3.1	0.8	—	—	1.6	31.2	20.3	100.0
Punjab	140	31.4	2.9	6.4	—	14.3	0.7	0.7	15 7	27.9	100.0
Rajasthan	140	30.7	9.3	0.7	2 2	1.4	—	6 4	5.7	43.6	100 0
Uttar Pradesh	535	44 5	10.8	6.0	0.8	1.3	5 4	2.0	—	29.2	100.0
West Bengal	230	41.3	7.0	32 6	0.9	—	—	0.9	1.7	15.6	100.0
Total	3000	45 0	9.5	12 3	1.5	1.6	1.8	2.4	5.7	20.2	100.0

*Others include : Hindu Mahasabha, Republican, Akali, Samyuktha Maharashtra Samiti, D. M. K., Vidharbha Party, Janata and Ganatantra Parishad (who recently joined Swatantra in case of Orissa.)



Voting Intention

If there were an election to-day, for which party will you vote for the Lok Sabha ?

	All-India		Urban		Rural	
	Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
Congress	1353	45.0	467	43.2	1120	45 6
P. S. P.	285	9 5	85	7.9	242	9.8
Communist	368	12.3	86	8.0	325	13.2
Swantantra	45	1.5	91	8.4	—	—
Jan Sangh	48	1.6	31	2.9	32	1.3
Socialist	53	1.8	16	1 5	45	1.8
Independent	72	2.4	51	4.7	47	1.9
*Others	170	5.7	32	2.9	154	6.3
Undecided	606	20 2	221	20.5	495	20.1
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0

If there were an election today, for which party will you vote for the State Legislature ?

Congress	1335	44.5	453	41.9	1109	45.1
P. S. P.	284	9.5	84	7.8	242	9.8
Communist	265	8 8	86	8.0	222	9.1
Swatantra	145	4.8	93	8 5	98	4.0
Jan Sangh	47	1.6	30	2.8	32	1.3
Socialist	53	1.8	17	1.6	45	1.8
Independent	75	2.5	53	4.9	48	1.9
*Others	180	6.0	28	3.5	161	6.5
Undecided and refusal	616	20.5	226	20.9	503	20.5
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0

***Others include Hindu Mahasabha, Republican party, Akali, S. M. S., D.M.K. Vidarbha party, Janata and Ganatantra Parishad**

What is your single most important reason for the voting preference of today for the Lok Sabha ?

My interest	217	9.1	52	6.1	191	9.8
My country s interest	1046	43.7	435	50.6	828	42.1
Only all-India party	180	7.5	90	10.5	135	6.9
A lesser evil	76	3.2	44	5.1	54	2.7
Others	128	5.3	34	4.0	111	5.6
Unable to specify	748	31.2	204	23.7	646	32.9
Total	2395	100.0	859	100.0	1965	100.0

What is your single most important reason for the voting prefcrence of today for State Legislatuare ?

My interest	216	9.0	57	6.7	187	9.6
My country's interest	1036	48.5	421	49.3	826	42.2
Only all-India party	184	7.7	91	10.6	138	7.1
A lesser evil	80	3.4	51	6.0	55	2.8
Others	132	25.5	35	4.1	115	5.8
Unable to specify	736	30.9	199	23.3	636	32.5
Total	2384	100.0	854	100.0	1957	100.0

All-India Urban

If there were an election today, for which party will you vote for the Lok Sabha?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Con-gress	P.S.P.	Comm-unist	Swatan-tra	Jan Sangh	Socia-list	Indepen-dent	*Others	Unde-cided and Refusal
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	40.8	7 0	10.2	9.5	2.8	1.0	5.1	4.2	19.4
36—50	331	47.7	8.2	6.3	8.5	2.7	1.5	5.4	0.9	18.8
Above 50	153	43.2	11.1	4.6	5.2	3.9	3.9	2.6	2.6	23.5
Unspecified	25	40.0	4.0	—	4.0	—	—	—	4.0	48.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	28.2	6.7	8.7	5.4	1.3	2.0	4.7	2.0	41.0
Under-matric	350	49.2	7.7	7.4	6.0	3.1	2.0	3.4	2.3	18.9
Matric	289	45.3	6.9	8.0	9.6	2.8	1.0	6.6	4.2	15.6
Graduate and above	265	40.0	10.6	9.1	12 4	3.8	1.1	3.4	3.0	16.6
Unspecified	27	59.3	—	—	3.7	—	—	14.8	3.7	18.5
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	37.0	8.0	3.9	7.6	3.2	2.4	5.2	2.8	24.9
101—200	348	42.6	8.3	9.2	6.6	2.6	1.1	4.6	4 0	21.0
201—350	295	41.1	8.8	6.4	11.5	2.0	1.7	7.1	3.1	18 3
351—700	112	58.9	5.4	6.3	10 7	3.6	—	—	0.9	14.2
Above 700	45	55.6	8.9	4.4	2.2	8.9	2.2	—	2.2	15 6
Unspecified	31	48.4	—	12.9	6.5	—	—	3.2	—	20.0
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	43.1	10.5	12.6	11.6	1.1	1.1	4.2	—	15.9
Bihar	45	37.8	11.1	—	6.7	—	—	—	2.2	42.2
Delhi	25	32.0	12.0	4.0	8.0	16.0	—	—	—	28.0
Gujarat	75	48.0	9.3	6.7	8 0	6.7	1.3	4.0	2.7	13.3
Kerala	35	37.2	17.1	22.9	—	—	5.7	—	—	17.1
Madhya Pradesh	55	54.6	1.8	12.7	1.8	3.6	3.6	1.8	1.8	18 3
Madras	125	31.2	11.2	9.6	14.4	—	—	6 4	9.6	17.6
Maharashtra	160	53.1	9.4	2.5	8.1	1.9	—	10.0	4 4	10.6
Mysore	80	43.8	—	5.0	21.3	1.2	—	6.2	2.5	20.0
Orissa	15	46.7	13.3	—	6.7	—	—	13 3	20.0	—
Punjab	60	30.0	1.7	—	1.7	13.3	1.7	3.3	1.7	46.6
Rajasthan	50	34 0	10.0	2 0	12.0	6.0	—	4.0	2.0	30.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	50 0	6.7	3.3	6 0	2.6	6.0	2.0	—	23.4
West Bengal	110	41.8	5.4	24.6	2.7	—	—	4.6	1.8	19.1
Total	1080	43.2	7.9	8.0	8.4	2.9	1.5	4.7	2.9	20.5

*Others include Hindu Maha Sabha, Republican party, Akali, Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti (S.M.S.) and D.M.K. Vidarbha Party, Janata and Ganatantra Parishad.

Note: Horizontal total adds upto 100% in each case.

All-India Rural

If there were an election today, for which party will you vote for the Lok Sabha ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Congress	P.S.P.	Communist	Swatantra party	Jan Sangh	Socialist	Independent	*Others	Refusal/ Undecided
AGE GROUP										
21—35	1119	44.1	10.7	13 5	—	1.3	2.2	2 1	6 3	19.8
36—50	802	44.5	10.7	14 0	—	1.5	1.6	1.5	6 6	19.6
Above 50	503	50 0	7.2	10.5	—	1.0	1.4	2 0	6 0	21.9
Unspecified	36	25.0	—	25.0	—	—	—	2.8	2.8	19.4
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	1113	35 8	9.1	10 2	—	1 0	2.3	1.7	7.5	32 4
Under-matric	1009	53.4	11.5	15.4	—	1.7	1.4	1.9	5.6	9.1
Matric	240	55 0	6.6	19.2	—	0 4	2 5	2.1	4.6	9.6
Graduate and above	65	50.8	10 8	13 9	—	3.1	—	4.6	1.5	15 3
Unspecified	33	54.5	6.1	3.0	—	—	—	—	9.1	27.3
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	1350	41.4	9 5	13.5	—	1.2	1 8	1 9	7.3	23 4
101—200	731	48.7	10.7	14.5	—	1.0	1.5	1 9	5.4	16 3
201—350	232	56 8	8 6	8 6	—	1.3	3 4	3.1	3.1	15.1
351—700	76	56 6	11.9	9.2	—	3.9	1.3	—	2 6	14.5
Above 700	14	42.9	28.6	—	—	7.1	7.1	—	14.3	—
Unspecified	57	42.1	5.3	17.5	—	1.8	—	1.8	8.7	22.8
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	225	62.7	3.6	18 2	—	—	1.3	4.5	0 8	8.9
Bihar	315	49.2	12.7	9.6	—	—	0.9	0 6	8.3	18.7
Delhi	5	20.0	—	—	—	60.0	—	20 0	—	—
Gujarat	105	54.3	9 6	16.2	—	—	1.9	0 9	2.9	14 2
Kerala	100	22.0	17.0	48.0	—	—	—	3.0	4.0	6.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	40 5	12 5	8.5	—	4.0	2.5	1.0	4 5	26.5
Madras	200	46.5	4.0	20.5	—	—	—	1.0	14 0	14.0
Maharashtra	200	64 0	14 0	5.0	—	—	0.5	3 5	5.0	8.0
Mysore	130	43.1	14 6	12.3	—	—	5.4	0 8	0 8	23.0
Orissa	120	35.8	5 8	3 4	—	—	—	0 8	32.5	21.7
Punjab	110	31 8	2.7	8 2	—	14.5	—	—	20 0	22.8
Rajasthan	115	30.4	9.6	0 9	—	—	—	6.9	6.1	46.1
Uttar Pradesh	460	43.7	11.5	6 3	—	1.1	5.2	2.0	—	30 2
West Bengal	175	41.2	7.4	35.4	—	—	—	—	1.7	14.3
Total	2460	45.6	9.8	13.2	—	1.3	1.8	1.9	6.3	20.1

*Others include : Hindu Mahasabha, Republican party, Akali, Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti (S.M.S.), D.M.K., Vidharbha party, Janata and Gantantra Parishad.

All-India Urban

If there were an election today, for which party will you vote for the State Legislature ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Congress	P.S.P.	Communist	Swatantra	Jan Sangh	Socialist	Independent	*Others	Undecided and Refusal
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	39.1	7.0	10.3	9.5	2.8	1.0	5.3	4.7	20.3
36—50	331	46.5	8.2	6.0	8.5	2.7	1.8	5.4	1.8	19.1
Above 50	153	43.2	10.4	4.6	5.8	3.3	3.3	3.3	2.6	23.5
Unspecified	25	40.0	4.0	—	8.0	—	—	—	4.0	44.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	28.2	6.7	8.7	5.4	1.3	2.0	4.7	2.0	41.0
Under-matric	350	48.0	7.7	7.7	6.6	3.1	2.0	3.4	2.3	19.2
Matric	289	44.6	6.9	8.0	9.3	2.8	1.0	6.6	4.5	16.3
Graduate & above	265	37.0	10.2	8.7	12.8	3.4	1.5	4.2	4.9	17.3
Unspecified	27	59.3	—	—	3.7	—	—	14.8	3.7	18.5
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	36.5	8.5	8.9	7.6	3.2	2.4	5.2	2.8	24.9
101—200	348	42.6	8.0	8.3	6.6	2.6	1.4	4.6	4.9	21.0
201—350	295	39.3	8.5	6.4	11.5	2.0	1.7	7.5	3.8	19.3
351—700	112	55.4	5.4	7.1	9.8	3.6	—	0.9	1.8	16.0
Above 700	45	55.6	8.9	4.4	4.4	6.7	2.2	—	2.2	15.6
Unspecified	31	35.5	—	19.4	12.9	—	—	3.2	—	29·0
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	37.9	8.4	12.6	13.7	—	2.1	5.3	1.1	18.9
Bihar	45	37.8	11.1	—	6.7	—	—	—	2.2	42.2
Delhi	25	32.0	12.0	4.0	8.0	16.0	—	—	—	28.0
Gujarat	75	48.0	9.3	6.7	8.0	6.7	1.3	4.0	2.7	13.3
Kerala	35	37.1	17.1	20.0	—	—	2.9	—	2.9	20.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	52.7	1.8	14.8	1.8	3.6	3.6	1.8	1.8	16.3
Madras	125	30.4	11.2	8.0	14.4	—	—	6.4	12.0	17.6
Maharashtra	160	53.1	9.4	2.5	8.1	1.9	—	10.0	4.4	10.6
Mysore	80	35.0	1.2	7.5	21.3	1.2	—	8.8	3.7	21.3
Orissa	15	46.7	13.3	—	6.7	—	—	13.3	20.0	—
Punjab	60	30.0	1.7	—	1.7	13.3	1.7	3.3	1.7	46.6
Rajasthan	50	34.0	10.0	2.0	12.0	6.0	—	2.0	2 0	32.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	50.0	6.7	3.3	6.0	2.6	6.7	2.0	—	22.7
West Bengal	110	41.8	5.4	24.6	2.7	—	—	4.6	1,8	19.1
Total	1080	41.9	7.8	8.0	8.6	2.8	1.6	4.9	3.5	20.9

*Others include Hindu Mahasabha, Republican Party, Akali, S.M.S. and D.M.K. Vidarba party, Janata and Gantantara Parishad.

Note : Horizontal total adds upto 100% in each case.

All-India Rural

If there were an election today, for which party will you vote for the State Legislature ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Con-gress	P.S.P.	Com-munist	Swa-tantra party	Jan Sangh	Socia-list	Inde-pendent	Others	Refusal Unde-cided
AGE GROUP										
21—35	1119	43.3	10.7	8.9	4.3	1.3	2.2	2.2	6.7	20.4
36—50	802	44.4	10.7	10.0	3.8	1.5	1.6	1.5	6.8	19.7
Above 50	503	49.9	7.2	7.3	3.2	1.0	1.4	2.0	6.1	21.9
Unspecified	36	50.0	—	13.9	11.1	—	—	2.8	2.8	19.4
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	1113	35.6	9.2	6.9	3.3	1.0	2.3	1.7	7.6	32.4
Under-matric	1009	52.3	11.4	10.7	4.6	1.7	1.4	2.1	5.9	9.9
Matric	240	55.4	6.7	12.5	5.4	0.4	2.5	2.1	5.0	10.0
Great & above	65	50.8	10.8	9.2	3.2	3.1	—	—	3.1	15.3
Unspecified	33	57.6	6.1	3.0	—	—	—	—	9.1	24.2
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	1350	40.9	9.4	9.1	4.3	1.2	1.8	1.9	7.5	23.9
101—200	731	48.2	10.7	10.9	3.2	1.0	1.5	1.9	5.9	16.7
201—350	232	56 6	9.1	4.7	3.4	1.3	3.4	3.2	3.4	15.1
351—700	76	56.5	11.9	3.9	5.3	3.9	1.3	—	2.6	14.5
Above 700	14	42.9	28.6	—	—	7.1	7.1	—	14.3	—
Unspecified	57	42.1	5.3	8.7	8.7	1.8	—	1.8	8.8	22.8
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	225	62.2	3.6	10.7	6.2	—	1.3	4.5	0.8	10.7
Bihar	315	48.9	13.4	3.5	5.7	—	0.9	0.6	8.3	18.7
Delhi	5	20.0	—	—	—	60.0	—	20.0	—	—
Gujarat	105	54.3	8 6	4.8	11.4	—	1.9	0.9	2.9	15.2
Kerala	100	24.0	15.0	45.0	—	—	—	3.0	5.0	8.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	40.5	12.0	6.0	4.0	4.0	2.5	1.0	4.5	25.5
Madras	200	44.5	4.5	15.0	3.0	—	—	1.0	16.5	15.5
Maharashtra	200	62.0	14.0	1.0	4.0	—	0.5	3.5	6.0	9.0
Mysore	130	40.0	16.9	3.1	7.7	—	5.4	1.5	0.8	24.6
Orissa	120	37.5	6.7	5.0	—	—	—	0.8	31.7	18.3
Punjab	110	30.8	1.8	7.3	0.9	14.5	—	—	20.0	24.6
Rajasthan	115	31.3	7.8	0.9	0.9	—	—	6.9	6.1	46.1
Uttar Pradesh	460	43.5	11.5	3.3	3.0	1.1	5.2	2.0	—	30.4
West Bengal	175	41.2	7.4	33.7	3.4	—	—	—	1.7	12.6
Total	2460	45.1	9.8	9.1	4.0	1.3	1.8	1.9	6.5	20.5

All-India Urban

What is your single most important reason for the voting preference of today for the Lok Sabha ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	My interest	My country's interest	Only all India party	A lesser evil	*Others	Unable to specify	Total
AGE GROUP								
21—35	460	7.4	48.9	8.7	5.9	5.0	24.1	100.0
36—50	269	3.3	52.1	14.9	5.2	2.2	22.3	100.0
Above 50	117	5.1	51.3	8.5	2.6	4.3	28.2	100.0
Unspecified	13	23.1	76.9	—	—	—	—	100.0
EDUCATION								
Illiterate	88	4.5	17.1	4.5	3.4	—	70.5	100.0
Under-matric	284	6·4	52.5	12.3	3.5	4.2	21.1	100.0
Matric	244	3.7	55.7	10.3	4.9	4,5	20.9	100.0
Graduate and above	221	5.9	55.7	10.9	8.5	5.0	14.0	100.0
Unspecified	22	36.4	54.5	9.1	—	—	—	100.0
INCOME GROUP								
(Monthly in Rs.)								
1—100	187	7.5	43.8	6.9	3.7	3.2	34.9	100.0
101—200	275	7.6	54.5	11.3	3.3	4.0	19.3	100.0
201—350	241	5.4	51.9	12.4	4.1	5.0	21·2	100.0
351—700	96	1.1	51.1	11.4	14.6	3.1	16.7	100.0
Above 700	38	5.3	42.1	13.2	7.9	2.6	28.9	100.0
Unspecified	22	4.6	59.1	—	4.5	4.5	27.3	100.0
STATE								
Andhra Pradesh	80	6.2	41.2	18.8	13.8	2.5	17.5	100.0
Bihar	26	—	7.7	3.8	—	—	88.5	100.0
Delhi	18	5.6	44.4	11.1	—	—	38.9	100.0
Gujarat	65	12.3	73.8	6.2	—	—	7.7	100.0
Kerala	29	3.4	72.5	—	—	3.4	20.7	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	45	—	11.1	6.7	2.2	15.6	64.4	100.0
Madras	103	4.9	66.1	—	0.9	8.7	19.4	100.0
Maharashtra	143	14.0	70.6	2.8	0.7	7.0	4.9	100.0
Mysore	64	4.7	61.0	10.9	10.9	1.6	10.9	100.0
Orissa	15	—	26.6	6.7	—	—	66.7	100.0
Punjab	32	6.2	34.4	25.0	15.6	—	18.8	100.0
Rajasthan	35	—	80.0	5.7	—	—	14.3	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	115	4.3	25.2	28.7	5.2	3.5	33.1	100.0
West Bengal	89	2.3	42.7	11.2	13.5	—	30.3	100.0
Total	859	6.1	50.6	10,5	5.1	4.0	23.7	100.0

*(i) Being a Government servant (ii) Because it is Mahatma Gandhi's Party (iii) Because others give their votes to the Congress (ix) Because I feel they won't be dishonest any more (v) Because others force me, (vi) Because Nehru is our best leader (Congress Party) and Nehru is next to God (vii) Party which brought freedom for us (viii) Party which is in power is good (ix) This is more democratic (x) Because they have done a good job (xi) To lessen the exploitation of south Indians by North Indians (DMK) (xii) Only party which stands for justice to southerners.

All-India Rural

What is your single most important reason for the voting preference of today for the Lok Sabha ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	My interest	My country's interest	Only All-India Party	A lesser evil	Unable to specify	Others	Total
AGE GROUP								
21—35	898	9.7	44.6	6.6	2.6	30.7	5.8	100.0
36—50	645	9.6	43.1	6.5	2.3	32.2	6.4	100.0
Above 50	393	8.9	35.4	8.1	3.8	39.2	4.6	100.0
Unspecified	29	27.6	34.5	6.9	3.4	27.6	—	100.0
EDUCATION								
Illiterate	752	13.3	22.3	4.1	2.8	49.3	8.2	100.0
Under-matric	917	8.2	49.0	8.6	3.3	26.5	4.4	100.0
Matric	217	4.6	71.0	9.7	0.9	10.6	3.2	100.0
Graduate & above	55	3.6	80.0	3.6	1.8	5.5	5.5	100.0
Unspecified	24	16.7	50.0	8.3	—	25.0	—	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)								
1—100	1033	11.8	37.9	4.4	2.9	37.2	5.8	100.0
101—200	612	8.1	47.2	8.3	3.4	26.8	6.2	100.0
201—350	197	6.1	52.3	14.2	—	23.8	3.6	100.0
351—700	65	4.6	36.9	10.8	4.6	36.9	6.2	100.0
Above 700	14	—	50 0	7.1	—	35.7	7.2	100.0
Unspecified	44	9.1	31.9	6.8	—	50.0	2.3	100.0
STATE								
Andhra Pradesh	205	9.8	62.4	12.2	1.0	11.2	3.4	100.0
Bihar	256	19.9	49.6	0.8	2.3	26.2	1.2	100.0
Delhi	5	—	40.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	—	100.0
Gujarat	90	2.2	78.9	—	4.5	14.4	—	100.0
Kerala	94	3.2	64.9	1.1	1.1	28.7	1.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	147	1.3	4.8	8.2	4.1	70.0	11.6	100.0
Madras	172	6.4	60.5	0.6	3.5	23.2	5.8	100.0
Maharasbtra	184	23.4	59.9	0.5	4.3	1.6	10.3	100.0
Mysore	100	6 0	31.0	10.0	5.0	33.0	15.0	100.0
Orissa	94	22.3	43.6	—	1.1	33.0	—	100.0
Punjab	85	10.6	14.1	21.2	5.9	42.3	5.9	100.0
Rajasthan	62	8.1	20.9	4.8	—	66.2	—	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	321	5.3	23.1	10.9	0.6	54.2	5.9	100.0
West Bengal	150	0.6	31.3	17.4	4.7	36.0	10.0	100.0
Total	1965	9.8	42.1	6.9	2.7	32.9	5.6	100.0

After Nehru—Who ?

Jawaharlal Nehru continues to be far and away the dominant person in the Indian political scene. Not only was there an overwhelming approval of Nehru as Prime Minister, but the public at large, even after fourteen years since Independence, could not name a single successor to him. Among the personalities taken, which include Morarji Desai, Krishna Menon, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Y. B. Chavan, **Jaya Prakash Narayan still leads the others as the most approved personality.** Even here the percentage of respondents approving him as a Prime Minister is too small (11.1 per cent) to be of any major significance. Almost half the respondents have preferred not to express any opinion about this ; this perhaps would mean that to a majority of them, there is as yet no single individual in the political arena to qualify as a *successor*. **Next to Jaya Parkash Narayan come Morarji Desai and Krishna Menon practically equal overall although Morarji Desai has a clear urban lead.**

A recent introduction into the political balance of the country is the emergence of a new Rightist party in the shape of the Swatantra. The policies based to a certain extent on the free enterprise economy are to a large extent contrary to the accepted ideologies of most of the other parties. It is to gauge the importance of this new political trend, **a question was asked whether the public would welcome a Rightist leader to succeed Nehru as Prime Minister. The response, as would be expected, is very meagre ; only 5.5 per cent have thought that this would be their choice.**

After Nehru—Who ?

Of these who would you favour as successor of Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister of India ?

	All-India		Urban		Rural	
	Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
Jaya Prakash Narayan	334	11.1	152	14.1	258	10.5
V.K. Krishna Menon	201	6.7	101	9.3	151	6.1
Morarji Desai	198	6.6	141	13.1	127	5.2
Lal Bahadur Shastri	53	1.7	35	3.2	35	1.5
Y.B. Chavan	46	1.5	25	2.3	34	1.4
Any other Rightist leader	99	3.3	60	5.5	69	2.8
Others	72	2.4	30	2.9	57	2.3
None	56	1.9	47	4.3	33	1.3
No Opinion	1941	64.7	489	45.3	1696	68.9
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0

If 'None',

What are your reasons ?

Because none of them is capable and they have not as much prestige or status as to deserve the post of Prime Mimister	9	16.0	6	12.7	6	18.2
None of them realises his responsibility as Pandit Nehru does	6	10.8	5	10.6	3	9.0
These persons do not seem to be very intelligent	6	10.7	6	12.8	1	3.1
Not one of them has the ability to govern the country	5	8.9	4	8.5	1	3.0
They are all hopeless	3	5.4	2	4.3	2	6.1
All are self-seekers	2	3.6	1	2.1	1	3.0
Mr. Nehru is a veteran politician and a true democratic leader	1	1.7	1	2.2	—	—
Because I do not know them sufficiently well	—	—	1	2.1	—	—
Unable to specify	24	42.9	21	44.7	19	57.6
Total	56	100.0	47	100.0	33	100.0

All-India Urban

Of the following leaders who would you favour as a successor to Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister of India ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Jaya Prakash Narayan	Morarji Desai	V. K. Krishna Menon	Lal Baha-dur Shastri	Y. B. Chavan	A Rightist leader	*Others	None	No opinion
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	14.0	14.2	10.3	3.4	2.3	6.5	3.6	4.9	40.8
36—50	331	14.5	13.3	8.8	2.7	2.7	4.8	2.7	3.6	46.9
Above 50	153	14.4	7.2	7.2	4.6	1.9	3.9	—	3.3	57.5
Unspecified	25	8.0	20.0	8.0	—	—	4.0	—	8.0	52.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	2.0	0.7	2.0	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.3	91.2
Under-matric	350	12.3	11.1	9.7	2.0	3.1	2.9	2.9	3.7	52.3
Matric	289	16.6	16.3	11.4	4.9	1.0	9.0	2.7	3.1	35.0
Graduate and above	265	21.1	19.3	9.1	4.5	3.4	8.3	3.7	4.9	25.7
Unspecified	27	7.4	11.1	25.9	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.7	37.1	3.7
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	8.0	6.0	6.8	1.6	3.2	2.0	2.4	4.0	66.0
101—200	348	17.5	11.7	11.5	3.2	2.6	5.2	3.2	2.9	42.2
201—350	295	15.9	16.9	9.5	3.8	1.7	7.8	1.9	3.8	38.7
351—700	112	15.2	19.6	8.0	5.4	1.8	6.3	5.4	9.8	28.5
Above 700	45	8.9	26.7	8.9	2.2	2.2	8.9	2.2	6.7	33.3
Unspecified	31	9.7	3.2	9.7	6.5	—	9.7	—	6.5	54.7
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	12.6	13.6	9.5	7.4	4.2	9.5	6.4	7.4	29.4
Bihar	45	4.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	4.4	91.2
Delhi	25	12.0	8.0	—	—	—	—	—	4.0	76.0
Gujarat	75	16.0	50.7	17.3	—	—	6.7	—	4.0	5.3
Kerala	35	34.3	14.2	11.4	5.7	2.9	2.9	8.6	—	20.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	14.5	18.2	10.9	3.6	1.8	5.5	7.3	10.9	27.3
Madras	125	19.2	24.8	7.2	0.8	—	10.4	4.8	1.6	31.2
Maharashtra	160	15.0	10.0	18.7	1.9	10.6	5.0	3.1	1.3	34.4
Mysore	80	17.5	6.2	10.0	5.0	2.5	12.5	4.9	13.8	27.6
Orissa	15	—	6.7	6.7	—	—	—	—	6.7	79.9
Punjab	60	10.0	6.7	5.0	8.3	—	1.7	1.7	1.7	64.9
Rajasthan	50	—	12.0	2.0	2.0	—	—	—	2.0	82.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	22.7	4.0	6.0	5.3	—	2.0	—	5.3	54.7
West Bengal	110	0.9	3.6	7.3	1.8	—	6.4	0.9	1.8	77.3
Total	1080	14.1	13.1	9.3	3.2	2.3	5.5	2.9	4.3	45.3

*Others include S.K. Patil (0.5%), Jagjivan Ram (0.3%), S.A. Dange (1.5%) and any Leftist leader (0.6%)

Note : Horizontal total adds upto 100% in each case.

All-India Rural

Of these who would you favour as a successor to Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister of India ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Jaya Prakash Narayan	V. K. Krishna Menon	Morarji Desai	Lal Bahadur Shastri	Y. B. Chavan	Any other rightist leader	*Others	None	No opinion
AGE GROUP										
21—35	1119	12.7	8.2	4 9	1.7	1.4	3.9	2.9	1.3	63.0
36—50	802	9.3	4 4	6 0	1.1	1.6	2 5	2 5	0 9	71.7
Above 50	503	7.6	3.8	4.7	1.4	1.0	1.0	0 8	2 4	77 3
Unspecified	36	8.3	13.9	—	—	—	—	2.8	—	75 0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	1113	3 9	0.5	0 5	0.5	0.5	1.5	0.4	0.1	91.4
Under-matric	1009	13 3	8 5	6 2	1.9	2.4	2 9	3 5	1 9	59 4
Matric	240	24.2	19.2	16 2	2 9	1.6	6.3	6.3	0 8	22 5
Graduate & above	65	27.7	18 5	22.7	6.2	—	9 2	1.5	4 6	4 6
Unspecified	33	15.2	6.1	3.0	—	3.0	3.0	3 0	—	66.7
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	1350	7.2	5.1	2.8	0.8	0.9	2.6	2.0	1 4	77 2
101—200	731	13.8	7 8	6.4	2.2	2 5	3.6	3 0	0 7	60 0
201—350	232	17 2	6.0	14.2	2.6	1.3	2.2	1.7	1.7	53 1
351—700	76	17.1	11.9	7.9	—	—	1.3	1.3	2 6	57 9
Above 700	14	14 3	7.1	14 3	14.3	—	7.1	—	—	42 9
Unspecified	57	8.8	3.5	1.8	—	—	1.8	5.2	5.2	73.7
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	225	10.7	14.7	4 9	3.6	0.4	2.6	7.1	2 2	53 8
Bihar	315	4 8	—	0.3	0.3	—	3 8	0 6	1.3	88 9
Delhi	5	—	20 0	—	—	—	—	—	20.0	60 0
Gujarat	105	9 6	3 8	55 2	3.8	—	0 9	—	—	26.7
Kerala	100	23 0	6.0	8 0	1.0	—	5.0	14.0	—	43 0
Madhya Pradesh	200	8.5	1.0	—	0.5	—	—	1.0	0.5	88.5
Madras	200	17.0	11.5	14.5	2.0	0 5	11.5	8.0	1.0	34.0
Maharashtra	200	21.5	22 0	4.0	1.0	16.0	4.5	1.5	0.5	29.0
Mysore	130	10 0	3 1	3.1	—	—	0.8	—	0.8	82 2
Orissa	120	17.5	1.7	—	—	—	—	0.8	11.7	68 3
Punjab	110	6 4	8 2	1.8	4.5	—	—	0.9	—	78.2
Rajasthan	115	1.7	—	2 6	—	—	—	—	—	95.7
Uttar Pradesh	460	8.5	4.4	0.4	1.7	—	1.1	0.4	0.7	82.8
West Bengal	175	5.7	1.7	0.6	0 6	—	4.0	—	0.6	86.8
Total	2460	10 5	6 1	5.2	1.5	1.4	2.8	2.3	1.3	68.9

*Others include S. K. Patil (0.5%), Jagjiwan Ram (0.1%), S. A. Dange (1.2%) and any other leftist leader (0.5%).

Note : Horizontal total adds upto 100% in each case.

Leaders—Respondents' Rating

What is your opinion about the leaders noted below?	All-India		Urban		Rural	
	Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
NEHRU AS PRIME MINISTER						
Very good	1374	45.8	616	57.0	1066	43.3
Good	943	31.4	298	27.6	794	32.3
Fair	67	2.2	53	4.9	41	1.7
Bad	20	0.7	9	0.8	15	0.6
Very bad	8	0.3	6	0.5	5	0.2
Don't know	588	19.6	98	9.0	539	21.9
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
JAYA PRAKASH NARAYAN						
Very good	134	4.5	66	6.1	101	4.1
Good	759	25.3	375	34.7	571	23.2
Fair	213	7.1	187	17.3	120	4.9
Bad	25	0.8	19	1.8	16	0.6
Very bad	13	0.4	12	1.1	7	0.3
Don't know	1856	61.9	421	39.0	1645	66.9
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	3460	100.0
MORARJI DESAI						
Very good	49	1.6	40	3.7	29	1.2
Good	544	18.1	309	28.6	389	15.8
Fair	285	9.5	230	21.3	170	6.9
Bad	64	2.1	63	5.8	32	1.3
Very	32	1.1	29	2.7	18	0.6
Don't know	2026	67.6	409	37.9	1822	74.1
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI						
Very good	48	1.6	25	2.3	36	1.5
Good	559	18.7	330	30.6	394	16.9
Fair	292	9.7	234	21.7	175	7.1
Bad	30	1.0	30	2.8	15	0.6
Very bad	13	0.4	12	1.1	7	0.3
Don't know	2058	68.6	449	41.5	1833	75.5
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0

Leaders—Respondents' Rating

		All-India		Urban		Rural	
		Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
S.K. PATIL							
Very good		23	0.8	11	1.0	18	0.7
Good		411	13.7	219	20.3	301	12.3
Fair		272	9.1	235	21.7	155	6.3
Bad		63	2.1	60	5.6	33	1.3
Very bad		22	0.7	23	2.1	10	0.4
Dont know		2209	73.6	532	49.3	1943	79.0
	Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
V.K. KRISHNA MENON							
Very good		137	4.6	80	7.4	97	3.9
Good		681	22.7	380	35.2	491	20.0
Fair		198	6.6	179	16.6	108	4·4
Bad		40	1.3	43	4.0	19	0.8
Very bad		24	0.8	28	2.6	10	0.4
Don't know		1920	64.0	370	34.2	1735	70.5
	Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
Y.B. CHAVAN							
Very good		44	1.5	32	3.0	28	1.1
Good		378	12.6	246	22.8	255	10.4
Fair		178	5.9	167	15.5	94	3.8
Bad		21	0.7	22	2.0	10	0.4
Very bad		27	0.9	18	1.6	18	0.7
	Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
JAGJIVAN RAM							
Very good		28	0.9	8	0.7	24	0.9
Good		355	11.2	201	18.6	235	9.6
Fair		236	7.9	214	19.8	129	5.3
Bad		51	10.7	42	3.8	30	1.2
Very bad		26	0.8	35	3.4	8	0.3
Don't know		2324	77.5	580	53.7	2034	82.7
	Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0

Socialism versus the "Right"

The Socialistic Pattern of Society, which is the main slogan of the Congress party, has been, to a large extent, up till now, the underlying attitude of the majority of Indian parties. There are many grades of this Socialism, the P.S.P. and other Socialist parties standing slightly to the left of the Congress and the Communist Party of India and its associates standing far off to the Left. Even the conservative parties like the Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha, have also, to a large extent, accepted this welfare structure of these policies.

The Plea for a Non-Socialistic Opposition

It is the Swatantra Party, which has recently emerged on the political scene, that brought in an entirely alternative policy on the economic front. It would be interesting to see whether the rightist tendencies have any appeal to the Indian public, as constituted at present, or some socialistic ideologies have come to be accepted as an **essential minimum programme of all parties. 23.8 per cent of the respondents have stated that they would like to have in India a non-socialistic opposition to the Government.** This, perhaps, is not an indication that the public at large (or even this 23.8 per cent of the respondents) would agree to a government formed on these principles. It may be their solution for creating a real opposition.

Whatever it may be, it is to be noted with encouragement that the public is definitely inclined to provide an opposition to a monolithic political philosophy. That this is so only in the urban areas, is not entirely discouraging ; the rural sector will generally lag in the political opinions to the urban sector. Among the States, there is in Gujarat and Mysore, that significant support for a non-socialistic opposition was found; and, quite surprisingly, it is in Rajasthan, Punjab and in Delhi that there was the least support. By incomes, it is the middle class, that support this and by education, it is the educated that give the maximum support. In rural areas, the percentage is very low (19 per cent) but a large section of the respondents (73.2 per cent) have no opinion on this particular issue. Thus in the articulate section almost half support this venture both in rural and urban areas.

As against this trend the section of population which supports a socialistic opposition to the Congress is as high as 55.7 per cent in urban areas and, surprisingly more, 64.1 per cent in rural areas. The question worded as "Would you like a party of the Left *viz.*, P.S.P. or the Communist Party as the main opposition to the Congress" contained a reference to two of the major parties and this high percentage of support be apparently due to the pull of these two names.

As stated latter, the support to practical policies emanating from a socialistic ideology *viz.*, the retaining of major industries in the public sector and a continuous control in the activities of the private sector have not received an unqualified support of a majority of the respondents. Thus it can be concluded that the socialist orientation of many of the major political parties, has some support generally among the Indian population. It can, however, be stated that a considerable body of opinion either differs in application of this or even from it in principle. But still it has to be conceded that the Indian public as yet would not approve of a non-socialistic party in the Government. **On the other hand, as was shown, there is a considerable section which approves of a non-socialistic opposition.**

All-India Urban

Would you like to see a liberal but non-socialist party, such as the Swatantra Party in opposition to the Congress?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Yes	No	No opinion	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35	571	28.0	27.8	11.8	32.4	100.0
36—50	331	17.8	36.3	14.3	31.7	100.0
Above 50	153	22.2	28.8	20.3	28.7	100.0
Unspecified	25	16.0	36.0	8.0	40.0	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate	149	2.0	2 0	6.7	89.3	100.0
Under-matric	350	15.1	32.9	13.7	38.3	100.0
Matric	289	29.1	35.6	15.9	19.4	100.0
Graduate and above	265	42.3	37.7	14.7	5.3	100.0
Unspecified	27	18.5	40.7	14.9	25.9	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100	249	11.7	22.1	7.6	58 6	100.0
101—200	348	20.4	35.3	15.2	29.1	100.0
201—350	295	30.2	31.5	16.3	22.0	100.0
351—700	112	41.1	33.9	14.3	10.7	100.0
Above 700	45	31.1	37.8	13.3	17.8	100.0
Unspecified	31	25 8	19.4	16.1	38.7	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh	95	36.9	42.1	14.7	6.3	100.0
Bihar	45	—	2.2	22.2	75.6	100.0
Delhi	25	4.0	8.0	—	88.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	50.7	26.7	16.0	6.6	100.0
Kerala	35	22.9	42.9	34.2	—	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	12.7	47.3	20.0	20.0	100.0
Madras	125	40.8	27.2	22.4	29.6	100.0
Maharashtra	160	15.6	68.1	3.8	12.5	100.0
Mysore	80	58 8	12.5	17.5	11.2	100.0
Orissa	15	13.3	—	13.3	73.4	100.0
Punjab	60	5.0	18.3	1.7	75.0	100.0
Rajasthan	50	2.0	28.0	4.0	66.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	12.0	22.7	14.0	51.3	100.0
West Bengal	110	19.1	14.5	12.7	53.6	100.0
Total	1080	23.8	30.7	13.6	31.9	100.0

All-India Rural

Would you like to see a liberal, but non-socialist party, such as Swatantra party, in opposition to the Congress ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No opinion	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35	1119	9.2	20.6	11.3	58.9	100.0
36—50	802	9.9	18.2	12.8	59.1	100.0
Above 50	503	7.6	10.1	15.5	66.8	100.0
Unspecified	36	2.8	27.8	16.6	52.8	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate	1113	1.3	4.6	7.2	86.9	100.0
Under-matric	1009	12.4	24.2	17.2	46.2	100.0
Matric	240	25.8	42.9	19.2	12.1	100.0
Graduate and above	26	29.2	49.3	16.9	4 6	100.0
Unspecified	33	—	24.2	9.1	66.7	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100	1350	5.5	12.7	10.2	71.6	100.0
101—200	731	11.7	24.5	15.6	48.2	100.0
201—350	232	16.4	23.7	19.0	40.9	100.0
351—700	76	21.1	26.3	15.8	36.8	100.0
Above 700	14	14.3	28.5	14.3	42.9	100.0
Unspecified	57	8.8	14.0	5.3	71.9	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh	225	22.2	28.4	17.8	31.6	100.0
Bihar	315	—	4.8	5.7	89.5	100.0
Delhi	5	—	60.0	—	40.0	100.0
Gujarat	105	49.5	13.4	15.2	21.9	100.0
Kerala	100	9.0	48.0	34.0	9.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	4.5	4.0	13.0	78.5	100.0
Madras,	200	17.0	37.5	26.0	19.5	100.0
Maharashtra	200	4.0	65.0	8.0	23.0	100.0
Mysore	130	13.1	10.8	13.1	63.0	100.0
Orissa	120	—	2.5	15.0	82.5	100.0
Punjab	110	—	9.1	1.8	89.1	100.0
Rajasthan	115	—	4.3	6.1	89.6	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	460	6.5	7.0	11.9	74.6	100.0
West Bengal	175	6.9	9.7	6.9	76.5	100.0
Total	2460	9.0	17.8	12.7	60.5	100.0

All-India Urban

Would you like a party of the Left, such as P.S.P. or the Communist party, as the main opposition to the Congress ?

(Asked only of those who said they did not want a liberal but non-Socialist party in opposition to the Congress)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	159	69.2	27.0	3.8	100.0
36—50	120	47.5	50.0	2.5	100.0
Above 50	44	36.4	56.8	6.8	100 0
Unspecified	9	22.2	66.7	11.1	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	3	66.7	33.3	—	100.0
Under-matric	115	40.9	59.1	—	100.0
Matric	103	53.4	41.7	4.9	100.0
Graduate & above	100	81.0	13.0	6.0	100.0
Unspecified	11	—	81.8	18.2	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	55	32.7	63.6	3.7	100.0
101—200	123	61.0	37.4	1.6	100.0
201—350	93	58.1	36.6	5.3	100 0
351—700	38	60.5	31.6	7.9	100.0
Above 700	17	64.7	29.4	5.9	100.0
Unspecified	6	66.7	33.3	—	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	40	92.5	5.0	2.5	100.0
Bihar	1	—	—	100.0	100.0
Delhi	2	50.0	—	50.0	100.0
Gujarat	20	85.0	10.0	5.0	100.0
Kerala	15	73.3	26.7	—	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	26	65.4	30.8	3.8	100.0
Madras	34	91.2	8.8	—	100.0
Maharashtra	109	22.9	74.3	2.8	100.0
Mysore	10	60.0	40.0	—	100.0
Orissa	—	—	—	—	—
Punjab	11	100.0	—	—	100.0
Rajasthan	14	7.2	71.4	21.4	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	34	35.3	58.8	5.9	100.0
West Bengal	16	100.0	—	—	100.0
Total	332	55.7	40.4	3.9	100.0

All-India Rural

Would you like a party of the Left, such as P.S.P. or the Communist Party, as the main opposition to the Congress? (Asked only of those who said they did not want a liberal non-socialist party in opposition to the Congress)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	231	67.5	29.9	2.6	100.0
36—50	146	65.7	29.5	4.8	100.0
Above 50	51	51.0	41.2	7.8	100.0
Unspecified	10	30.0	70.0	—	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	51	56.9	41.2	1.9	100.0
Under-matric	244	55.7	39.8	4 3	100.0
Matric	103	83 5	12.6	3.9	100.0
Graduate and above	32	87.5	9.4	3.1	100 0
Unspecified	8	25.0	75.0	—	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	172	58.1	37 8	4 1	100.0
101—200	179	69 8	27.9	2 3	100.0
201—350	55	60.0	29.1	10.9	100.0
351—700	20	80.0	20.0	—	100.0
Above 700	4	50.0	50.1	—	100.0
Unspecified	8	62.5	37.5	—	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	64	96 9	1.5	1 6	100.0
Bihar	15	46.7	46.6	6.7	100 0
Delhi	3	—	33 3	66.7	100.0
Gujarat	14	14.3	42.9	42 8	100 0
Kerala	48	97.9	—	2.1	100 0
Madhya Pradesh	8	62 5	37 5	—	100 0
Madras	75	92.0	6.7	1.3	100.0
Maharashtra	130	25 4	72.3	2 3	100.0
Mysore	14	100.0	—	—	100.0
Orissa	3	100.0	—	—	100.0
Punjab	10	100.0	—	—	100.0
Rajasthan	5	—	100.0	—	100 0
Uttar Pradesh	32	40.6	53.1	6.3	100.0
West Bengal	17	94.1	5.9	—	100.0
Total	438	64.1	32.0	3.9	100 0

Economic Conditions and Discontents

The Psychology of Progress and Deterioration

The questions framed under this head have somewhat a subjective appeal and, perhaps, on that account cannot be taken as revealing any objective assessment of the economic conditions or standard of living. But apart from the fact that an objective measure is, in any case, difficult to arrive at, it is this subjective opinion and the personal "feeling" of the public that represents a yardstick for the economic discontent among the population. Further, this latter aspect of "feeling" is more important in a person's attitude towards life in general and particularly his political preferences. Man, at least in the majority of cases, is more guided by his feelings rather than by strict reason.

It is not a reflection on the real economic progress in the country that only 34.4 percent of the urban population have stated that their economic condition has improved since 1957 and almost an equal number have said that theirs has worsened. 26 per cent of the respondents feel that in the past five years their economic condition has been stationary.

The comparative percentages in rural areas are somewhat more depressing as respondents who feel that their economic condition has deteriorated are significantly higher than those who "feel" an improvement in their position. As many as 36 per cent of the respondents have stated that their economic position is mostly stationary. It is also significant that respondents who were not able to give any reply and grouped under the category "don't know" constitute nearly 11 per cent of the rural population as against 7 per cent in urban areas.

Could a rising proportion of "the better-off population" in higher income brackets, both in urban areas as well as in rural areas, be a practical negation of our Socialist Pattern ? Whether the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer is true or not in strict statistical terms is, of course, difficult to say, but at least in terms of public feeling it is the well-to-do that actually *feel* better off, whereas the poor do in fact *feel* that their economic condition has deteriorated.

The Spiral of Prices

The main reason for such feeling appears to be not so much the failure in the increase of their personal incomes as the heavy neutralising effect of increasing prices. **While 89 per cent have stated that this is the reason for the deterioration in their economic condition, less than half of this percentage have stated that it is also due to their stagnant incomes. In rural areas. the complaint against prices, though somewhat less. is still significantly higher than the complaint against absence of income-increases. The percentage of urban respondents, who have stated that there has been an actual decline in their incomes is slightly higher than in rural areas, but in both the sectors the percentage is quite high covering more than one-third of the population.**

Taxation

The main reason for the decline in income is, according to many respondents, higher taxation. In urban areas this is the most important factor ; the main constituent in the higher cost of living is felt to be the tax-element and naturally this suggests that the incidence of indirect taxation has been the major factor. While the increase in prices of many commodities is obviously not entirely due to the increase in taxation. **the general feeling persists and the public at large attributes the rise in prices to higher taxation.** Among the other more important reasons, family difficulties either due to the death of the earning member or due to his sickness or disability are the most prominent. In rural areas, the most important reason for the decline in income is, as can be expected, the low yield of crops due to natural calamities. The tax burden, as a depressing lever of rising money income, is not so keenly felt in rural areas ; but even here it is significant to note that nearly 16 per cent of the respondents who have stated that their incomes have fallen gave taxation as the most important reason.

The Standard of Living

The question on the standard of living is, it should be admitted, much more subjective than the question on economic conditions. The question framed as "Has your standard of living achieved your expectations" presupposes not only a *conception* as to what exactly this is, but also a certain *aspiration* on the part of the respondent as to what he considers his due. Naturally, this aspiration differs from person to person and, as such, the question has only a validity if it is interpreted to reveal only the subjective aspiration and their achievement rather than the setting up of any "norms". **More than half the respondents have stated that their standard of living has not reached their expectations in both the rural and urban areas. This suggests that the extent of economic discontent has in no way diminished during the last five years. Perhaps it is more correct to say that actually there has been an increase in this discontent—discontent due to non-achievement of an aspiration, whether the latter is justified or not.**

The pattern of this economic discontent is of a similar nature and its incidence is higher in lower income groups than in higher income groups. Does the fact that in higher educational groups percentages are much more significant show that the level of aspiration rises not only with income, but perhaps in a more significant way with education ?

Economic Conditions : 1952, 1957, 1961

	All-India		Urban		Rural	
Has your economic condition improved or deteriorated since the 1952 General Elections ?	**Actual**	**%**	**Actual**	**%**	**Actual**	**%**
Improved	782	26.1	372	34.4	596	24.2
Deteriorated	790	26.3	314	29.1	633	25.8
Same	1096	36.5	301	27.9	946	38.4
Don't know	332	11.1	93	8 6	285	11.6
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100 0	2460	100 0
Has your economic condition improved or deteriorated since the 1957 General Elections ?						
Improved	774	25 8	372	34.4	588	23.9
Deteriorated	900	30.0	356	33 0	722	29.3
Same	1020	34.0	281	26.0	880	35 8
Don't know	306	10 2	71	6.6	270	11 0
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100 0	2460	100 0
If your economic condition has deteriorated since 1957, is it because (i) your income has not risen (ii) prices have risen more than your income or (iii) your income has fallen ?						
Income has not risen	409	47.4	155	43.5	332	46.0
Prices risen more than income	765	85 0	316	88.8	607	84.7
Income has fallen	417	46.3	123	34.6	355	49.2
Base*	900	—	356	—	722	—
Has your standard of living achieved your expectations or not ?						
Yes	515	17.2	239	22.1	395	16.1
No	1566	52 2	609	56.4	1262	51.3
No opinion	919	30 6	232	21.5	803	32.6
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0

*No check : provision for multiple answers.

Economic Conditions : Trends Over Time : 1957-1961

Proof of Progress ?

The pattern of change over time in these subjective estimates about one's own economic condition is very interesting. At the time of the 1957 poll, to the question **"Has your economic condition improved or deteriorated since 1952?" 17.2 per cent of the respondents then stated that their economic position had improved. To the same question in April 1959, the percentage of respondents stating that their economic position has improved, has gone up, though slightly, to 17.6 per cent. In the present survey conducted in the latter part of 1961 there was a substantial improvement in this percentage, which now stands at 26.1.** Similar is the position with respect to the respondents who have stated that their economic condition has deteriorated. The figures for these three polls are respectively 36.5 per cent, 34.6 per cent and 26.3 per cent. As against this cheerful picture, the percentage of respondents who have expressed no opinion about this has increased from 3.6 per cent in the first survey to as high a figure of 8 per cent in the latest. The present survey showed a continuance of this rising trend and the people who could not give a clear verdict is as high as 11.1 per cent. This indecision may be due to the growing ambiguity on what is one's due. **If these respondents are merged with those who stated that there has been "no change" in their economic position, it provides an important negative conclusion that about half the Indian public have not gained economically during the last decade. This may well be the objective truth.**

The Standard of Living—the 'Regions' of Shortfall

To the subjective assessment of standard of living in general, there have been added a few objective co-efficients. In the traditional "basket of goods idea", an assessment was made on the availability of six items, *viz.*, food, clothing, housing, educational facilities, travel and employment. The survey reveals that the shortfalls in the expected standard of living emanates almost equally from the individual non-availability of these six items. **70.5 per cent among rural respondents have stated that it is the shortfall of foodgrains that was responsible for their low standard of living. Clothing, educational facilities and travel have recorded higher percentages. Most surprisingly 77 4 per cent of the respondents have stated that they were not able to obtain "enough travel".** Whether this high response is more of a "sympathetic" nature or whether there was in fact an eager desire for travel still unfulfilled is difficult to say. With the income distribution as revealed by the survey, it is somewhat difficult to believe that this is in fact a genuine reaction. Urban areas, as a whole, reveal more or less a similar outlook but for the fact that the non-availability of foodgrains to the desired level is given as a reason for the shortfall in standard of living only by 56.3 per cent of the respondents. Apparently this lower figure in urban areas as compared to the rural areas in an item, is explained by the fact that foodgrains figure less in an average urban income because of the higher levels of income in the urban areas and the relative predomination of the middle and upper middle classes.

Economic Factors and Party Preferences

Food, employment, income and "benefits" are taken as the four deciding economic parameters in affecting voting choice. The last of the four characteristics *viz.*, 'benefits' is purposely kept very vague and each respondent is left to interpret it in his own way.

The dominant position of the Congress party is evident from the percentages in each of these characteristics. The uniformity in the respondents' voting choice on the basis of different characteristics would reveal that the party selection mostly precedes and attitudes on these 'parameters' are conditioned mostly by that choice. As such, it would be not useful to draw any conclusions which are not really warranted by the figures. The slight difference in each party's vote on the basis of different characteristics is not larger than the sampling errors involved. **Still it is interesting to note that more than half the respondents have not taken any decision as to the party which will best provide these four amenities.**

The Parties : Who would Do Better ?

Which party can best provide cheaper food ?	All-India		Urban		Rural	
	Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
Congress	1101	36.7	384	35.5	909	36.9
P. S. P.	55	1 8	10	0 9	50	2.0
Communist	161	5.4	73	6.8	124	5.0
Jan Sangh	9	0.3	11	1.0	4	0.2
Socialist	17	0.6	—	—	17	0.7
Hindu Mahasabha	8	0.3	12	1.1	2	0.1
Swatantra party	24	0 8	20	1.9	14	0.6
Undecided	378	12 6	135	12.5	310	12.6
No Opinion	1247	41.5	435	40.3	1030	41.9
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
Which party can best provide more jobs ?						
Congress	1100	36 7	375	34.7	912	37.1
P. S. P.	54	1 8	13	1 2	48	1.9
Communist	159	5.3	76	7.0	121	4.9
Jan Sangh	10	0 3	11	1.0	4	0 2
Socialist	21	0 7	11	1.0	16	0 6
Hindu Mahasabha	4	0.2	3	0 3	2	0.1
Swatantra party	22	0 7	17	1.6	14	0.5
Undecided	378	12.6	138	12 8	309	12.6
No opinion	1252	41.7	436	40.4	1034	42.1
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
Which party can best provide better income ?						
Congress	1091	36.4	369	34.3	907	36.9
P. S. P.	58	1.9	13	1.3	51	2.1
Communist	156	5.2	65	6.0	124	5 0
Jan Sangh	9	0.3	11	1 0	4	0.2
Socialist	22	0.7	11	1.0	16	0.6
Hindu Mahasabha	4	0.2	3	0.3	2	0.1
Swatantra Parry	26	0.9	27	2.3	13	0.5
Undecided	379	12.6	137	12.7	310	12.6
No Opinion	1255	41 8	444	41.1	1033	42.0
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
Which party can best provide more 'benefits' ?						
Congress	1096	36.5	380	35.2	906	36 8
P S P.	56	1.9	10	0.9	51	8 1
Communist	154	5.2	61	5.7	124	5 0
Jan Sangh	10	0.3	12	1.1	4	0 2
Socialist	22	0.7	12	1.1	16	0 6
Hindu Mahasabha	4	0.1	3	0.3	2	0 1
Swatantra Party	26	0.9	22	2.0	15	0 6
Undecided	377	12 6	136	12.6	309	12 6
No Opinion	1255	41.8	444	41.1	1033	42.0
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0

Approval of Government Policies

Halting and Undecided ?

There is a substantial agreement on the policies of the Congress Party but the areas where there was a considerable disagreement are more interesting than the ones where there was substantial agreement. 57.6 per cent support prohibition and 43 per cent support ceilings on land holdings. While 23.4 per cent support the increase in direct taxation, it is significant to note that the percentage falls rapidly to 12.6 when it is a question of indirect taxation. The "socialistic" policies which involve the predominance of the Public sector and an increasing control of the Private sector are two aspects on which an overwhelming majority, while not expressing a negative opinion, have considerable reservations. Near about 70 per cent have preferred to express no opinion on them. The co-operative method of land reforms also comes in the same category with more than half the respondents expressing "No opinion". Numerically, the people who support these policies are, however, higher but this is somewhat irrelevant when half the nation is still undecided.

Shortfalls—Who is Responsible ?

It may be partly due to the structured alternatives given to the series of questions which inquired into the reasons for the shortfall, that Government came out as the single largest agency to receive the blame for shortfalls. It is noted that in respect of many of these items, the urban population blames the Government more for this shortfall than the rural population. 47.8 per cent of the urban respondents have stated that the Government is responsible for the shortfall in foodgrains as compared to only 39.8 per cent of the rural population stating so. In respect of cloth also, the urban and the rural figures stand at 45.2 per cent and 38 7 per cent. So is the case in respect of housing (40.1 per cent urban and 35.6 per cent rural), education (42.7 per cent urban and 30.4 per cent rural) and travel (34.0 per cent urban and 25.1 per cent rural). In the case of employment, the divergence is much more significant, and even, in the actual figures more than half the urban population have stated Government is most responsible for the shortfall in employment. In the case of rural areas, the corresponding percentage is only 32.2 per cent. There is no discernible association in any of these six characteristics with income or educational qualifications.

The combined all-India picture has more than confirmed this conjecture that the complaint against these selected characteristics is more or less uniform. It would appear, therefore, that the shortfall of achievement related to aspirations is the prime reason and the responses on individual characteristics are mostly automatic. The slight difference between these six characteristics cannot be taken as statistically significant and particularly so as the individual responses have a high correlation with the response given to the earlier question.

It cannot be said that these percentages though indicating the existence of a large section of discontented people, would have any effect on their voting pattern. This is particularly so as more than a quarter of the respondents in almost all the cases have stated their inability to ascribe any single agency as responsible for these shortfalls.

Approval of Government Policies : All-India

Do you think that the Congress was right to :	All-India		Urban		Rural	
	Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
INTRODUCE PROHIBITION						
Yes	1729	57.6	641	59 4	1408	57.2
No	185	6.2	130	12 0	120	4.9
No opinion	1086	36 2	309	28.6	932	37.9
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100 0	2460	100.0
IMPOSE CEILINGS ON LAND HOLDINGS						
Yes	1292	43 0	457	42 3	1063	43.2
No	284	9 5	148	13 7	210	8 5
No opinion	1424	47.5	475	44 0	1187	48.3
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
SEEK PRODUCTION THROUGH LAND CO-OPERATIVES						
Yes	1088	36 3	403	37 3	886	36.0
No	373	12.4	166	15 4	290	11 8
No opinion	1539	51 3	511	47 3	1284	52.2
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
INCREASE DIRECT TAXATION						
Yes	702	23.4	355	32 9	525	21.3
No	664	22 1	274	25.3	527	21.4
No opinion	1634	54.5	451	41 8	1408	57.3
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
INCREASE INDIRECT TAXATION						
Yes	377	12 6	186	17.2	284	11.5
No	952	31 7	422	39 1	741	30.1
No opinion	1671	55.7	472	43.7	1435	58 4
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
TAKE BASIC INDUSTRIES IN PUBLIC SECTOR						
Yes	892	29.7	467	43 3	658	26.7
No	139	4 6	106	9.8	86	3 5
No opinion	1969	65.6	507	46.9	1716	69.8
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
RESTRICT THE FIELD OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR						
Yes	710	23 7	326	30.2	547	22.2
No	188	6.3	174	16.1	101	4 1
No opinion	2102	70.0	580	53.7	1812	73.7
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0

For 'Restricting the Private Sector'

	All-India		Urban		Rural	
	Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
Would the Congress be justified in curtailing the present field of operation of the Private Sector ?						
Yes	544	18.1	244	22.6	422	17.2
No	203	6.8	189	17.5	108	4.3
No opinion	2253	75.1	647	59.9	1930	78.5
Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
In which field would your perfer further restrictions ?						
(Asked only of those who would like the field of the Private Sector to be further restricted)						
All Industries should be nationalised	71	13.0	41	16.8	50	11.8
Banking and general insurance should be nationalised	56	10.3	38	15.6	37	8.8
Textiles (Wool, cotton, rayon) and coal industries	28	5.1	14	5.7	21	5.0
All basic industries	25	4.5	13	5.3	18	4.3
Heavy and key industries (Iron & steel and automobile)	15	2.7	6	2.6	12	2.8
Excepting small-scale industries all economic activities should be nationalised	11	2.0	1	0.4	10	2.4
Restriction of private land co-operatives	9	1.7	2	0.8	8	1.9
Transport and Oil	8	1.5	5	2.0	6	1.4
All public utility services should be nationalised	7	1.3	—	—	7	1.7
In all fields of national importance where there is exploitation of public by the private sector	5	1.0	3	1.2	3	0.7
State should take to trading of foodgrains	4	0.8	4	1.7	2	0.5
Sugar industry should be nationalised	3	0.6	2	0.8	2	0.5
Electrical and Electronic industries	3	0.6	4	1.6	1	0.2
Film Industry	2	0.4	2	0.9	1	0.2
Tobacco industries	2	0.4	2	0.8	1	0.2
Management of private industries should be strictly controlled	2	0.4	—	—	2	0.5
Leather industries	1	0.2	1	0.5	—	—
Chemical fertilizers	1	0.1	—	—	1	0.2
Vanaspati and other oil industries	—	—	1	0.4	—	—
Essential consumer goods industries	—	—	1	0.4	—	—
Unable to specify/Vague answers	291	53.4	104	42.6	240	56.9
Total	544	100.0	244	100.0	422	100.0

Against 'Restricting Private Sector'

What are your reasons ?

(Asked only of those who said they were against any further restrictions on the Private Sector)

	All-India		Urban		Rural	
	Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
It is undemocratic and it leads to regimentation of industries in the country. Government monopoly (due to nationalisation) saps efficient business and hampers progress by curtailing initiative and individual liberty	24	11.8	33	17.5	11	10.1
The Private sector is quite efficient compared to the Public Sector industries. Private enterpreneurs display better performance in their fields	18	8.9	19	10.1	8	7.4
When citizens want to prosper, Government should allow them to do so provided they do not jeopardise others' rights. Why should not they exercise their freedom and initiative ?	12	6.0	11	5.8	5	4.6
There should be as much freedom and support to private sector as is required for the rapid industrialisation of the country, for it has vital role to play in this respect	10	5.0	13	6.9	6	5.6
Competition between the public owned and the private industries is essential in order to develop efficiency in the private and public sectors	6	3.0	6	3.2	—	—
The Government (the present) is incompetent and highly corrupt to take up the industrialisation of the country. Whenever anything in the private sector is taken up by the Government (nationalisation or making it a public owned company) it brings more burden on the shoulders of tax-payers of the country	4	2 0	4	2 1	3	2.8
Can't expand our (private) production	3	1.5	1	0 5	2	1.9
Mixed economy should be adopted throughout for the success of democracy	3	1.4	3	1 6	1	1.0
Free enterprise is necessary for progress	3	1 5	6	3 2	—	—
Monopoly of the field (industrial) leads to unwieldy administration, a factor causing inefficiency in administration and management	2	1 0	2	1.1	—	—
Instead of further restricting the activities of private sector, between private and public sector, there should be co-operative sector	1	0 5	—	—	1	0 9
In the interest of private capital which is a major contributor to the capital formation in the country	1	0.4	—	—	1	0 9
Congress has failed in all spheres—political, economic and administrative	1	0.4	1	0.5	—	—
Concentration of (more and more) power corrupts any Government	1	0.5	1	0.5	—	—
Unable to specify/Vague answers	114	56.1	89	47.0	70	64.8
Total	203	100 0	189	100.0	108	100 0

Shortfalls—Who is Responsible ?

	All-India		Urban		Rural	
	Actual	%	Actual	%	Aetual	%
If your standard of living has not achieved your expectations, is it because you have not been able to obtain enough (i) foodgrains (ii) cloth (iii) housing space (iv) educational facilities (v) travel (vi) employment ?						
(Asked only of those who said their standard of living did not achieve their expectations)						
Foodgrains	1062	67.8	343	56.3	890	70.5
Cloth	1131	72.2	374	61.4	944	74.8
Housing space	1012	64.6	404	66.3	810	64.2
Educational facilities	1170	74.7	410	67.3	965	76.5
Travel	1198	76.5	441	72.4	977	77.4
Employment	1031	65.8	405	66.5	829	65.7
Base*	1567	—	609	—	1262	—

*No check : provision for multiple answers.

To whose policy do you ascribe this shortfall ?

(Asked only of those who said they had been unable to obtain enough foodgrains, cloth, education, travel and employment)

ENOUGH FOODGRAINS						
Government	436	41.1	164	47.8	354	39.8
Others (Reasons other than Govt. policy)	213	20.0	47	13.7	190	21.4
Both	129	12.1	57	16.6	100	11.2
Don't know	283	26.7	74	21.7	246	27.6
Can't say	1	0.1	1	0.2	—	—
Total	1062	100.0	343	100.0	890	100.0
ENOUGH CLOTH						
Government	450	39.8	169	45.2	365	38.7
Others	230	20.3	53	14.2	204	21.6
Both	144	12.7	71	19.0	109	11.5
Don't know	306	27.1	79	21.1	266	28.2
Can't say	1	0.1	2	0.5	—	—
Total	1131	100.0	347	100.0	944	100.0

Shortfalls—Who is Responsible ?

		All-India		Urban		Rural	
		Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
ENOUGH HOUSING SPACE							
Government		361	35.7	162	40.1	280	34.6
Others		216	21.3	76	18.8	178	22.1
Both		149	14.7	85	21.1	107	13.2
Don't know		285	28.2	80	19.8	245	30.2
Can't say		1	0.1	1	0.2	—	—
	Total	1012	100.0	404	100.0	810	100.0
ENOUGH EDUCATION							
Government		380	32.5	175	42.7	293	30.4
Others		252	21.5	63	15.4	220	22.8
Both		226	19.3	89	21.7	182	18.8
Don't know		311	26.6	82	20.0	270	28.0
Can't say		1	0.1	1	0.2	—	—
	Total	1170	100.0	410	100.0	965	100.0
ENOUGH TRAVEL							
Government		320	26.7	150	34.0	245	25.1
Others		252	21.0	76	17.2	214	21.9
Both		200	16.7	89	20 2	155	15.9
Don't know		424	35 4	123	27.9	363	37.1
Can't say		2	0 2	3	0.7	—	—
	Total	1198	100 0	441	100 0	977	100 0
EMPLOYMENT							
Government		414	40.1	213	52 6	308	37.2
Others		194	18.8	52	12 8	168	20.3
Both		136	13 2	63	15 6	104	12.5
Don't know		287	27.8	76	18.8	249	30.0
Can't say		1	0.1	1	0.2	—	—
	Total	1032	100.0	405	100.0	829	100.0

All-India Urban

Has your economic condition improved or deteriorated since the 1957 General Elections ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Improved	Deteriora-ted	Same	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35	571	37.1	31.0	25.0	6.9	100.0
36—50	331	32.3	34.7	26.9	6.1	100.0
Above 50	153	26.1	41.2	26.8	5.9	100.0
Unspecified	25	52.0	4.0	32.0	12.0	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate	149	12.8	40.9	29.5	16.8	100.0
Under-matric	350	36.0	30.9	26.3	6.8	100.0
Matric	289	39.8	29.8	25 6	4.8	100.0
Graduate and above	265	37.0	36.6	24.1	2.3	100.0
Unspecified	27	51.9	14.8	25.9	7.4	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						—
1—100	249	21.3	38.2	28.9	11.6	100.0
101—200	348	36.2	31.9	25.9	6.0	100.0
201—350	295	35.3	32.5	27.8	4.4	100.0
351—700	112	45.5	27.7	25.9	0.9	100.0
Above 700	45	60.0	31.1	8.9	—	100.0
Unspecified	31	35.5	29.0	12.9	22.6	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh	95	33.7	25.3	37.9	3.1	100.0
Bihar	45	2.2	6.7	31.1	60.0	100.0
Delhi	25	36.0	32.0	28.0	4.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	65.4	4.0	29 3	1.3	100.0
Kerala	35	14.3	42.9	40.0	2.8	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	41.8	34.6	23.6	—	100.0
Madras	125	21.6	56.0	12.8	9.6	100.0
Maharashtra	160	57.5	20.0	21.3	1 2	100.0
Mysore	80	38,7	35 0	16.3	10.0	100.0
Orissa	15	26.7	26.7	33.3	13.3	100.0
Punjab	60	40.0	10.0	50.0	—	100.0
Rajasthan	50	52.0	10.0	26.0	12.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	30.0	42.0	26.7	1,3	100 0
West Bengal	110	3.6	69.1	21.8	5.5	100.0
Total	1080	34.4	33.0	26.0	6 6	100.0

All-India Rural

Has your economic condition improved or deteriorated since the 1957 General Elections ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Improved	Deteriorated	Same	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35	1119	27.4	28.3	33.3	11.0	100.0
36—50	802	22.0	28.8	38.2	11.0	100.0
Above 50	503	17.9	33.4	38.4	10.2	100.0
Unspecified	36	38.9	16.7	25.0	19.4	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate	1113	14.6	28.7	38.4	18.3	100.0
Under-matric	1009	30.1	29.0	35.9	5.0	100.0
Matric	240	32.5	38.0	27.5	2.0	100.0
Graduate & above	65	43.1	27.7	29.2	—	100.0
Unspecified	33	45.5	3.0	18.2	33.3	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100	1350	17.6	31.1	37.7	13.6	100.0
101—200	731	30.4	29.5	31.5	8.6	100.0
201—350	232	32.8	21.5	41.4	4.3	100.0
351—700	76	44.8	19.7	34.2	1.3	100.0
Above 700	14	71.4	21.5	7.1	—	100.0
Unspecified	57	15.8	31.6	31.6	21.0	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh	225	31.6	35.1	32.9	0.4	100.0
Bihar	315	1.0	9.8	52.7	36.5	100.0
Delhi	5	40.0	—	40.0	20.0	100.0
Gujarat	105	67 6	4.8	25.7	1.9	100.0
Kerala	100	5.0	65.0	23.0	7.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	22.0	33.0	41.5	3.5	100.0
Madras	200	20 5	44.5	15.0	20.0	100.0
Maharashtra	200	54.0	19 5	25.5	1.0	100.0
Mysore	130	20 8	15.4	62.3	1.5	100.0
Orissa	120	3.3	4.2	75.8	16.7	100.0
Punjab	110	50.0	9.9	40.1	—	100.0
Rajasthan	115	41.8	21.7	17.4	19.1	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	460	21.9	35.0	36.1	7.0	100.0
West Bengal	175	4.6	72.6	12.0	10.8	100.0
Total	2460	23.9	29.3	35.8	11.0	100.0

All-India Urban

If your economic condition has deteriorated since 1957, is it because (i) your income has not risen (ii) prices have risen more than yonr income or (iii) your income has fallen ?
(Asked only of those who said their economic condition had deteriorated since the 1957 Elections)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Income has not risen	Prices risen more than income	Income has fallen
AGE GROUP				
21—35	177	46.3	92.1	20.9
36—50	115	41.7	87.0	35.7
Above 50	63	39.7	84.1	71.4
Unspecified	1	—	—	—
EDUCATION				
Illiterate	61	39.3	80.3	39.3
Under-matric	108	39.8	84.3	50.0
Matric	86	51.1	100.0	29.1
Graduate and above	97	43-3	89.7	17.5
Unspecified	4	50.0	75.0	75.0
INCOME GROUP (*Monthly in Rs.*)				
1—100	95	38.9	80.0	47.3
101—200	111	50.5	88.3	27.9
201—350	96	47.9	94.8	30.2
351—700	14	35.7	100.0	42.8
Unspecified	9	55.6	88.9	22.2
STATE				
Andhra Pradesh	24	41.7	79.2	12.5
Bihar	3	33.3	33.3	33.3
Delhi	8	50.0	37.5	50.0
Gujarat	3	66.7	100.0	33.3
Kerala	15	80.0	100.0	13.3
Madhya Pradesh	19	73.7	89.5	68.4
Madras	70	61.4	100.0	12.9
Maharashtra	32	37.5	84.4	65.6
Mysore	28	28.6	100.0	10.7
Orissa	4	50 0	100.0	—
Punjab	6	100.0	100.0	33.3
Rajasthan	5	40.0	60.0	60.0
Uttar Pradesh	63	44.4	71.4	57.1
West Bengal	76	14.5	98.7	32.9
Total	356	43.5	88.8	34.6

All-India Rural

If your economic condition has deteriorated since 1957, is it because (i) your income has not risen (ii) prices have risen more than your income or (iii) your income has fallen ?

(Asked only of those who said their economic condition had 'deteriorated' since the 1957 Election.)

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Income has not risen	Prices risen more than income	Income has fallen
AGE GROUP				
21—35	317	41.9	85.5	39.4
36—50	231	51.9	88.7	50.2
Above 50	168	45.2	75.0	66.7
Unspecified	6	50.0	83.3	33.4
EDUCATION				
Illiterate	319	32.9	79.0	58.0
Under-matric	293	51.5	85.3	49.1
Matric	91	67.3	94.5	25.3
Graduate & above	18	77.8	100.0	11.1
Unspecified	1	100.0	100.0	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)				
1—100	420	41.0	82.4	53.8
101—200	216	51.4	88.4	35.2
201—350	50	13.0	18.5	15.0
351—700	15	60.0	86.7	60.0
Above 700	3	33.3	66.7	66.7
Unspecified	18	72.2	88.9	66.7
STATE				
Andhra Pradesh	79	44.3	81.1	34.2
Bihar	31	48.4	77.4	16.1
Delhi	—	—	—	—
Gujarat	5	20.0	100.0	80.0
Kerala	65	93.8	100.0	18.5
Madhya Pradesh	66	40.9	74.2	75.7
Madras	89	70.8	100.0	13.5
Maharashtra	39	41.0	87.2	66.7
Mysore	20	15.0	80.0	85.0
Orissa	5	—	80.0	20.0
Punjab	10	100.0	100.0	50.0
Rajasthan	25	36.0	32.0	64.0
Uttar Pradesh	161	45.3	70.2	78.3
West Bengal	127	15.0	99.2	42.5
Total	722	46.0	84.7	39.2

Note : No check—provision for multiple answers.

All-India Rural

Why has your income fallen ?
(Asked only of those who said their income had fallen)

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Low yield from crops due to heavy rains	Earning members sick or disabled	Higher taxation and prices	No earning member	Due to ceilings on land	Larger increase in prices than in incomes	Fragmentation of land	*Others	Unable to specify and vague asnwers
AGE GROUP										
21—35	125	18.4	16.8	20 0	14.4	7 2	2.4	2 4	1.6	16.8
36—50	116	27.7	12.9	18.1	9.5	5.2	3.4	3.4	1.7	18.1
Above 50	112	20.5	22.3	7.1	15 2	15.2	1.8	—	1.8	16.1
Unspecifien	2	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	185	23.2	15.7	11.4	17.8	9.2	2 2	1.6	2.2	16 7
Under-matric	144	23.6	16.7	21.5	7 6	8 3	2.1	2 8	1.4	16.0
Matric	23	4.3	30.5	17.4	8.7	8.7	4.3	—	—	26.1
Graduate & above	2	—	—	—	—	50.0	50.0	—	—	—
Unspecified	1	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	226	16 8	20.8	15 9	14.6	8 0	2.2	0.9	1.8	19.0
101—200	76	29.0	14.5	17.1	13.2	3.9	5.9	5.8	12.5	10.5
201—350	30	46.7	6.7	13.3	3.3	20.0	—	—	—	1.0
351—700	9	22.2	—	11.1	11.1	11.1	11.1	11.1	—	22.3
Above 700	2	—	—	—	—	100 0	—	—	—	—
Unspecified	12	16.7	8.3	16.7	8.3	16.7	—	—	—	33.3
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	27	3.7	11.1	18.5	3.7	—	3.7	—	—	59.3
Bihar	5	—	—	—	—	20.0	—	—	—	80.0
Delhi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gujarat	4	—	25 0	25.0	—	25.0	—	—	—	25.0
Kerala	12	41.7	8 3	—	—	25.0	—	—	8.3	16.7
Madhya Pradesh	50	4.0	26 0	14.0	18.0	6.0	10.0	6.0	2.0	14.0
Madras	12	33.3	33.3	33.4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maharashtra	26	15.4	34.6	26.9	11.5	—	3.9	—	—	7.7
Mysore	17	58.8	5.9	—	—	—	—	—	5.9	29.4
Orissa	1	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Punjab	5	20.0	20.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	60 0
Rajasthan	16	43.7	6.3	—	—	31.2	—	—	6.3	12.5
Uttar Pradesh	126	27.8	14.3	16.7	15 0	8.7	0.8	2.4	1.6	12.7
West Bengal	54	16.7	16.7	18 5	25 8	14.8	1.9	1.9	—	3.7
Total	335	22.0	17.2	15.7	13.0	9.0	2.5	2.0	1.7	16.9

*Due to litigation; death of cattle; low yield from fishing.
Note : Horizontal totals add upto 100% in each case.

All-India Urban

Why has your income fallen ?
(Asked only of these who said their income had fallen)

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Higher taxation and Prices	Death of the earning members	Earning members sick or disabled	No earning member	Due to land ceilings	Larger increase in prices than in incomes	Low yield from crops	Can't say
AGE GROUP									
21—35	37	29.7	16.3	10.8	8.1	13.5	8.1	—	13.5
36—50	41	36.6	9.8	14.6	9.8	4.9	4.9	2.4	17.0
Above 50	45	17.9	46.7	11.1	4.4	4.4	2.2	2.2	11.1
Unspecified	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
EDUCATION									
Illiterate	24	29.2	25.0	8.3	16.6	4.2	4.2	—	12.5
Under-matric	54	27.7	25.9	14.8	5.6	9.3	5.6	3.7	7.4
Matric	25	16.0	28.0	16.0	—	4.0	8.0	—	28.0
Graduate & above	17	35.3	23.5	—	11.8	11.8	—	—	17.6
Unspecified	3	66.7	—	33.3	—	—	—	—	—
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)									
1—100	45	28.9	26.7	15.4	8.9	4.5	6.7	—	8.9
101—200	31	19.4	35.5	9.7	6.5	9.6	9.6	3.2	6.5
201—350	29	24.1	17.3	10.3	6.9	6.9	—	3.4	31.1
351 - 700	10	30.0	10 0	20.0	10.0	10.0	—	—	20.0
Over 700	6	66.6	16.7	—	—	16.7	—	—	—
Unspecified	2	50.0	50.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
STATE									
Andhra Pradesh	3	33.4	33.3	—	33.3	—	—	—	—
Bihar	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100 0
Delhi	4	25.0	—	—	25.0	—	—	—	50.0
Gujarat	1	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Kerala	2	—	50.0	—	—	50.0	—	—	—
Madhya Pradesh	13	38.4	—	15.4	—	23.1	7.7	—	15.4
Madras	9	44.4	44 5	—	—	—	—	—	11.1
Maharashtra	21	23.8	47.6	4.8	4.8	—	4.8	—	14.2
Mysore	3	33.3	33.3	—	—	—	—	—	33.4
Orissa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Punjab	2	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rajasthan	3	33.3	—	—	—	—	66.7	—	—
Uttar Pradesh	36	25.0	22.2	22.2	2.8	—	2.8	5.6	19.4
West Bengal	25	20.0	24.0	12.0	20.0	20.0	4.0	—	—
Total	123	27.7	25.0	12.0	7.3	7.0	4.9	1.6	13.8

Note : Horizontal totals add upto 100% in each case.

All-India Urban

Has your standard of living achieved your expectations or not ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	571	22.2	59.0	18.8	100.0
36—50	331	21.1	55.0	23.9	100.0
Above 50	153	24.2	54.2	21.6	100.0
Unspecified	25	20.0	28.0	52.0	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	149	4.7	55.5	40.3	100.0
Under-matric	350	21.7	52.6	25.7	100.0
Matric	289	25.6	58.5	15.9	100.0
Graduate and above	265	28.3	60.8	10.9	100.0
Unspecified	27	25.9	48.2	25.9	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	249	10.4	59.0	30.6	100.0
101—200	348	19.6	58.0	22.4	100.0
201—350	295	22.7	58.3	19.0	100.0
351—700	112	40.1	52.7	7.2	100.0
Above 700	45	51.1	37.8	11.1	100.0
Unspecified	31	32.2	38.8	29.0	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	95	16.8	70.6	12.6	100.0
Bihar	45	6.7	15.6	77.7	100.0
Delhi	25	24.0	28.0	48.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	58.7	40.0	1.3	100.0
Kerala	35	31.4	45.7	22.9	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	25.5	74.5	—	100.0
Madras	125	31.2	54.4	14.4	100.0
Maharashtra	160	23.1	55.6	21.3	100.0
Mysore	80	22.5	65.0	12.5	100.0
Orissa	15	26.7	46.6	26.7	100.0
Punjab	60	10·0	38.3	51.7	100.0
Rajasthan	50	2.0	66.0	32.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	22.7	51.3	26.0	100.0
West Bengal	110	5.5	83.6	10.9	100.0
Total	1080	22.1	56.4	21.5	100.0

All-India Rural

Has your standard of living achieved your expectations or not ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	1119	15.4	51.3	33.3	100.0
36—50	802	17.3	50.5	32.3	100.0
Above 50	503	15.7	52.9	31.4	100.0
Unspecified	36	13.9	47.2	38.9	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	1113	6.2	47.2	46.6	100.0
Under-matric	1009	23.6	53.6	22.6	100.0
Matric	240	23.0	63.7	13.3	100.0
Graduate and above	65	43.1	49.2	7.7	100.0
Unspecified	33	15.1	33.4	51.5	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	1350	9 5	53 9	36.6	100-0
101—200	731	18.4	51.6	30.0	100.0
201—350	232	34.5	39.6	25.9	100.0
351—700	76	47.4	40.8	11.8	100 0
Above 700	14	78.6	21.4	—	100.0
Unspecified	57	10.5	54.4	35.1	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	225	32.0	62.2	5.8	100.0
Bihar	315	3.5	21.6	74.9	100.0
Delhi	5	20.0	20 0	60.0	100.0
Gujarat	105	42.0	57.1	0.9	100.0
Kerala	100	17.0	74.0	9.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	25 0	65.5	9 5	100.0
Madras	200	16.0	68.0	16.0	100 0
Maharashtra	200	22.0	58.0	20.0	100.0
Mysore	130	21.5	41.5	37 0	100.0
Orissa	120	2 5	18.3	79.2	100.0
Punjab	110	18.2	57.3	24.5	100.0
Rajasthan	115	—	33.9	66.1	100 0
Uttar Pradesh	460	13.0	48.0	38.3	100.0
West Bengal	175	7.4	76.6	16.0	100.0
Total	2460	16.1	51.3	32.6	100.0

All-India Urban

If your standard of living has not achieved your expectations, is it because you have not been able to obtain enough (i) foodgrains, (ii) cloth, (iii) housing space, (iv) educational facilities, (v) travel, and (vi) employment ? (Asked only of those who said their standard of living did not achieve their expectations)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Food-grains	loth	Housing space	Education facilities	Travel	Employ-ment
AGE GROUP							
21—35	337	51.9	58.8	66.5	66.5	73.6	69.7
36—50	182	63.2	67.6	67.6	69.2	71.4	58.2
Above 50	83	62.2	59.0	62.7	63.9	71.1	69.9
Unspecified	7	42.9	57.1	71.4	100.0	57.1	85.7
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	82	93.9	93.2	95.1	89.0	78.0	85.4
Under-matric	184	71.2	76.1	71.2	73.9	66.8	67.4
Matric	169	40.8	46.2	56.2	70.4	72.8	59.8
Graduate and above	161	37.3	43.5	57.1	44.7	75.2	64.6
Unspecified	13	46.2	69.2	61.5	76.9	76.9	46.2
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	147	33.7	84.4	83.0	86.4	73.5	76.9
101—200	202	52.5	60.4	67.8	69.3	74.3	66.3
201—350	172	39.5	47.1	55.8	55.8	72.1	57.6
351—700	59	52.5	52.5	50.8	52.5	61.0	61.0
Above 700	17	47.1	47.1	58.8	41.2	88.2	64.7
Unspecified	12	58.3	66.7	75.0	75.0	66.7	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	67	49.3	52.2	62.7	55.2	71.6	65.7
Bihar	7	57.1	100.0	85.7	71.4	100.0	100.0
Delhi	7	57.1	57.1	85.7	85.7	100.0	100.0
Gujarat	30	3.3	30.0	83.3	73.3	66.7	33.3
Kerala	16	6.2	—	12.5	37.5	81.2	37.5
Madhya Pradesh	41	63.4	70.7	56.1	61.0	80.5	39.0
Madras	68	25.0	45.6	54.4	48.5	63.2	48.5
Maharashtra	89	75.3	83.1	82.0	86.5	79.8	69.7
Mysore	52	59.6	50.0	75.0	61.5	75.0	84.6
Orissa	7	100.0	100.0	85.7	71.4	71.4	100.0
Punjab	23	78.3	78.3	82.6	91.3	82.6	91.3
Rajasthan	33	6.1	9.1	36.4	69.7	90.9	87.9
Uttar Pradesh	77	63.6	63.6	64.9	67.5	68.8	74.0
West Bengal	92	90.2	89.1	69.6	71.7	57.6	67.4
Total	609	56.3	61.4	66.3	67.3	72.0	66.5

Note : No check—provision for multiple answers

All-India Rural

If your standard of living has not achieved your expectations, is it because you have not been able to obtain enough (i) foodgrains, (ii) cloth, (iii) housing space, (iv) educational facilities, (v) travel, (vi) employment ?

(Asked only of those who said their standard of living did not achieve their expectations)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Food grains	Cloth	Housing space	Educational facilities	Travel	Employ-ment
AGE GROUP							
21—35	574	69.5	72.6	62 5	76.5	78.9	69.0
36—50	405	69.4	75.3	63 9	75.6	73.3	62.2
Above 50	266	74.1	77.8	67.7	77.1	79.3	62 8
Unspecified	17	76.5	88.2	70.6	88.2	94.1	82.4
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	525	85.4	90 6	76 0	82 2	80 3	71.1
Under-matric	541	67.3	70 4	59 1	76 9	73.2	65.1
Matric	153	37.9	43.1	42.5	59.5	78 4	45.1
Graduate and above	32	18.8	18.8	34.4	31.2	71 9	62.5
Unspecified	11	63.6	72.7	81.8	90.9	90.9	81.8
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	728	82 3	87.5	71.7	79 4	76 5	70.2
101—200	377	58.6	60.7	55.7	75.3	78.5	59.4
201—350	92	39.1	43 5	45.7	66.3	77 2	54.3
351—700	31	45.2	51.6	48 4	54.8	74 2	54.8
Above 700	3	—	—	33.3	66.7	100.0	100.0
Unspecified	31	64 5	71 0	64.5	74.2	87.1	77.4
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	140	52 9	57.9	36 4	41.4	46 4	68.6
Bihar	68	100.0	100 0	95 6	91.2	83 8	97.1
Delhi	1	—	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100.0
Gujarat	60	25.0	65 0	20.0	75 0	60 0	65.0
Kerala	74	48 6	50 0	47.3	82 4	97 3	29.7
Madras	131	83 2	77.9	84.7	79.4	95.4	52.7
Madhya Pradesh	136	50 7	53.7	47 8	73.5	86 8	44.9
Maharashtra	116	83 6	87.9	89 7	90.5	92 2	78 4
Mysore	54	63.0	63.0	22 2	37.0	40 7	57 4
Orissa	22	95.5	90 9	68.2	68 2	50.0	90.9
Punjab	63	92.1	90.5	93 7	95 2	92 1	96 8
Rajasthan	39	23 1	28 2	33 3	94 9	100.0	92 3
Uttar Pradesh	224	78.1	78.6	80 0	77.2	79.9	67.0
West Bengal	234	93.3	93.3	64.2	92 5	64.9	64.2
Total	1262	70.5	74.5	64.2	76.5	77.4	65.7

Note : No check : provision for multiple answers.

All-India Urban

To whose policy do you ascribe this shortfall in enough foodgrains ?
(Asked only of those who said they had been unable to obtain enough foodgrains)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Govt.	Others*	Both	Don't know	Refusal	Total
AGE GROUP							
21—35	175	49.7	15.4	18.9	15.4	0.6	100.0
36—50	115	44.3	10.5	16.5	28.7	—	100.0
Above 50	50	48.0	16.0	10.0	26.0	—	100.0
Unspecified	3	66.7	—	—	33.3	—	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	77	35.1	12.9	16.9	35.1	—	100.0
Under-matric	131	48.9	16.8	9.9	24.4	—	100.0
Matric	69	52.2	14.5	17.4	14.5	1.4	100.0
Graduate and above	60	53.4	8.3	30.0	8.3	—	100.0
Unspecified	6	83.3	—	16.7	—	—	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	123	39.8	15.5	10.6	33.3	0.8	100.0
101—200	106	50.0	17.9	18.9	13.2	—	100.0
201—350	68	57.3	5.9	16.2	20.6	—	100.0
351—700	31	48.4	12.9	25.8	12.9	—	100.0
Above 700	8	50.0	12.5	25.0	12.5	—	100.0
Unspecified	7	57.1	—	42.9	—	—	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	33	33.3	21.2	45.5	—	—	100.0
Bihar	4	75.0	—	25.0	—	—	100.0
Delhi	4	75.0	—	75.0	25.0	—	100.0
Gujarat	1	—	100.0	—	—	—	100.0
Kerala	1	—	—	—	100.0	—	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	26	50.0	11.5	15.4	23 1	—	100.0
Madras	17	88.2	—	11.8	—	—	100 0
Maharashtra	67	38.8	20.9	13.4	26.9	—	100.0
Mysore	31	54 8	9.7	25.8	9.7	—	100.0
Orissa	7	14.3	14.3	14 3	57.1	—	100.0
Punjab	18	94 4	5.6	—	—	—	100.0
Rajasthan	2	50 0	—	—	50.0	—	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	49	44.9	32.7	6.1	14.3	2.0	100 0
West Bengal	83	45.8	1.2	13.3	39.7	—	100.0
Total	343	47.8	13.7	16.6	21.7	0.2	100.0

*Reasons other than Government policy.

All-India Rural

To whose policy do you ascribe this shortfall in enough foodgrains ?
(Asked only of those who said they had been unable to obtain enough foodgrains)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Govt.	Others	Both	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35	399	41.6	18.3	11.0	29.1	100.0
36—50	281	40.2	24.9	10.0	24.9	100.0
Above 50	197	35.6	22.8	23.2	28.4	100.0
Unspecified	13	38.4	15.4	15.4	30.8	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate	455	33.2	23.9	10.8	32.1	100.0
Under-matric	364	46.2	20.8	10.7	22.3	100.0
Matric	58	55.1	6.9	19.0	19.0	100.0
Graduate and above	6	50.0	—	16.7	33.3	100.0
Unspecified	7	—	14.3	—	85.7	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100	599	40.1	21.0	10.3	28.5	100.0
101—200	221	40.7	20.0	13.1	26.2	100.0
201—350	36	27.8	25.0	19.4	27.8	100.0
351—700	14	21.4	50.0	14.3	14.3	100.0
Above 700	—	—	—	—	—	—
Unspecified	20	55.0	20.0	—	25.0	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh	74	32.4	16.2	28.4	23.0	100.0
Bihar	68	20.6	1.5	13.2	64.7	100.0
Delhi	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gujarat	15	33.3	40.0	26.7	—	100.0
Kerala	36	97.2	—	2.8	—	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	109	28.4	41.2	8.3	22.1	100.0
Madras	69	94.2	1.4	1.4	3.0	100.0
Maharashtra	97	13.4	19.6	6.2	60.8	100.0
Mysore	34	—	76.5	5.9	17.6	100.0
Orissa	21	61.9	—	9.5	28.5	100.0
Punjab	58	67.2	19.0	6.9	6.9	100.0
Rajasthan	9	22.2	11.1	—	66.7	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	175	27.4	38.9	19.4	14.3	100.0
West Bengal	125	52.0	—	5.6	42.4	100.0
Total	890	38.8	21.4	11.2	27.6	100.0

All-India Urban

To whose policy do you ascribe this short-fall in enough cloth ?
(Asked only of those who said they had been unable to obtain enough cloth.)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Govt.	Others	Both	Don't know	Refusal	Total
AGE GROUP							
21—35	198	48.0	15.2	21.7	14.6	0.5	100.0
36—50	123	39.8	12.2	17.9	29.3	0.8	100.0
Above 50	49	46.9	16.3	10.3	26 5	—	100.0
Unspecified	4	50.0	—	25.0	25.0	—	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	77	37.7	12.9	15.6	33.8	—	100.0
Under-matric	140	45.0	17.1	13.6	24.3	—	100.0
Matric	78	52.5	10.3	17.9	16.7	2.6	100.0
Graduate and above	70	45.7	15.7	34.3	4.3	—	100.0
Unspecified	9	44·4	—	22.3	33.3	—	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	124	39.5	13.7	10.5	35.5	0.8	100.0
101—200	122	46.7	19.7	21.3	11.5	0.8	100.0
201—350	81	50.6	9.9	18.5	21.0	—	100.0
351—700	31	42.0	9.7	35.4	12.6	—	100.0
Above 700	8	50.0	12.5	37.5	—	—	100.0
Unspecified	8	62.5	—	37.5	—	—	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	35	31.4	17.1	48.6	2.9	—	100.0
Bihar	7	57.1	—	14.3	28.6	—	100.0
Delhi	4	—	—	75.0	25.0	—	100.0
Gujarat	9	55.6	22.2	22.2	—	—	100.0
Kerala	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Madhya Pradesh	29	48.3	13.8	17.2	20.7	—	100.0
Madras	31	87.1	3.2	9.7	—	—	100.0
Maharashtra	74	29.7	21.6	18.9	29.8	—	100.0
Mysore	26	38.5	7.7	46.2	7.6	—	100.0
Orissa	7	28.6	—	14.3	57.1	—	100.0
Punjab	18	94.4	5.6	—	—	—	100.0
Rajasthan	3	33.3	33.3	—	33.4	—	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	49	44.9	34.7	6.1	10.2	4.1	100.0
West Bengal	82	41.4	3,7	12.2	42.7	—	100.0
Total	374	45.2	14.2	19.0	21.1	0.5	100.0

All-India Rural

To whose policy do you ascribe this short fall in enough cloth ?
(Asked only of those who said they had been unable to obtain enough cloth)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Govt.	Others	Both	Don't Know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35	417	40.3	18.9	10.8	30.0	100.0
36—50	305	38.4	24.9	11.5	25.2	100.0
Above 50	207	35.7	22.7	12.6	29.0	100.0
Unspecified	15	40.0	13.3	20.0	26.7	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate	483	34.1	24.0	10.1	31.8	100.0
Under-matric	381	43.6	20.5	11.8	24.1	100.0
Matric	66	45.5	13.6	21.2	19.7	100.0
Graduate & above	6	66.7	—	—	33.3	100.0
Unspecified	8	—	12.5	12.5	75.0	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100	637	39.6	20.2	10.7	29.5	100.0
101—200	229	38.0	21.8	14.0	26.2	100.0
201—350	40	27.5	30.0	15.0	27.5	100.0
351—700	16	18.7	56.3	12.5	12.5	100.0
Above 700	—	—	—	—	—	—
Unspecified	22	54.5	18.2	4.5	22.8	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh	81	32.1	16.1	28.4	23.4	100.0
Bihar	68	20.6	1.5	13.2	64.7	100.0
Delhi	1	—	—	—	100.0	100.0
Gujarat	39	56.4	15.4	10.2	18.0	100.0
Kerala	37	97.3	—	2.7	—	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	120	27.5	44.2	7.5	20.8	100.0
Madras	73	80.8	6.9	8.2	4.1	100.0
Maharashtra	102	12.8	19.6	7.8	59.8	100.0
Mysore	34	—	73.5	5.9	20.6	100.0
Orissa	20	65.0	—	5.0	30.0	100.0
Punjab	57	68.4	17.5	7.1	7.0	100.0
Rajasthan	11	45.5	9.0	—	45.5	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	176	27.3	39.8	17.0	15.9	100.0
West Bengal	125	45.6	—	9.6	44.8	100.0
Total	944	38.7	21.6	11.5	28.2	100.0

All-India Urban

To whose policy do you ascribe this shortfall in enough housing space?
(Asked only of those who said they had been unable to obtain enough housing space)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Govt.	Others	Both	Don't know	Refusal	Total
AGE GROUP							
21—35	224	39.3	21.0	23.2	16.1	0.4	100.0
36—50	123	39.8	15.4	22.0	22.8	—	100.0
Above 50	52	42.3	19.2	9.6	28.9	—	100.0
Unspecified	5	60.0	—	20.0	20.0	—	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	78	37.2	12.8	15.4	34.6	—	100.0
Under-matric	131	37.4	23.7	15.2	23.7	—	100.0
Matric	95	44.2	15.8	27.4	11.6	1.0	100.0
Graduate and above	92	42.4	20.6	27.2	9.8	—	100.0
Unspecified	8	37.5	12·5	25.0	25.0	—	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	122	40.2	18.0	11.5	29.5	0.8	100.0
101—200	137	41.6	20.4	26.3	11.7	—	100.0
201—350	96	39.6	19.8	20.8	19.8	—	100.0
351—700	30	33.3	13.3	26.7	26.7	—	100.0
Above 700	10	40.0	20.0	40.0	—	—	100.0
Unspecified	9	44.5	11.1	33.3	11.1	—	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	42	35.7	38.1	26.2	—	—	100.0
Bihar	6	66.7	—	16.6	16.7	—	100.0
Delhi	6	—	—	83.3	16.7	—	100.0
Gujarat	25	52.0	24.0	20.0	4.0	—	100 0
Kerala	2	100.0	—	—	—	—	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	23	43.5	21.7	8.7	26.1	—	100.0
Madras	37	40.5	2.7	54.1	2.7	—	100.0
Maharashtra	73	30.1	23.3	17 8	28.8	—	100.0
Mysore	39	43.6	7.7	30.8	17.9	—	100.0
Orissa	6	16 6	—	16.7	66.7	—	100.0
Punjab	19	94.7	5.3	—	—	—	100.0
Rajasthan	12	66.7	16.7	8.3	8.3	—	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	50	36.0	32.0	14.0	16.0	2.0	100.0
West Bengal	64	29 7	14 1	10.9	45,3	—	100.0
Total	404	40.1	18.8	21.1	19 8	0.2	100.0

All-India Rural

To whose policy do you ascribe this shortfall in enough housing space ?
(Asked only of those who said they had been unable to obtain enough housing space)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Govt.	Others	Both	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35	359	37.6	18.1	12.0	32.3	100.0
36—50	259	34.8	24.7	13.1	27.4	100.0
Above 50	180	28.9	26.1	15.0	30.0	100.0
Unspecified	12	25.0	16-7	25.0	33.0	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate	405	28.9	27.0	12.3	31.8	100.0
Under-matric	320	40.6	18.8	13.1	27.5	100.0
Matric	65	44.6	9.2	20.0	26.2	100.0
Graduate & above	11	36.4	18.2	9.0	36.4	100.0
Unspecified	9	—	11.1	11.1	77.8	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100	522	34.7	22.0	11.9	31.4	100.0
101—200	210	34.8	20.0	17.1	28.1	100.0
201—350	42	26.2	28.6	14.3	30.9	100.0
351—700	15	26.7	40.0	13.3	20.0	100 0
Above 700	1	—	—	—	100.0	100.0
Unspecified	20	55.0	15.0	5.0	25.0	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh	51	23.5	17.6	25.5	33.4	100.0
Bihar	65	18.5	1.5	13 8	66.2	100.0
Delhi	1	—	—	—	100.0	100.0
Gujarat	12	33.3	50.0	16.7	—	100.0
Kerala	35	68.6	2.8	28.6	—	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	111	26.1	45.1	8.1	20 7	100.0
Madras	65	78.5	1.5	15.4	4.6	100.0
Maharashtra	104	12.5	16.3	8.7	62.5	100.0
Mysore	12	8.3	58.3	16.7	16.7	100.0
Orissa	15	66.7	—	6.7	26.6	100.0
Punjab	59	67.8	18.6	6.8	6.8	100.0
Rajasthan	13	38.5	—	—	61.5	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	181	23.7	39.8	21.0	15.5	100.0
West Bengal	86	41.9	3.5	—	54.6	100.0
Total	810	34.6	22.0	13.2	30.2	100.0

All-India Urban

To whose policy do you ascribe this shortfall in enough educational facilities ?
(Asked only of those who said they had been unable to obtain enough educatipnal facilities)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Govt.	Others	Both	Don't know	Refusal	Total
AGE GROUP							
21—35	224	42.4	18.7	22.3	16.1	0.5	100.0
36—50	126	40.5	13.5	23.0	23.0	—	100.0
Above 50	53	45.3	7.5	17.0	30.2	—	100.0
Unspecified	7	71.4	—	14.3	14.3	—	100 0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	73	35.6	13.7	15.1	35.6	—	100.0
Under-matric	136	44.1	18.4	14.0	23.5	—	100.0
Matric	119	43.7	13.4	27.7	14.4	0.8	100.0
Graduate and above	72	44.5	16.7	33.3	5.5	—	100.0
Unspecified	10	50.0	—	20.0	30.0	—	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	127	40.9	16,5	10.3	31.5	0.8	100·0
101—200	140	45.0	17.9	25.0	12.1	—	100.0
201—350	96	41.7	5.2	31.2	21.9	—	100.0
351—700	31	48.4	22.6	19.4	9.6	—	100.0
Above 700	7	42.9	28.6	28.5	—	—	100.0
Unspecified	9	22.2	33.3	33.4	11.1	—	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	37	32.4	29.7	37.9	—	—	100.0
Bihar	5	60.0	—	20.0	20.0	—	100.0
Delhi	6	—	—	83.3	16.7	—	100.0
Gujarat	22	50.0	18.2	22.7	9.1	—	100.0
Kerala	6	—	—	83.3	16.7	—	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	25	44.0	16.0	20.0	20.0	—	100.0
Madras	33	36.4	12.1	51.5	—	—	100.0
Maharashtra	77	35.1	15.6	20.8	28.5	—	100.0
Mysore	32	50.0	6.3	40.6	3.1	—	100.0
Orissa	5	20.0	—	—	80.0	—	100.0
Punjab	21	90.4	4.8	4.8	—	—	100.0
Rajasthan	23	56.5	8.7	8.7	26.1	—	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	52	38.5	36.5	5.8	17.3	1.9	100.0
West Bengal	66	45.4	6.1	3.0	45.5	—	100.0
Total	410	42.7	15.4	21.7	20.0	0.2	100.0

All-India Rural

To whose policy do you ascribe this shortfall in enough educational facilities ?
(Asked only of those who said they had been unable to obtain enough educational facilities)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Govt.	Others	Both	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35	4[illegible]	33.9	21.9	16.2	28.0	100.0
36—50	306	28.8	22.5	21.6	27.1	100.0
Above 50	205	25.8	25.4	19.5	29.3	100.0
Unspecified	15	20.0	20.0	33.3	26.7	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate	438	27.9	24.6	12.6	34.9	100.0
Under-matric	416	34.4	22.8	20.9	21.9	100.0
Matric	91	27.5	16.5	40.6	15.4	100.0
Graduate and above	10	30.0	10.0	20.0	40.0	100.0
Unspecified	10	—	10.0	10.0	80.0	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100	578	33.4	21.4	14.9	30.3	100.0
101—200	284	24.6	25.0	26.8	23.6	100.0
201—350	61	26.2	21.3	21.3	31.2	100.0
351—700	17	29.4	41.2	17.6	11.8	100.0
Above 700	2	50.0	—	—	50.0	100.0
Unspecified	23	34.8	21.7	14.4	26.1	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh	58	36.2	12.1	29.3	22.4	100.0
Bihar	62	17.7	1.6	12.9	67.8	100.0
Delhi	1	—	—	—	100.0	100.0
Gujarat	44	64.4	8.9	11.1	15.6	100.0
Kerala	61	1.6	1.6	95.2	1.6	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	104	28.8	41.3	8.7	21.2	100.0
Madras	100	26.0	34.0	33.3	7.0	100.0
Maharashtra	106	13.3	16.2	8.7	61.9	100.0
Mysore	20	5.0	75.0	15.0	5.0	100.0
Orissa	15	75.0	—	8.3	16.7	100.0
Punjab	60	70.0	19.3	5.0	6.7	100.0
Rajasthan	37	29.7	10.8	2.7	56.8	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	173	27.7	41.1	13.9	17.3	100.0
West Bengal	124	40.3	9.7	8.1	41.9	100.0
Total	965	30.4	22.6	18.8	28.0	100.0

All-India Urban

To whose policy do you ascribe this shortfall in employment ?
(Asked only of those who said they had been unable to obtain enough employment)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Govt.	Others	Both	Don't know	Refusal	Total
AGE GROUP							
21—35	235	55.3	15.3	15.4	13.7	0.4	100.0
36—50	106	48.1	11.3	17.0	23.6	—	100.0
Above 50	58	46.6	6.9	15.5	31.0	—	100.0
Unspecified	6	83.3	—	—	16.7	—	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	70	34.3	11.4	18.6	35.7	—	100.0
Under-matric	124	50.8	16.1	12.1	21.0	—	100.0
Matric	101	60.4	10.9	10.9	16.8	1.0	100.0
Graduate & above	104	57.7	12.5	23.1	6.7	—	100.0
Unspecified	6	83.3	—	—	16.7	—	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	113	43.4	15.9	10.6	29.2	0.9	100.0
101—200	134	58.2	14.2	16.4	11.2	—	100.0
201—350	99	56.5	8.1	15.2	20.2	—	100.0
351—700	36	52.7	16.7	16.7	13.9	—	100.0
Above 700	11	36.4	9.0	45.5	9.1	—	100.0
Unspecified	12	58.3	—	25.0	16.7	—	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	44	59.1	22.7	15.9	2.3	—	100.0
Bihar	7	71.4	—	14.3	14.3	—	100.0
Delhi	8	—	—	75.0	25.0	—	100.0
Gujarat	9	66.7	22.2	11.1	—	—	100.0
Kerala	6	83.3	—	16.7	—	—	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	16	56.3	6.2	25.0	12.5	—	100.0
Madras	33	81.8	3.0	15.2	—	—	100.0
Maharashtra	62	40.3	19.4	16.1	24.2	—	100.0
Mysore	44	40.9	13.6	36.4	9.1	—	100.0
Orissa	7	28.6	—	14.3	57.1	—	100.0
Punjab	21	90.5	9.5	—	—	—	100.0
Rajasthan	29	48.3	10.4	10.3	31.0	—	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	57	43.9	26.3	3.5	24.6	1.7	100.0
West Bengal	62	51.6	—	9.7	38.7	—	100.0
Total	405	52.6	12.8	15.6	18.8	0.2	100.0

All-India Rural

To whose policy do you ascribe this shortfall in employment ?
(Asked only of these who said they had been unable to obtain enough employment)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Govt.	Others	Both	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35	396	39.3	18.9	11.9	29.3	100.0
36—50	252	35.3	21.8	12.7	30.2	100.0
Above 50	167	34.7	21.0	12.6	31.7	100.0
Unspecified	14	21.4	21.4	28.6	28.6	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate	379	30.9	23.7	10.3	35.1	100.0
Under-matric	352	40.0	19.0	14.8	26.2	100.0
Matric	69	52.2	11.6	17.4	18.8	100.0
Graduate and above	20	70.0	10.0	—	20.0	100.0
Unspecified	9	—	11.1	11.1	77.8	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100	511	37.8	19.4	11.7	31.1	100.0
101—200	224	35.3	21.9	14.7	28.1	100.0
201—350	50	42.0	18.0	14.0	36.0	100.0
351—700	17	23.5	41.2	17.6	17.7	100.0
Above 700	3	33.3	—	—	66.7	100.0
Unspecified	24	41.7	16.7	4.2	37.4	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh	96	38.5	9.4	28.1	24.0	100.0
Bihar	66	19.7	—	13.6	66.7	100.0
Delhi	1	—	—	—	100.0	100.0
Gujarat	39	66.7	2.6	12.8	17.9	100.0
Kerala	22	50.0	9.1	31.8	9.1	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	69	24.6	52.2	10.2	83.0	100.0
Madras	61	70.5	14.8	6.5	8.2	100.0
Maharashtra	91	8.8	20.9	9·9	10.4	100.0
Mysore	31	22.6	61.3	3.2	12.9	100.0
Orissa	20	60.0	—	10.0	30.0	100.0
Punjab	61	68.9	19.7	4.9	6.5	100.0
Rajasthan	36	27.8	11.1	2.8	58.3	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	31.3	35.3	14.7	18.7	100.0
West Bengal	68	40.7	4.6	8.2	46.5	100.0
Total	829	32.2	20.3	12.5	30.0	100.0

All-India Urban

To whose policy do you ascribe this short-fall in 'enough travel' ?
(Asked only of those who said they had been unable to obtain 'enough travel')

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Govt.	Others	Both	Don't know	Refusal	Total
AGE GROUP							
21—35	248	32.3	19.8	22.5	24.2	1.2	100.0
36—50	730	33.8	14.6	17.7	33.9	—	100.0
Above 50	59	40.7	11.9	16.9	30.5	—	100.0
Unspecified	4	50.0	25.0	—	25.0	—	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	64	31.2	14.1	15.6	39.1	—	100.0
Under-matric	123	39.8	19.5	11.4	29.3	—	100.0
Matric	123	35.8	14.6	21.2	26.0	2.4	100.0
Graduate & above	121	28.0	20.7	30.6	20.7	—	100.0
Unspecified	10	30.0	—	20.0	50.0	—	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	108	37.0	15.7	12.0	33.4	1.9	100.0
101—200	150	33.9	18.0	22.7	24.7	0.7	100.0
201—350	124	30.6	16.1	21.0	32.3	—	100.0
351—700	36	38.9	22.2	25.0	13.9	—	100.0
Over 700	15	33.4	20.0	33.3	13.3	—	100.0
Unspecified	8	25.0	12.5	25.0	37.5	—	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	48	16.7	47.9	31.2	4.2	—	100.0
Bihar	7	71.4	—	14.3	14.3	—	100.0
Delhi	7	—	—	71.4	28.6	—	100.0
Gujarat	20	65.0	10.0	20.0	5.0	—	100.0
Kerala	13	—	—	53.8	46.2	—	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	33	36.4	24.2	18.2	21.2	—	100.0
Madras	43	7.0	7.0	39.5	46.5	—	100.0
Maharashtra	71	25.4	19.7	19.7	32.4	2.8	100.0
Mysore	39	30.8	15.3	30.8	23.1	—	100.0
Orissa	5	20.0	—	—	80.0	—	100.0
Punjab	19	94.7	5.3	—	—	—	100.0
Rajasthan	30	50.0	10.0	10.0	30.0	—	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	53	41.5	26.4	3.8	26.4	1.9	100.0
West Bengal	53	43.4	3.7	5.7	47.2	—	100.0
Total	441	34.0	17.2	20.2	27.9	0.7	100.0

All-India Rural

To whose policy do you ascribe this short-fall in 'enough travel' ?
(Asked only of those who said they had been unable to obtain enough travel)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Govt.	Others	Both	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35	453	26.7	19.9	15 9	37.5	100 0
36 –50	297	24 2	22 6	16 5	36.7	100.0
Above 50	211	23.2	26.1	14.2	36 5	100.0
Unspecified						
EDUCATION						
Illiterate	428	25.5	24.1	10.7	39.7	100 0
Under-matric	306	27.8	22 5	17.2	32.5	100.0
Matric	120	19.2	15.8	25.0	40 0	100 0
Graduate and above	23	13.0	8.7	43.5	34.8	100.0
Unspecified	10	—	10.0	10.0	80.0	100 0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100	557	27 8	21.0	12 9	38.3	100.0
101—200	296	20.9	23.0	21 3	34.8	100.0
201—350	71	23.9	15.5	18 3	42.3	100.0
351—700	23	21.7	47.9	13.0	17.4	100.0
Above 700	3	33.	—	—	66 7	100.0
Unspecified	27	18 5	25.9	14.8	40.8	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh	65	21.5	6.2	18 5	53 8	100.0
Bihar	57	19.3	—	8 8	71 9	100 0
Delhi	1	—	—	—	100.0	100.0
Gujarat	36	63 9	2.8	13 9	19 4	100 0
Kerala	72	1 4	1 4	50 0	47 2	100 0
Madhya Pradesh	125	27 2	44 0	7 2	21 6	100 0
Madras	118	9.3	22.0	35.6	33.1	100.0
Maharashtra	107	8 4	19 6	9 4	62.6	100 0
Mysore	22	4 5	86 4	9.1	—	100 0
Orissa	11	54 5	—	9.1	36 4	100 0
Punjab	58	68 9	19.0	5.2	6 9	100.0
Rajasthan	39	30 8	12 8	2 6	53.8	100 0
Uttar Pradesh	179	30 2	36 9	13.9	19.0	100 0
West Bengal	87	33.4	5.7	4 6	56 3	100.0
Total	977	25.1	21 9	15.9	37.1	100 0

All-India Urban

Do you think the Congress Party was right to introduce prohibition ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	571	60.0	13.6	25.5	100.0
36—60	331	59.8	9.1	31.1	100.0
Above 50	153	56.2	13.7	30.1	100.0
Unspecified	25	36.0	4.0	60.0	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	149	30.2	6.7	63.1	100.0
Under-matric	350	56.0	7.4	36.6	100.0
Matric	289	68.1	11.8	20.1	200.0
Graduate and above	265	71.7	22.3	6.0	100.0
Unspecified	27	48.1	3.7	48.2	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	249	41.0	6.4	52.6	100.0
101—200	348	61.5	10.6	27.9	100.0
201—350	295	68.4	13.6	18.0	100.0
351—700	112	68.8	19.6	11.6	100.0
Over 700	45	68.9	20.0	11.1	100.0
Unspecified	31	48.3	19.4	32.3	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	95	60.0	37.9	2.1	100.0
Bihar	45	22.2	—	77.8	100.0
Delhi	25	24.0	12.0	64.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	90.7	5.3	4.0	100·0
Kerala	35	88.5	2.9	8.6	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	89.1	9.1	1.8	100.0
Madras	125	95.2	3.2	1.6	100.0
Maharashtra	160	44.1	18.1	37.5	100 0
Mysore	80	57.5	31.2	11.3	100.0
Orissa	15	40.0	—	60.0	100.0
Punjab	60	16.6	1.7	81.7	100.0
Rajasthan	50	40.0	12.0	48.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	56.0	8.7	35.3	100.0
West Bengal	110	58.2	2.7	39.1	100.0
Total	1080	59.4	12.0	28.6	100.0

All-India Rural

Do you think that the Congress was right to introduce prohibition ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	1119	56.2	5.1	38.7	100.0
36—50	802	58.9	5.4	35.7	100.0
Above 50	503	58.0	3.8	38.2	100.0
Unspecified	36	38.9	2.8	58.3	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	1113	41.6	2.6	55.8	100.0
Under-matric	1009	69.1	6.3	24.6	100.0
Matric	240	80.8	6.7	12.5	100.0
Graduate and above	65	76.9	13.9	9.2	100 0
Unspecified	33	12.1	6.1	81.3	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	1350	49.5	4.7	45.8	100.0
101—200	731	65.8	4.4	29.8	100.0
201—350	232	67.2	5.6	27.2	100.0
351—700	76	81r6	9.2	9.2	100.0
Above 700	14	71.4	7.2	21.4	100.0
Unspecified	57	54.4	5.3	40.3	100.0
STATE					
Andhra	225	73.8	23.1	3.1	100.0
Bihar	315	28.2	—	71.7	100.0
Delhi	5	20.0	20.0	60.0	100.0
Gujarat	105	98.1	—	1.9	100.0
Kerala	100	77.0	6.0	17.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	83.5	4.5	12.0	100.0
Madras	200	89.0	9.0	2.0	100.0
Maharashtra	200	45.0	8.5	46.5	100 0
Mysore	130	97.7	0.8	1.5	100.0
Orissa	120	29.2	2.5	68.3	100.0
Punjab	110	21.8	1.8	76.4	100.0
Rajasthan	115	7.8	—	92·2	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	460	57.4	1.7	40.9	100.0
West Bengal	175	44.6	1.7	53.7	100.0
Total	2460	57.2	4.9	37.9	100.0

All-India Urban

Do you think the Congress Party was right to impose ceilings on land holdings?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	571	45.1	13.7	41.2	100.0
36—50	331	41.7	12.4	45.9	100.0
Above 50	153	26.6	17.6	45.8	100.0
Unspecified	25	20.0	8.0	72.0	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	149	10.7	5.4	83.9	100.0
Under-matric	350	33.4	12.6	54.0	100.0
Matric	289	49.8	16.6	33.6	100.0
Graduate & above	265	65.2	17.4	17.4	100.0
Unspecified	27	25.9	7.4	66.7	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	249	19.7	10.4	69.9	100.0
101—200	348	46.8	12.1	41.1	100.0
201—350	295	46.4	16.3	37.3	100.0
351—700	112	58.0	19.6	22.4	100.0
Over 700	45	68.9	13.3	17.8	100.0
Unspecified	31	38.7	12.9	48.4	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	95	63.1	23.2	13.7	100.0
Bihar	45	17.8	2.2	80.0	100.0
Delhi	25	24.0	4.0	72.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	56.0	20.0	24.0	100.0
Kerala	35	51.5	11.4	37.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	70.9	7.3	21.8	100.0
Madras	125	64.8	8.8	26.4	100.0
Maharashtra	160	20.6	25.0	54.4	100.0
Mysore	80	46.2	33.8	20.0	100.0
Orissa	15	33.3	—	66.7	100.0
Punjab	60	11.7	3.3	85.0	100.0
Rajasthan	50	46.0	—	54.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	40.0	6.7	53.3	100.0
West Bengal	110	34.5	10.0	55.5	100.0
Total	1080	42.3	13.7	44.0	100.0

All-India Rural

Do you think that the Congress was right to impose ceilings on land holdings ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	1119	43.2	7.5	49.3	100.0
36—50	802	45.6	8.5	45.9	100.0
Above 50	503	40.9	11.5	47.6	100.0
Unspecified	36	22.2	—	77.8	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	1113	28.6	5.1	66.3	100.0
Under-matric	1009	53.4	12.0	34.6	100.0
Matric	240	70.0	8.7	21.3	100.0
Graduate & above	65	53.8	13.9	32.3	100.0
Unspecified	33	9.1	6.1	84.8	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	1350	38.4	6.3	55.3	100.0
101—200	731	50.3	9.7	40.0	100.0
201—350	232	47.0	12.5	40.5	100.0
351—700	76	51.3	26.3	22.4	100.0
Above 700	14	57.1	14.3	28.6	100.0
Unspecified	57	36.8	5.3	57.9	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	225	86.2	7.1	6.7	100.0
Bihar	315	20.6	1.0	78.4	100.0
Delhi	5	40.0	—	60.0	100.0
Gujarat	105	72.4	25.7	1.9	100.0
Kerala	100	64.0	4.0	32.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	63.5	7.5	29.0	100.0
Madras	200	72.0	3.0	25.0	100.0
Maharashtra	200	22.0	15.5	62.0	100.0
Mysore	130	64.0	20.8	14.6	100.0
Orissa	120	19.2	0.8	80.0	100.0
Punjab	110	20.0	3.6	76.4	100.0
Rajasthan	115	5.2	—	94.8	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	460	22.6	10.5	53.9	100.0
West Bengal	175	26.9	16.0	57.5	100.0
Total	2460	43.2	8.5	48.3	100.0

All-India Urban

Do you think the Congress Party was right to seek production through land co-operatives ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	571	40.1	16.6	43.3	100.0
36—50	331	36.9	12.4	50.7	100.0
Above 50	153	31.4	18.3	50.3	100.0
Unspecified	25	16.0	8.0	76.0	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	149	6.7	5.4	87.9	100.0
Under-matric	350	30.3	11.4	58.3	100.0
Matric	289	46.0	16.6	37.4	100.0
Graduate & above	265	55.5	25.3	19.2	100.0
Unspecified	27	25.9	11.1	63.0	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	249	17.3	10.8	71.9	100.0
101—200	348	40.0	14.9	44.8	100.0
201—350	295	41.7	16.9	41.4	100.0
351—700	112	47.3	25.9	26.8	100.0
Over 700	45	64.5	13.3	22.2	100.0
Unspecified	31	48.3	6.5	45.2	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	95	33.7	40.0	26.3	100.0
Bihar	45	11.1	4.4	84.5	100.0
Delhi	25	20.0	4.0	76.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	45.3	28.0	26.7	100.0
Kerala	35	51.4	14.3	34.3	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	65·4	7.3	27.3	100.0
Madras	125	62.4	9.6	28.0	100.0
Maharashtra	160	20.6	25.0	54.4	100.0
Mysore	80	50.0	28.8	21.2	100.0
Orissa	15	13.3	13.4	73.3	100.0
Punjab	60	8.3	3.3	88.4	100.0
Rajasthan	50	42.0	2.0	56.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	38.0	7.3	54.7	100.0
West Bengal	110	33.6	3.6	62.8	100.0
Total	1080	37.3	15.4	47.3	190.0

All-India Rural

Do you think that the Congress was right to seek production through land co-operatives ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	1119	37.2	10.3	52.5	100.0
36—50	802	33.0	14.3	48.7	100.0
Above 50	503	33.0	11.7	55.3	100.0
Unspecified	36	19.4	2.8	77.8	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	1113	21.7	5.5	72.8	100.0
Under-matric	1009	44.5	18.6	36.6	100.0
Matric	240	65.8	12.9	21.3	100.0
Graduate & above	65	53.8	15.4	30.8	100.0
Unspecified	33	6.1	3.0	90.9	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	1350	30.9	8.7	60.4	100.0
101—200	731	42.7	14.2	43.1	100.0
201—350	232	42.3	17.7	40.0	100.0
351—700	76	42.1	31.6	26.3	100.0
Above 700	14	71.4	7.2	21.4	100.0
Unspecified	57	29.8	5.3	64.9	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	225	68.0	23.6	8.4	100.0
Bihar	315	7.3	8.6	84.1	100.0
Delhi	5	40.0	—	60.0	100.0
Gujarat	105	80.0	14.3	5.7	100.0
Kerala	100	66.0	3.0	31.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	59.5	8.5	32.0	100.0
Madras	200	68.0	3.0	29.0	100.0
Maharashtra	200	21.0	15.0	64.0	100.0
Mysore	130	32.3	54.6	13.1	100.0
Orissa	120	1.7	10.8	87.5	100.0
Punjab	110	18.2	3.6	78.2	100.0
Rajasthan	115	6.1	—	93.9	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	460	32.0	9.3	58.7	100.0
West Bengal	175	24.5	4.6	70.9	100.0
Total	2460	36.0	11.8	52.2	100.0

All-India Urban

Do you think the Congress Party was right to increase direct taxation?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	571	38.0	22.2	39.8	100.0
36—50	331	29.6	27.2	43.2	100.0
Above 50	153	22.2	35.9	41.9	100.0
Unspecified	25	24.0	8.0	68.0	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	149	4.7	20.8	74.5	100.0
Under-matric	350	20.9	28.9	50.8	100.0
Matric	289	38.4	28.0	83.6	100.0
Graduate & above	265	59.2	20.8	20.0	100.0
Unspecified	27	33.3	22.2	44.5	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	249	13.7	23.7	62.6	100.0
101—200	348	37.1	19.5	43.4	100.0
201—350	295	39.0	25.4	35.6	100.0
351—700	112	39.3	42.0	18.7	100.0
Over 700	45	60.0	28.9	11.1	100.0
Unspecified	31	19.4	38.7	41.9	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	95	63.2	17.9	18.9	100.0
Bihar	45	6.7	2.2	91.1	100.0
Delhi	25	20.0	8.0	72.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	73.3	12.0	14.7	100.0
Kerala	35	65.7	11.4	22.9	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	56	23·6	67.3	9.1	100.0
Madras	125	53.6	12.8	38.6	100.0
Maharashtra	160	21.9	39.3	38.8	100.0
Mysore	80	43.7	30.0	26.3	100.0
Orissa	15	13.3	20.0	66.7	100.0
Punjab	60	3.3	13.3	83.4	100.0
Rajasthan	50	14.0	12.0	74.0	100·0
Uttar Pradesh	150	25.3	28.7	46.0	100.0
West Bengal	110	9.1	37.3	53.6	100.0
Totol	1080	32.9	25.3	41.8	100.0

All-India Rural

Do you think that the Congress was right to increase direct taxation ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	1119	22.0	21.8	56.2	100.0
36—50	802	24.2	19.9	55.9	100.0
Above 50	503	16.1	23.5	60.4	100.0
Unspecified	36	11.1	13.9	75.5	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	1113	6.3	18.4	75.3	100.0
Under-matric	1009	29.7	26.5	43.8	100.0
Matric	240	46.7	16.2	37 1	100.0
Graduate and above	65	58.5	20.0	21.5	100.0
Unspecified	33	15.1	9.1	75.8	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	1350	16.8	19.9	63.3	100.0
101—200	731	26.0	21.3	52.7	100.0
201—350	232	31.9	23.3	48.8	100.0
351—700	76	31.6	42.1	26.3	100.0
Above 700	14	28.6	42.8	28.6	100.0
Unspecified	57	15.5	19.3	70.3	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	225	53.8	28 9	17.3	100.0
Bihar	315	17.2	0.3	82.5	100.0
Delhi	5	—	20.0	80.0	100.0
Gujarat	105	42.9	26.7	30.4	100.0
Kerala	100	28.0	6.0	66.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	10.0	65.5	24.5	100.0
Madras	200	31.5	6.0	62.5	100.0
Maharashtra	200	27.0	25.0	48.0	100.0
Mysore	130	40.8	16.9	42.3	100.0
Orissa	120	14.1	1.7	84.2	100.0
Punjab	110	8.2	15.4	76.4	100.0
Rajasthan	115	0.9	—	99.1	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	460	11.3	30.4	58.3	100.0
West Bengal	175	4.6	29.7	65.7	100.0
Total	2460	21.3	21.4	57.3	100.0

All-India Urban

Do you think the Congress Party was right to increase indirect taxation ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	571	18.0	41.0	41.0	100.0
36—50	331	16.0	38.1	45.9	100.0
Above 50	153	17.0	37.9	45.1	100.0
Unspecified	25	16.0	16.0	68.3	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	149	2.7	21.5	75.8	100.0
Under-matric	350	12.3	34.3	53.4	100.0
Matric	289	18.3	44.3	37.4	100.0
Graduate & above	265	30.2	50.9	18.9	100.0
Unspecified	27	22.2	25.9	51.9	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	249	8.0	27.3	64.7	100.0
101—200	348	18.1	36.5	45.4	100.0
201—350	295	15.9	47.5	36.6	100.0
351—700	112	26.8	51.8	21.4	100.0
Above 700	45	46.6	37.8	15.6	100.0
Unspecified	31	16.1	38.7	45.2	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	95	36.9	46.3	16.8	100.0
Bihar	45	—	6.7	93.3	100.0
Delhi	25	20.0	4.0	76.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	36.0	48.0	16.0	100.0
Kerala	35	11.4	62.9	25.7	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	34.5	56.4	9.1	100.0
Madras	125	11.2	56.0	32.8	100.0
Maharashtra	160	13.1	40.6	46.3	100.0
Mysore	80	20.0	55.0	25.0	100.0
Orissa	15	—	13.3	86.7	100.0
Punjab	60	3.3	13.3	83.4	100.0
Rajasthan	50	12.0	12.0	76.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	22.7	32.0	35.3	100.0
West Bengal	110	2.7	38.2	59.1	100.0
Total	1080	17.2	39.1	43.7	100.0

All-India Rural

Do you think the Congress was right to increase indirect taxation ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	1119	12.4	30.0	57.6	100 0
36—50	802	13.2	29.9	58.9	100.0
Above 50	503	7.8	31.2	61.0	100.0
Unspecified	36	—	22.2	77.8	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	1113	2.6	22.3	75 2	100.0
Under-matric	1009	17.8	37.4	44 8	100.0
Matric	240	21.6	36.7	41.7	100.0
Graduate & above	65	35.4	36.9	27 7	100.0
Unspecified	33	3.0	12.2	84.8	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	1350	7.6	38.5	63.9	100.0
101—200	731	14.2	31.2	54.6	100.0
201—350	232	19.8	33.2	47.0	100.0
351—700	76	30.3	43.4	26 3	100.0
Above 700	14	28.6	35.7	35.7	100.0
Unspecified	57	7.0	22.8	70.2	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	225	33.3	51.1	15.6	100.0
Bihar	315	2.6	14.9	82.5	100.0
Delhi	5	—	20.0	80.0	100.0
Gujarat	105	41.9	29.5	28 6	100.0
Kerala	100	3.0	29.0	68.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	7.0	68,5	24.5	100.0
Madras	200	12.5	19.5	68.0	100.0
Maharashtra	200	14.0	30.0	56.0	100.0
Mysore	130	32.3	31.5	36.2	100.0
Orissa	120	2.5	11.6	85.8	100.0
Punjab	110	6.3	17.3	76.4	100.0
Rajasthan	115	0.9	—	99.1	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	460	7.4	33 3	59.3	100.0
West Bengal	175	—	31.4	68.6	100.0
Total	2460	11.5	30.1	58.4	100.0

All-India Urban

Do you think the Congress Party was right to take basic industries in the public sector ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	571	45.9	10.6	43.4	100.0
36—50	331	42.9	9.7	47.4	100.0
Above 50	153	38.6	7.2	54.2	100.0
Unspecified	25	16.0	8.0	76.0	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	149	5.4	1.3	93.3	100.0
Under-matric	350	33.1	6.9	60.0	100.0
Matric	289	51.9	10.4	37.7	100.0
Graduate & above	265	71.7	16.2	12.1	100.0
Unspecified	27	11.1	25.9	63.0	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	249	15.3	6.8	77.9	100.0
101—200	348	46.0	8.0	46.0	100.0
201—350	295	51.9	10.8	37.3	100.0
251—700	112	64.3	18.7	17.0	100.0
Above 700	45	73.4	4.4	22.2	100.0
Unspecified	31	35.5	19.3	45.2	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	95	74.7	11.6	13.7	100.0
Bihar	45	4.4	—	95.6	100.0
Delhi	25	20.0	4.0	76.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	58.6	14.7	26.7	100.0
Kerala	35	82.9	5.7	11.4	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	78.2	3.6	18.2	100.0
Madras	125	80.8	4.8	14.4	100.0
Maharashtra	160	23.8	21.9	54.3	100.0
Mysore	80	50.0	26.2	23.8	100.0
Orissa	15	—	—	100.0	100.0
Punjab	60	—	3.3	96.7	100.0
Rajasthan	50	22.0	—	78.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	33.3	5.3	61.4	100.0
West Bengal	110	30.0	6.4	63.4	100.0
Total	1080	43.3	9.8	46.9	100.0

All-India Rural

Do you think that the Congress was right to take basic industries in the Public Sector ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	1119	29.8	3.4	66.8	100.0
36—50	802	28.1	3.6	68.3	100.0
Above 50	503	19.5	3.0	77.5	100.0
Unspecified	36	5.6	8.3	86.1	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	1113	6.7	1.1	92.2	100.0
Under-matric	1009	35.8	5.7	58.5	100.0
Matric	240	70.8	3.8	25.4	100.0
Graduate & above	65	78.5	6.2	15.3	100.0
Unspecified	33	3.0	9.1	87.9	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	1350	17.9	2.7	79.4	100.0
101—200	731	35.8	3.2	61.0	100.0
201—350	232	45.3	4.3	50.4	100.0
351—700	76	44.7	11.9	43.4	100.0
Above 700	14	57.1	7.2	35.7	100.0
Unspecified	57	14.0	10.5	75.5	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	225	64.0	6.7	19.3	100.0
Bihar	315	2.2	—	97.8	100.0
Delhi	5	—	—	100.0	100.0
Gujarat	105	77.1	1.9	21.0	100.0
Kerala	100	58.0	—	42.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	25.5	4.5	70.0	100.0
Madras	200	60.0	3.0	37.0	100.0
Maharashtra	200	20.5	11.0	68.5	100.0
Mysore	130	41.6	1.5	56.9	100.0
Orissa	120	2.5	0.8	96.7	100.0
Punjab	110	3.6	0.9	95.5	100.0
Rajasthan	115	0.9	—	99.1	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	460	15.2	5.4	79.4	100.0
West Bengal	175	13.7	1.7	84.6	100.0
Total	2460	26.7	3.5	69.8	100.0

All-India Urban

Do you think that the Congress was right to restrict the field of operation of the Private Sector ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	571	30.6	18.0	51.4	100.0
36—50	331	32.6	13.6	53.8	100.0
Above 50	153	25.5	15.0	59.5	100.0
Unspecified	25	16.0	12.0	72.0	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	194	3.4	—	96.6	100.0
Under-matric	350	26.3	10.3	63.4	100.0
Matric	289	35.6	15.9	48.5	100.0
Graduate & above	265	46.4	32.1	21.5	100.0
Unspecified	27	11.1	25.9	63.0	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	249	14.1	4.4	81.5	100.0
101—200	348	35.1	13.5	51.4	100.0
201—350	295	32.7	19.7	47.5	100.0
351—700	112	40.2	32.1	27.7	100.0
Above 700	45	48.9	26.7	24.4	100.0
Unspecified	31	16.1	32.3	51.6	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	95	48.4	33.7	17.9	100.0
Bihar	45	4.4	—	95.6	100.0
Delhi	25	—	4.0	96.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	54.7	16.0	29.3	100.0
Kerala	35	42.9	2.8	54.3	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	58.2	14.5	27.3	100.0
Madras	125	50.4	17.6	32.0	100.0
Maharashtra	160	20.0	23.6	56.2	100.0
Mysore	80	17.5	23.8	28.7	100.0
Orissa	15	—	—	100.0	100.0
Punjab	60	1.7	1.7	96.6	100.0
Rajasthan	50	20.0	2.0	78.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	28.3	5.4	65.3	100.0
West Bengal	110	23.6	6.4	74.0	100.0
Total	1080	30.2	16.1	53.7	100.0

All-India Rural

Do you think that the Congress was right to restrict the field for the Private Sector ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	1119	25.2	3.8	71.0	100.0
36—50	802	23.4	4.3	72.3	100.0
Above 50	503	14.7	4.4	80.9	100.0
Uuspecified	36	8.3	8.3	83.4	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	1113	6.3	0.7	93.0	100.0
Under-matric	1009	30.0	6.6	63.4	100 0
Matric	240	56.3	7.0	36.7	100.0
Graduate and above	65	58.4	10.8	30.8	100.0
Unspecified	33	3.0	6.1	90.9	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	1350	16.2	2.8	81.0	100.0
101—200	731	28.9	3.9	67.2	100.0
201—350	232	31.9	6.9	61.2	100.0
351—700	76	36.2	14.5	48.7	100.0
Above 700	14	57.1	7.2	35.7	100.0
Unspecified	57	14.0	10.5	75.0	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	225	56.9	8.9	34.2	100.0
Bihar	315	1.6	—	98.4	100.0
Delhi	5	—	—	100.0	100.0
Gujarat	105	75.2	3.8	21.0	100.0
Kerala	100	35.0	3.0	62.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	25.0	4.0	71.0	100.0
Madras	200	49.5	3.0	47.5	100.0
Maharashtra	200	17.0	11.0	72.0	100.0
Mysore	130	23.1	3.1	73.8	100.0
Orissa	120	1.7	0.8	97.5	100.0
Punjab	110	1.8	1.8	96.4	100.0
Rajasthan	115	0.9	—	99.1	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	460	14.6	5.6	79.8	100.0
West Bengal	175	8.6	2.9	88.5	100.0
Total	2460	22.2	4.1	73.7	100.0

All-India Rural

Would the Congress party be justified in curtailing the present field of operation of the Private Sector ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	1119	20.3	4.4	75.3	100.0
36—50	802	16.7	4.5	78.8	100.0
Above 50	503	11.7	3.8	84.5	100.0
Unspecified	36	5.6	11.1	83.3	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	1113	5.4	0.7	93.9	100.0
Under-matric	1009	23 8	6.4	69.8	100.0
Matric	240	39.6	9.2	51.2	100.0
Graduate and above	65	40.0	15.4	44.6	100.0
Unspecified	33	3.0	9.1	87.9	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	1350	13.3	2.6	84.1	100.0
101—200	731	21.2	4.6	74.2	100.0
201—350	232	22.0	8.6	69.4	100.0
351—700	76	31.6	15.8	52.6	100.0
Above 700	14	42.9	21.4	35.7	100.0
Unspecified	57	12.3	7.0	80.7	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	225	54.3	8.4	37.3	100.0
Bihar	315	0.6	—	99.4	100.0
Delhi	5	—	—	100.0	100.0
Gujarat	105	47.6	2.9	49.5	100.0
Kerala	100	28.0	3.0	69.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	24 5	4.0	71.5	100.0
Madras	200	23.0	4.5	72.5	100.0
Maharashtra	200	17.0	13.5	69.5	100.0
Mysore	130	12.3	5.4	82.3	100.0
Orissa	120	1.7	0.8	97.5	100 0
Punjab	110	2.7	1.8	95.5	100.0
Rajasthan	115	0 9	—	99.1	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	460	12.4	5 2	82 4	100.0
West Bengal	175	6.9	2.3	90.3	100.0
Total	2460	17·2	4 3	78.5	100.0

All-India Urban

Which party can best provide cheaper food ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Cong-ress	P.S.P.	Com-munist	Jan Sangh	Hindu Maha-Sabha	Swatan-tra party	Unde-cided	No opinion
AGE GROUP									
21—35	571	32.4	1.1	10.3	1.4	1.2	1.8	11 9	39.9
36—50	331	39.3	1.2	3.6	0.6	0.9	1.5	13.9	39.0
Above 50	153	37.9	—	0.6	0.7	1.3	3.3	13.7	42.5
Unspecified	25	44.0	—	4.0	—	—	—	—	52.0
EDUCATION									
Illiterate	149	10.7	—	3.4	—	0.7	—	20·1	65.1
Under-matric	350	44.9	0.6	5.7	1.1	0.9	1.7	11.4	33.7
Matric	289	41.6	0.3	8.0	0.7	0.7	2.4	10.0	36.3
Graduate and above	265	29.4	2.6	9.4	1 9	2.3	2.6	12·5	39.3
Unspecified	27	48.2	—	—	—	—	—	11.1	40.7
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)									
1—100	249	30.1	1.2	4.8	0.4	2.0	0.8	14.9	45.8
101—200	348	38.2	0.6	8.9	1.1	0.6	0.6	10.3	39.7
201 – 350	295	33.6	0.7	6.4	1.0	1.0	3.7	11.6	42.0
351—700	112	41.1	1.8	4.5	0.9	1.7	1.8	14.3	33.9
Above 700	45	53.3	—	4.4	4.5	—	2.2	15.6	20.0
Unspecified	31	22.6	3.2	12.9	—	—	6.5	16.1	38 7
STATE									
Andhra Pradesh	95	31.6	—	12.5	—	3.2	1.1	22.1	29.5
Bihar	45	42.2	2.2	—	—	—	—	22.3	33.3
Delhi	25	20.0	4.0	8.0	4.0	—	—	12.0	52.0
Gujarat	75	51.9	2.7	10.7	6.7	4.0	1.3	8.0	14.7
Kerala	35	22.8	2.8	8.6	—	—	2.9	—	62.9
Madhya Pradesh	55	40.0	—	21.8	—	—	1.8	—	36.4
Madras	125	16.8	0.8	6.4	—	0.8	0.8	4.8	69.6
Maharashtra	160	53.8	1.8	5.6	1.3	1.3	0.6	8.1	27.5
Mysore	80	18.8	—	11.2	—	1.2	13.8	25.0	30.0
Orissa	15	40.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	60.0
Punjab	60	25.0	—	—	—	—	—	8.3	66.7
Rajasthan	50	56.0	—	—	4.0	2.0	—	—	38.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	42.7	—	2.7	0.7	—	2.0	5.3	46.6
West Bengal	110	23.6	0.9	5.5	—	0.9	—	39.1	30.0
Total	1,080	35.5	0.9	6.8	1.0	1.1	1.9	12.5	40.3

Note : Horizontal total adds upto 100 % in each case

All-India Rural

Which party can best provide cheaper food ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Congress	P. S. P.	Communist	Jan Sangh	Socialist	Hindu Mahasabha	Swatantra	Undecided	No opinion
AGE GROUP										
21—35	1119	36.0	2.6	6.0	0.2	1.2	0.1	0.7	11.7	41.5
36—60	802	39.2	2.4	5.4	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.7	12.1	39.5
Above 50	503	36.0	0.4	2.2	—	—	—	—	15.9	45.5
Unspecified	36	33.3	—	5.6	—	—	—	—	8.3	52.8
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	1113	24.0	1.0	2.1	—	0.3	—	—	17.4	55.2
Under-matric	1009	48.5	2.7	6.5	0.2	0.8	0.2	1.0	9.7	30.4
Matric	240	45.4	3.8	11.6	—	2.1	—	1.2	4.6	31.3
Graduate & above	65	36.9	3.1	9.2	3.1	1.5	—	1.5	6.2	38.5
Unspecified	33	57.6	3.0	—	—	—	—	—	9.1	30.3
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	1350	33.3	1.8	5.0	—	0.5	0.1	0.6	17.1	41.6
101—200	731	38.7	2.6	6.0	0.1	0.8	0.1	0.5	9.2	42.0
201—350	232	50.0	2.2	3.9	—	1.2	—	0.4	2.6	39.7
351—700	76	44.8	1.3	1.3	2 6	—	—	—	7.9	42.1
Above 700	14	78.7	—	—	7.1	7.1	—	—	—	7.1
Unspecified	57	28.1	—	5.2	—	—	—	—	1.8	64.9
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	225	60.4	—	11.5	—	1.8	—	1.8	10.7	13.8
Bihar	315	43.5	4.4	3.8	—	—	—	—	19.7	28.6
Delhi	5	40.0	—	—	40.0	—	—	—	—	20.0
Gujarat	105	68.6	—	—	—	—	—	3.8	0.9	26.7
Kerala	100	18.0	6.0	30.0	—	1.0	—	—	1.0	44.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	14.5	1.5	1.5	0.5	—	—	—	3.5	78.5
Madras	200	22.5	2.0	16.0	—	—	—	1.0	8.0	50.5
Maharashtra	200	63.5	9.0	1.0	—	0.5	—	1.0	3 5	21.5
Mysore	130	34.6	—	0.8	—	1.5	—	1.5	0.8	60.8
Orissa	120	27.5	1.7	1.7	—	—	—	—	58.3	10.8
Punjab	110	29.1	—	1.8	—	0.9	—	—	19.1	49.1
Rajasthan	115	30.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	5.2	64.3
Uttar Pradesh	460	35.7	0.6	1.1	0.2	1.7	0.2	—	4.6	55.9
West Bengal	175	19.5	—	5.1	—	—	0.6	—	41.7	33.1
Total	2460	36.9	2.0	5.0	0.2	0.7	0.1	0.6	12.6	41.9

Note : Horizontal total adds upto 100% in each case.

All-India Urban

Which party can best provide more jobs ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Con-gress	P. S. P.	Com-munist	Jan Sangh	Socia-list	Hindu Maha-sabha	Swatan-tra	Unspe-cified	No opinion
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	31.1	1.6	10.3	1.4	1.3	0.2	1.9	12.1	40.1
36—50	331	38.7	1.2	4.2	0.6	0.6	0.3	1.2	14.8	38.4
Above 50	153	37.9	—	1.3	0.7	1.3	0.7	1.3	13.1	43.7
Unspecified	25	44.0	—	4.0	—	—	—	—	—	52.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	11.4	—	3.4	—	0.7	—	--	20 8	63.7
Under-matric	350	43.7	0.6	6.0	1.1	0.9	0.3	0.8	12.6	34.0
Matric	289	40.5	0.7	8.3	0.7	0.7	0.7	2.4	10.4	35.6
Graduate & above	265	28.3	3.4	9.8	1.9	1.9	—	2.6	11.3	40.8
Unspecified	27	48.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	11.1	40.7
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	29.3	1.2	6.0	0.4	2.0	—	0.8	14.9	45.4
101—200	348	36.8	0.9	8.3	1.1	0.9	—	1.4	10.9	39.7
201—350	295	33.2	1.0	6.8	1.0	1.0	0.7	2.4	10.8	43.1
351—700	112	40.2	2.7	6.2	0.9	—	0.9	0.9	15.2	33.0
Above 700	45	53.3	—	4.4	4 5	—	—	2.2	15.6	20.0
Unspecified	31	22.6	3.	9.7	—	—	—	3.2	22.6	38.7
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	29.5	4.2	10.5	—	1.1	—	3.2	21.0	30.5
Bihar	45	37.8	2.2	—	—	—	—	—	22.2	37.8
Delhi	25	20.0	4.0	8.0	4.0	—	—	—	12.0	52.0
Gujarat	75	46.7	2.7	18.7	6.7	1.3	1.3	2.6	8.0	12.0
Kerala	35	22.9	.9	8.6	—	2.8	—	—	--	62.8
Madhya Pradesh	55	40.0	—	21.8	—	—	1 8	—	—	36.4
Madras	125	16.8	0.8	6.4	—	0.8	—	2.4	4.0	68.8
Maharashtra	160	53.1	1.9	5.0	1.3	1.2	—	0.6	9.4	27.5
Mysore	80	20.0	—	10.0	—	1.3	—	10 0	27.5	31.2
Orissa	15	26.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	13.3	60.0
Punjab	60	25.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	8.3	66.7
Rajasthan	50	56.0	—	—	4.0	2.0	—	—	—	38.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	42.0	—	3.3	0.7	2.0	—	—	5.3	46.7
West Bengal	110	25.5	—	5.5	—	—	0.9	—	38.1	30.0
Total	1080	34.7	1.2	7.0	1.0	1.0	0.3	1.6	12.8	40.4

Note : Horizontal total adds upto 100% in each case.

All-India Rural

Which party can best provide more jobs ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Con-gress	P.S.P.	Com-munist	Jan Sangh	Socia-list	Hindu Maha-sabha	Swa-tantra	Unde-cided	No opinion
AGE GROUP										
21—35	1119	36.1	2.5	5 8	0.2	1.0	0.1	0.8	11.6	41.9
36—50	802	39.3	2.4	5.4	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.6	12.0	39.0
Above 50	503	36.2	0.2	2.2	—	—	—	—	15.9	45.5
Unspecified	36	33.3	—	5.6	—	—	—	—	8.3	52.8
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	1113	23.9	1.0	2.2	—	0.3	—	—	17.4	55.2
Under-matric	1009	48.6	2.6	6.3	0.2	0.8	0.2	1.0	9.6	30.7
Matric	240	46.7	3.8	11.2	—	2.1	—	0.8	4.6	30.8
Graduate & above	65	36.9	3.1	7.5	3.1	—	—	3.2	6.2	40.0
Unspecified	33	57.6	3.0	—	—	—	—	—	9.1	30.3
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	1350	33.1	1.7	5.0	—	0.5	0.1	0.6	17.1	41.9
101—200	731	39.3	2.6	5.8	0.1	0.8	0.1	0.5	8.9	41.9
201—350	232	50.4	2.2	3.5	—	0.8	—	0.4	2.6	40.1
351—700	76	46.1	1.3	1.3	2.6	—	—	—	7.9	40.8
Above 700	14	73.7	—	—	7.1	7.1	—	—	—	7.1
Unspecified	57	28.1	—	5.2	—	—	—	—	1.8	64.9
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	225	60.0	—	11.1	—	1.8	—	1.8	10.7	14.6
Bihar	315	43.8	4.1	3.5	—	—	—	—	19.7	28.9
Delhi	5	40.0	—	—	40.0	—	—	—	—	20.0
Gujarat	105	68.6	—	—	—	—	—	3.8	0.9	26.7
Kerala	100	18.0	6.0	29.0	—	—	—	1.0	1.0	45.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	14.0	1.5	2.0	0.5	—	—	—	3.7	78.5
Madras	200	24.5	2.0	15.5	—	—	—	0.5	8.0	49.5
Maharashtra	200	63.5	9.0	1.0	—	0.5	—	1.0	3.5	21.5
Mysore	130	34.6	—	0.8	—	1.5	—	1.5	—	61.6
Orissa	120	27.5	0.8	1.7	—	—	—	—	58.3	11.7
Punjab	110	29.1	—	1.8	—	0.9	—	—	19.1	49.1
Rajasthan	115	30.5	--	—	—	—	—	—	5.2	64.3
Uttar Pradesh	460	35.7	0.6	1.1	0.2	1.7	0.2	—	4.6	55.9
West Bengal	175	19.5	—	5.1	—	—	0.6	—	41.7	33.1
Total	2460	37.1	1.9	4.9	0 2	0.6	0.1	0.5	12.6	42.1

Note : Horizontal total adds upto 100% in each case.

All-India Urban

Which party can best provide better income?

Percentagess

	No. of Respon-dents	Con-gress	P.S.P.	Com-munist	Jan Sangh	Socia-list	Hindu Maha-sabha	Swatan-tra	Unde-cided	No opinion
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	30.4	1.4	9.1	1.4	1.2	0.2	3.2	12.1	41.1
36—50	331	38.4	1.2	3.3	0.6	0.6	0.3	2.1	14.2	39.3
Above 50	153	38.0	0.7	0.6	0.6	1.3	0.7	1.3	13.1	43.7
Unspecified	25	40.0	—	4.0	—	—	—	—	4.0	52.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	10.7	—	3.4	—	0.7	—	—	20.8	64.4
Under-matric	350	42.2	0.9	5.7	1.1	0.9	0.3	1.4	12.6	34.9
Matric	289	40.1	0.3	5.5	0.7	1.4	0.7	3.8	10.4	37.1
Graduate and above	265	28.7	3.4	9.1	1.9	1.1	—	4.2	10.9	40.7
Unspecified	27	48.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	11.1	40.7
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	28.1	1.2	4.8	0.4	2.4	—	1.6	14.9	46.6
101—200	348	36.5	1.2	8.0	1.2	0.6	—	1.7	10.9	39.9
201—350	295	32.5	1.4	4.8	1.0	1.0	0.7	4.4	10.8	43.4
351—700	112	42.8	0.9	5.4	0.9	—	0.9	1.8	14.3	33.0
Above 700	45	51.2	—	4.4	4.4	—	—	2.2	15.6	22.2
Unspecified	31	16.1	3.2	9.7	—	—	—	3.2	22.6	22.2
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	31.6	4.2	7.4	—	—	—	6.3	21.0	29.5
Bihar	45	37.8	2.2	—	—	—	—	—	22.2	37.8
Delhi	25	20.0	—	8.0	4.0	—	—	—	12.0	52.0
Gujarat	75	38.7	2.7	9.3	6.7	2.7	1.3	8.0	13.3	17.3
Kerala	35	22.8	2.9	8.6	—	2.9	—	—	—	62.8
Madhya Pradesh	55	40.0	—	21.8	—	—	1.8	—	—	36.4
Madras	125	16.8	0.8	6.4	—	0.8	—	2.4	4.0	68.8
Maharashtra	160	54.4	1.3	5.6	1.2	1.2	—	0.6	8.8	26.9
Mysore	80	16.3	1.3	7.5	—	1.2	—	12.5	25.0	36.2
Orissa	15	40.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	60.0
Punjab	60	25.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	8.3	66.7
Rajasthan	50	56.0	—	—	4.0	2.0	—	—	—	38.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	42.0	—	2.7	0.6	2.0	—	0.7	5.3	46.7
West Bengal	110	22.6	—	6.5	—	—	0.9	—	38.2	31.8
Total	1080	34.3	1.3	6.0	1.0	1.0	0.3	2.3	12.7	41.1

Note : Horizontal total adds upto 100% in each case.

All-India Rural

Which party can best provide better income ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Congress	P.S.P.	Communist	Jan Sangh	Socialist	Hindu Mahasabha	Swatantra	Undecided	No opinion
AGE GROUP										
21—35	1119	35.9	2.8	5.9	0.2	1.0	0.1	0.7	11.6	41.8
36—50	802	39.2	2.3	5.6	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.6	12.1	39.5
Above 50	503	35.8	0.4	2.2	—	—	—	—	15.9	45.7
Unspecified	36	33.3	—	5.6	—	—	—	—	8.3	52.8
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	1113	23.7	1.1	2.3	—	0.3	—	—	17.4	55.2
Under-matric	1009	48.6	2.7	6.3	0.2	0.8	0.2	1.0	9.6	30.6
Matric	240	45.4	3.3	12.1	—	2.1	—	0.8	5.0	31.3
Graduate and above	65	38.5	4.6	7.5	3.2	—	—	1.5	6.2	38.5
Unspecified	33	57.6	3.0	—	—	—	—	—	9.1	33.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	1350	32.8	1.8	5.1	—	0.5	0.1	0.6	17.1	42.0
101—200	731	40.0	2.6	6.0	0.1	0.8	0.1	0.5	8.9	42.0
201—350	232	50.4	2.6	3.5	—	0.8	—	—	3.0	39.7
351—700	76	46.1	1.3	1.3	2.6	—	—	—	7.9	40.8
Above 700	14	78.7	—	—	7.1	7.1	—	—	—	7.1
Unspecified	57	23.1	—	5.2	—	—	—	—	1.8	64.9
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	225	59.6	—	11.5	—	1.8	—	1.8	10.7	14.6
Bihar	315	43·2	4.4	3.8	—	—	—	—	19.7	28.9
Delhi	5	40.0	—	—	40.0	—	—	—	—	20.0
Gujarat	105	68.6	—	—	—	—	—	3.8	0.9	26.7
Kerala	100	19.0	7.0	29.0	—	—	—	—	1.0	44.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	14.0	1.5	2.0	0.5	—	—	—	3.5	78.5
Madras	200	24.0	1.5	16.0	—	—	—	0.5	8.5	49.5
Maharashtra	200	63.5	9.0	1.0	—	0.5	—	1.0	3.5	21.5
Mysore	130	34.6	—	0.8	—	1.5	—	1.5	—	61.6
Orissa	120	27.5	1.7	1.7	—	—	—	—	58.3	10.8
Punjab	110	29.1	—	1.8	—	0.9	—	—	19.1	49.1
Rajasthan	115	30.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	5.2	64.3
Uttar Pradesh	460	35.7	0.9	1.1	0.2	1.7	0.2	—	4.6	55.6
West Bengal	175	19.5	—	5.1	—	—	0.6	—	41.7	33.1
Total	2460	36.9	2.1	5.0	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.5	12.6	42.0

Note : Horizontal total adds upto 100% in each case.

All-India Urban

Which party can best provide more "benefits" ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Con-gress	P. S. P.	Com-munist	Jan Sangh	Socia-list	Hindu Maha-sabha	Swa-tantra	Undeci-ded	No opinion
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	32.0	1.2	8.4	1.6	1.4	0.2	2.8	11.7	40.7
36—50	331	39.3	0.9	3.3	0.6	0.6	0.3	1.5	13.9	39.6
Above 50	153	37.9	—	0.7	0.7	1.3	0.7	0.6	13.7	44.4
Unspecified	25	36.0	—	4.0	—	—	—	—	8.0	52.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	10.0	—	3.4	—	0.7	—	—	20.8	65.1
Under-matric	350	43.1	0.6	5.4	1.4	1.1	0.3	0.9	12.6	34.6
Matric	289	42.9	0.3	5.6	0.7	1.0	0.7	2.1	10.0	36.7
Graduate & above	265	29.4	2.6	7.9	1.9	1.5	—	4.9	10.6	41.2
Unspecified	27	44.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	14.8	40.8
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	28.1	1.2	4.8	0.4	2.4	—	0.8	15.3	47.0
101—200	348	36.8	0.9	8.0	1.1	0.9	—	0.9	11.2	40.2
201—350	295	35.3	1.0	4.1	1.0	0.7	0.7	3.7	10.5	43.0
351 – 700	112	44.6	0.9	3.6	0.9	—	0.9	3.6	13.4	32.1
Over 700	45	51.2	—	4.4	4.4	—	—	2.2	15.6	22.2
Unspecified	31	16.1	–	9.7	3.2	3.2	—	3.2	19.4	45.2
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	34.7	1.1	6.3	—	1.1	—	5.3	20.0	31.5
Bihar	45	37.8	2.2	—	—	—	—	—	22.2	37.8
Delhi	25	20.0	4.0	8.0	4.0	—	—	—	12.0	52.0
Gujarat	75	46.7	2.6	9.3	6.7	2.7	1.3	1.3	14.7	14.7
Kerala	35	22.9	2.9	8.6	—	2.8	—	—	—	62.8
Madhya Pradesh	55	41.8	—	20.0	—	—	1.8	—	—	36.4
Madras	125	17.6	0.8	7.2	—	0.8	—	2.4	3.2	68.0
Maharashtra	160	53.1	1.9	5.6	1.2	1.3	—	0.6	8.8	27.5
Mysore	80	21.3	—	3.7	1.3	1.3	—	13.7	23.7	35.0
Orissa	15	26.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	73.3
Punjab	60	25.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	8.3	66.7
Rajasthan	50	56.0	—	—	4.0	2.0	—	—	—	38.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	42.0	—	2.7	0.6	2.0	—	0.7	5.3	46.7
West Bengal	110	22.7	—	6.4	—	—	0.9	—	39.1	30.9
Total	1080	35.2	0.9	5.7	1.1	1.1	0.3	2.0	12.6	41.1

Note : Horizontal total adds upto 100% in each case.

All-India Rural

Which party can best provide more benefits ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Congress	P.S.P.	Communist	Jan Sangh	Socialist	Hindn Mahasabha	Swatantra	Undecided	No opinion
AGE GROUP										
21—35	1119	35.8	2.7	5.9	0.2	1.0	0.1	0.9	11.6	41.8
36—50	802	39.3	2.4	5.5	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.6	12.0	39.5
Above 50	503	35.8	0.4	2.4	—	—	—	—	15.9	45.5
Unspecified	36	33.3	—	5.6	—	—	—	—	8.3	52.8
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	1113	23.8	1.0	2.3	—	0.3	—	—	17.4	55.2
Under-matric	1009	48.4	2.7	6.4	0.2	0.8	0.2	1.1	9.6	30.6
Matric	240	45.8	3.8	11.6	—	2.1	—	0.8	4.6	31.3
Graduate & above	65	36.9	4.6	7.5	3.1	—	—	3.2	6.2	38.5
Unspecified	33	57.6	3.0	—	—	—	—	—	9.1	30.3
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	1350	32.8	1.8	5.1	—	0.5	0.1	0.6	17.1	42.0
101—200	731	39.2	2.6	6.0	0.1	0.8	0.1	0.5	8.9	41.8
201—350	232	50.0	2.6	3.5	—	0.8	—	0.4	2.5	40.1
351—700	76	44.8	1.3	1.3	2.6	—	—	1.3	7.9	40.8
Above 700	14	78.7	—	—	7.1	7.1	—	—	—	7.1
Unspecified	57	28.1	—	5.2	—	—	—	—	1.3	64.9
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	225	59.6	—	11.5	—	1.8	—	1.8	10.7	14.6
Bihar	315	42.9	4.4	4.1	—	—	—	—	19.7	28.9
Delhi	5	40.0	—	—	40.0	—	—	—	—	20.0
Gujarat	105	69.5	—	—	—	—	—	3.8	0.9	25.7
Kerala	100	18.0	7.0	29.0	—	—	—	1.0	1.0	44.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	13.5	1.5	2.0	0.5	—	—	0.5	3.5	78.5
Madras	200	24.0	2.0	15.5	—	—	—	0.5	8.0	50.0
Maharashtra	200	63.5	9.0	1.0	—	0.5	—	1.0	3.5	21.5
Mysore	130	34.6	—	0.8	—	1.5	—	1.5	—	61.6
Orissa	120	26.6	1.7	1.7	—	—	—	—	58.3	11.7
Punjab	110	30.0	—	1.8	—	0.9	—	—	19.1	48.2
Rajasthan	115	30.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	5.2	64.3
Uttar Pradesh	460	35.5	0.6	1.1	0.2	1.7	0.2	—	4.6	56.1
West Bengal	175	19.5	—	5.1	—	—	0.6	—	41.7	33.1
Total	2460	36.8	2.1	5.0	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.6	12.6	42.0

Note : Horizontal total adds upto 100% in each case.

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An Analysis of Indian Opinion on International Issues

Association of Indian Political Opinion with International Problems

THE THIRD ALL-INDIA POLITICAL POLL : PART II

The Indian Institute of Public Opinion conducted in the months of September-October, 1961 its third all-India political poll. The detailed results of the structure of Indian domestic political opinion have been published in volume VII Nos. 2, 3 and 4 in January, 1962. Tne current issue presents an analysis of Indian political opinion on international problems.

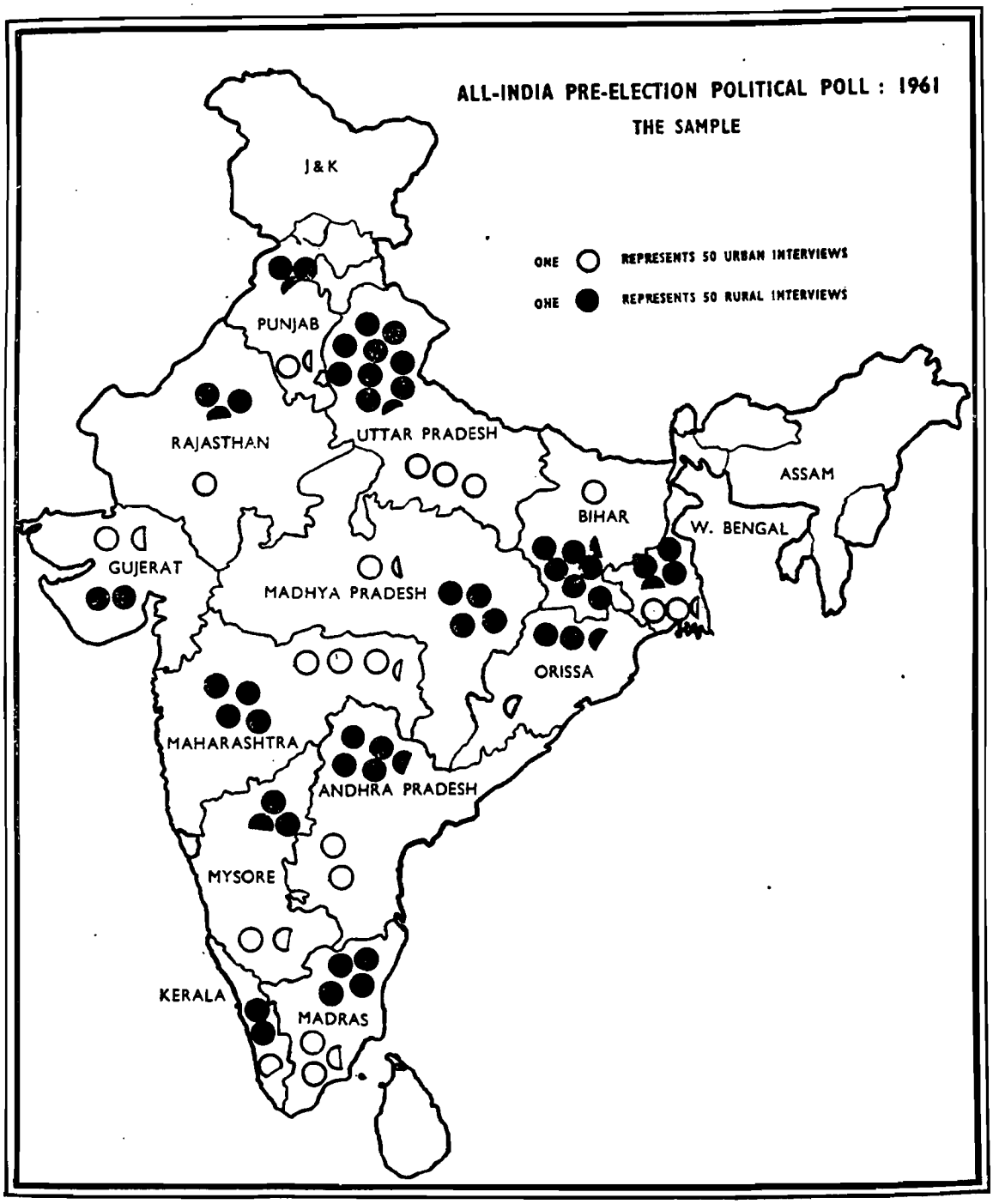
An outstanding fact—not reflected in the Daily Press whose front pages are so heavily weighted in favour of international events—was the current international situation has but an insignificant influence on the Indian 'political' preferences. Attitudes to international problems and domestic political affiliations seem to be mostly uncorrelated. This might appear as somewhat paradoxical that the predominant role which India plays in international affairs is to a large extent confined to its Government and to its intellectual 'elite' and has not penetrated to the common man. Therefore the extent of acceptance of the details of Indian foreign policies by the electorate continues to remain a moot question.

The Sample

As on previous occasions, the "effective" sample consisted of 3,000 interviews spread all over the country. As before, Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Manipur, Tripura and Himachal Pradesh were excluded. A strict division of this sample on the basis of the urban and the rural population would have meant numerically a smaller sample in the urban areas. While this would be statistically in order, it would not have been sufficient to permit reasonable Statewise urban breakdowns by age, education or income. While it is true the urban voting figure is only one-fourth of the rural areas, it is a well-supported fact that the opinion-forming centres are actually the urban areas. Thus the attitudes and the political preferences of urban areas require a separate Statewise presentation. To enable this to be done, the urban sample of only 540 was doubled and in all 1080 urban interviews were conducted. The rural sample content is as before about 2,500 (or more exactly 2,460 after scrutiny) and the sample for all-India breakdown remains 3,000 interviews. The Statewise distrbution of the sample is shown in the map on page 2. Detailed breakdowns of the sample on the basis of the background data are to be found on pages 3 and 4. **The urban breakdowns are thus based on an enlarged sample while for all-India breakdowns suitable weighting was made.** While Statewise breakdowns are given for urban and rural areas separately, the all-India tables are not presented in this fashion.

The Pattern of Presentation

This report is divided into two major sections. The first section deals with the most important problem in the international affairs viz., the Cold War between the West and the East. The second section deals with the assessment of leading international personalities and countries in the minds of the Indian public.


ALL-INDIA PRE-ELECTION POLITICAL POLL : 1961
THE SAMPLE
ONE ○ REPRESENTS 50 URBAN INTERVIEWS
ONE ● REPRESENTS 50 RURAL INTERVIEWS
J&K
PUNJAB
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
BIHAR
ASSAM
W. BENGAL
GUJERAT
MADHYA PRADESH
ORISSA
MAHARASHTRA
ANDHRA PRADESH
MYSORE
KERALA
MADRAS

THE SAMPLE

		ALL INDIA		URBAN		RURAL	
		Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
SEX							
Male		2391	79.7	891	82.5	1946	79.1
Female		609	20.3	189	17.5	514	20 9
	Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
AGE							
21—35		1404	46.8	571	52.9	1119	45.5
36—50		968	32.3	331	30.6	802	32.6
Above 50		579	19.3	153	14.2	503	20.4
Unspecified		49	1.6	25	2.3	36	1.5
	Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate		1187	39.6	149	13.8	1113	45.3
Under Matric		1184	39.4	350	32.4	1009	41.0
Matric		385	12.8	289	26.8	240	9.8
Graduate & above		197	6.6	265	24.5	65	2.6
Unspecified		47	1.6	27	2.5	33	1.3
	Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100		1474	49.1	249	23.0	1350	54.9
101—200		905	30.2	348	32.2	731	29.7
201—300		380	12.7	295	27.3	232	9.4
351—700		132	4.4	112	10.4	76	3.1
Above 700		36	1.2	45	4.2	14	0.6
Unspecified		73	2.4	31	2.9	57	2.3
	Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0

THE SAMPLE

		ALL INDIA		URBAN		RURAL	
		Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
RELIGION							
Hindu		2566	85.5	881	81.6	2126	86.4
Muslim		245	8.2	108	10.0	191	7.8
Christian		87	2.9	55	5.1	59	2.4
Sikh		48	1.6	18	1.7	39	1.6
Others		20	0.7	13	1.2	13	0.5
Unspecified		34	1.1	5	0.4	32	1.3
	Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh		272	9.0	95	8.8	225	9.1
Bihar		338	11.3	45	4.2	315	12.8
Delhi		17	0.5	25	2.3	5	0.2
Gujarat		143	4.8	75	6.9	105	4.3
Kerala		118	3.9	35	3.2	100	4.1
Madhya Pradesh		227	7.6	55	5.1	200	8.1
Madras		263	8.8	125	11.6	200	8.1
Maharashtra		280	9.3	160	14.8	200	8.1
Mysore		170	5.7	80	7.4	130	5.3
Orissa		127	4.2	15	1.4	120	4.9
Punjab		140	4.7	60	5.6	110	4.5
Rajasthan		140	4.7	50	4.6	115	4.7
Uttar Pradesh		535	17.8	150	13.9	460	18.7
West Bengal		230	7.7	110	10.2	175	7.1
	Total	3000	100.0	1080	100.0	2460	100.0

The Cold War and India's Role

Even among urban respondents near about half have preferred not to express any opinion on the question "Do you think that Cold War between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. can be ended soon ?". This "no-opinion" percentage might be due to the leading nature of the question and might perhaps be inferred as denoting a conviction that 'yes' and 'no' answers are entirely insufficient, as the future trends of the Cold War are uncertain and will be mostly speculative. A scrutiny of the figures reveals that the respondents who have answered in the affirmative and in the negative were quite evenly divided ; roughly a quarter of the total respondents have stated that this Cold War between the blocs can be ended soon.

India's Role—Strict Neutrality ?

While there was a certain amount of indecision to the former question, there appears to be no doubt with the Indian public as to the role which its Government should play in the context of this Cold War. **An overwhelming majority (85.2 urban, 77.2 rural) have stated that a policy of strict neutrality should be maintained. There was a small percentage of about five per cent who have stated that India's international policy should increasingly support the U.S.S.R. and almost an equal percentage have stated that it should support the West.**

Seen in the context of political affiliations within India, it is the voter for Communist Party who has come out as the largest protagonist of the "support U.S.S.R" Policy. Of the respondents who have advocated a policy generally supporting the West, Jan Sangh and Swatantra contained roughly half. Taking individually the present political parties, it is significant that in each of them not less than 80 per cent have advocated a "strictly neutral" policy. Statewise also the support to the present policy of strict neutrality was found to be uniformly high. Thus advocacy of this policy transcends political affiliation—to this extent there was a fairly unanimous "national" outlook.

Do you think that Cold War between the U.S.S.R and the U.S.A can be ended soon ?

	Rural		Urban	
	Actual	%	Actual	%
Yes	381	15.5	291	26.9
No	181	7.4	271	25.1
No opinion	1898	77.1	518	48.0
Total	2460	100.0	1080	100.0

What should be India's role to help the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to end the Cold War of the two Blocs ?

(Asked only of those who said that cold war between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. can be ended soon)

Support the U.S.S.R.	26	6.8	14	4.8
Support the West	18	4.7	11	3.8
Be strictly neutral	294	77.2	248	85.2
No opinion	43	11.3	18	6.2
Total	381	100.0	291	100.0

All-India Urban

Do you think that cold war between the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. can be ended soon ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No Opinion	Total
SEX					
Male	891	30.5	28.5	41.0	100.0
Female	189	10.0	9.0	81.0	100.0
AGE GROUP					
21—35	571	28.0	27.2	44.8	100.0
36—50	331	25.7	22.7	51.6	100.0
Above 50	153	25.5	24.2	50.3	100.0
Unspecified	25	28.0	16.0	56.0	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	149	2.7	1.3	96.0	100.0
Under-matric	350	22.3	13.4	64.3	100.0
Matric	289	35.7	29.0	35.3	100.0
Graduate & above	265	37.8	50.2	12.0	100.0
Unspecified	27	22.2	18.5	59.3	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100	249	14.5	10.4	75.1	100.0
101—200	348	29.6	24.1	46.3	100.0
201—350	295	31.8	31.2	37.0	100.0
351—700	112	33.9	36.6	29.5	100.0
Over 700	45	29.0	46.6	24.4	100.0
Unspecified	31	22.6	22.6	54.8	100.0
Total	1080	26.9	25.1	48.0	100.0

All-India Urban

Do you think that cold war between the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. can be ended soon ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Yes	No	No Opinion	Total
RELIGION					
Hindu	881	26.0	26.7	47.3	100.0
Muslim	108	24.0	14.8	61.2	100.0
Christian	55	52.7	23.7	23.6	100.0
Sikh	18	16.6	22.3	61.1	100.0
Others	13	7.6	23.1	69.3	100.0
Unspecified	5	60.0	...	40.0	100.0
VOTING INTENTION					
Congress	467	31.0	25.3	43.7	100.0
P. S. P.	85	30.6	29.4	40.0	100.0
Communist	86	26.7	28.0	45.3	100.0
Swatantra	91	35.2	25.3	39.5	100.0
Jan Sangh	31	19.3	32.3	48.4	100.0
Socialist	16	18.7	37.5	43.8	100.0
Independent	51	25.5	31.3	43.2	100.0
Others	32	43.7	25.0	31.3	100.0
Unspecified	221	13.1	18.6	68.3	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	95	13.7	52.6	33.7	100.0
Bihar	45	2.2	6.7	91.2	100.0
Delhi	25	4.0	4.0	92.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	32.0	40.0	28.0	100.0
Kerala	35	57.1	34.3	8.6	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	31.0	32.7	36.3	100.0
Madras	125	67.2	12.8	20.0	100.0
Maharashtra	160	40.0	24.4	35.6	100.0
Mysore	80	16.2	50.0	33.8	100.0
Orissa	15	6.7	...	93.3	100.0
Punjab	60	20.0	20.0	60.0	100.0
Rajasthan	50	28.0	4.0	68.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	14.0	21.3	64.7	100.0
West Bengal	110	5.4	14.6	80.0	100.0
Total	1080	26.9	25.1	48.0	100.0

All-India Urban

What should be India's role to help the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. to end the cold war of the two Blocs?
(Asked only of those who said that cold war between the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. could be ended soon)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Support the USSR	Support the West	Be strictly neutral	No opinion	Total
SEX						
Male	272	4.8	3.7	86.0	5.5	100.0
Female	19	5.3	5.3	73.6	15.8	100.0
AGE GROUP						
21—35	160	5.0	3.7	86.3	5.0	100.0
36—50	85	4.7	4.7	83.5	7.1	100.0
Above 50	39	5.1	2.6	84.6	7.7	100.0
Unspecified	7	...	...	85.7	14.3	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate	4	...	...	75.0	25.0	100.0
Under-matric	78	2.6	6.4	80.7	10.3	100.0
Matric	103	9.7	3.9	80.6	5.8	100.0
Graduate & above	100	...	2.0	97.0	1.0	100.0
Unspecified	6	33.3	...	33.3	33.4	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100	36	2.8	5.6	83.3	8.3	100.0
101—200	103	6.8	1.9	82.5	8.8	100.0
201—350	94	5.3	6.4	80.1	4.2	100.0
351—700	38	2.6	2.6	92.2	2.6	100.0
Over 700	13	...	...	100.0	...	100.0
Unspecified	7	...	...	85.7	14.3	100.0
Total	291	4.8	3.8	85.2	6.2	100.0

All-India Urban

What should be India's role to help the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. to end the cold war of the two Blocs ?
(Asked only of those who said that cold war between the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. could be ended soon)

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Support the USSR	Support the West	Be strictly neutral	No. opinion	Total
RELIGION						
Hindu	229	5.2	2.6	86.5	5.7	100.0
Muslim	26	7.7	11.5	65 4	15.4	100.0
Christian	29	...	6.9	89.7	3.4	100.0
Sikh	3	...	...	100.0	...	100.0
Others	1	...	...	100.0	...	100.0
Unspecified	3	...	...	100.0	...	100.0
VOTING INTENTION						
Congress	145	4.1	2.7	84.2	9.0	100.0
P. S. P.	26	3.8	7.7	88.5	...	100.0
Communist	23	17.4	...	78.3	4.3	100.0
Swatantra	32	3.1	9.4	81.3	6.2	100.0
Jan Sangh	6	...	16.7	83.3	...	100.0
Socialist	3	...	...	100.0	...	100.0
Independent	13	...	...	100.0	...	100.0
Others	14	...	...	100.0	...	100.0
Unspecified	29	6.9	3.4	82.8	6.9	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh	13	15.4	...	76.9	7.7	100.0
Bihar	1	...	...	100.0	...	100.0
Delhi	1	...	...	100.0	...	100.0
Gujarat	24	4.2	4.2	91.6	...	100.0
Kerala	20	...	...	100.0	...	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	17	23.5	11.8	58.8	5.9	100.0
Madras	84	1.2	3.6	94.0	1.2	100.0
Maharashtra	64	6.2	4.7	73.5	15.6	100.0
Mysore	13	7.7	...	76.9	15.4	100.0
Orissa	1	...	...	100.0	...	100.0
Punjab	12	...	8.3	83.3	8.4	100.0
Rajasthan	14	7.1	...	92.9	...	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	21	...	4.8	90.4	4.8	100.0
West Bengal	6	...	...	83.3	16.7	100.0
Total	291	4.8	3.8	85.2	6.2	100.0

Indian 'Political' Opinion and International Leaders

One of the important assessments made in this survey is the evaluation of the opinions about international leaders and the association of these opinions with the voting intention of the Indian public. **One of the important conclusions that has emerged is that the usual connotations of Right and Left as applicable to political parties have not the same consistency when international issues are taken into consideration.**

Personality Rating

Four possible answers were suggested against each leader. Three of them relate to Cold War controversies and one of them is the effectiveness with which the leaders have served their own national interests.

Kennedy and Khrushchev

There has been a fairly uniform pattern in the response-distribution between the four alternatives ; President Kennedy came out as the more favoured leader. As against 12.9 per cent of the respondents stating that Kennedy has contributed towards the increase in Cold War tensions, the proportion of respondents saying the same about Khrushchev was higher at 20.4. A similar differential was observed to the complementary question of contribution towards decrease in Cold War tensions. 10.7 per cent have stated this as their assessment of Kennedy, whereas only 1.1 per cent have mentioned this in favour of Khrushchev. More particularly, Kennedy was mentioned by 13.2 per cent for his efforts in promoting world peace ; as against only 10.2 per cent that have stated this in favour of Khrushchev. There was a surprising uniformity in the proportion of respondents who have stated that these leaders have served only to further their own national interests. The proportion was 8.8 per cent in either case.

Mao and Ayub Khan

It is undoubtedly the prevailing bitterness with China and Pakistan that was responsible for a very adverse rating of both Mao-tse-Tung and President Ayub Khan. More than a quarter of the respondents in each case have stated that both the leaders have in their policies contributed to the increase of Cold War tensions. And almost 13 per cent have stated that the Chinese policies were mostly to further their own national interests. It is significant to note that the percentage of respondents who have stated this about President Ayub Khan was almost as high as the respondents who have criticised him for his part in the Cold War.

Nasser—as High as Ever

Amongst other leaders also rated in this survey, President Nasser is undoubtedly a leader whom the Indian opinion looks with affection and friendship. President de Gaulle of France and Chancellor Adenauer of West Germany have been rated more or less in a uniform way even though significantly the former was mentioned by a higher percentage of respondents as responsible for the increase in the Cold War. Almost an equal percentage of respondents have stated that these leaders have mostly acted to further their own national interests. The percentage of respondents who were not aware of these world leaders was surprisingly high.

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

		Rural		Urban	
		Actual	%	Actual	%
PRESIDENT KENNEDY					
Increased Cold war		144	5.8	139	12.9
Decreased Cold war		109	4.4	116	10.7
Promoted world peace		171	7.0	142	83.1
Served own national interests		66	2.7	95	8.9
Don't know/No opinion		1970	80.1	588	54.4
	Total	2460	100.0	1080	100.0
PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV					
Increased Cold war		187	7.6	226	20.9
Descreased Cold war		78	3.2	88	8.1
Promoted world peace		174	7.1	110	10.2
Served own national interests		69	2.8	96	8.9
Don't know/No opinion		1952	79.3	560	51.9
	Total	2460	100.00	1080	100.0
MR. MAO TSE-TUNG					
Increased Cold war		177	7.2	284	26.3
Decreased Cold war		11	0.4	4	0.4
Promoted world peace		22	0.9	7	0.6
Served own national interests		145	5.9	135	12.5
Don't know/No opinion		2105	85.6	650	60.0
	Total	2460	100.0	1080	100.0
PRESIDENT NASSER					
Increased Cold war		14	0.6	21	2.0
Decreased Cold war		46	1.9	75	6.9
Promoted world peace		108	4.3	112	10.4
Served own national interets		148	6.0	239	22.1
Don't know/No opinion		2144	87.2	633	58.6
	Total	2460	100.0	1080	100.0

	Rural		Urban	
	Actual	%	Actual	%
PRESIDENT DE GAULLE				
Increased Cold war	76	3.1	153	14.2
Decreased Cold war	13	0.5	24	2.2
Promoted world peace	36	1.5	16	1.5
Served own national interests	103	4.2	151	14.0
Don't know/No opinion	2232	90.7	736	68.1
Total	2460	100.0	1080	100.0
DR. KONRAD ADENAUER, CHANCELLOR OF W. GERMANY				
Increased Cold war	67	2.7	92	8.5
Decreased Cold war	11	0.4	20	1.9
Promoted world peace	15	0.7	13	1.2
Served own national interests	126	5.1	173	16.0
Don't know/No opinion	2241	91.1	782	72.4
Total	2460	100.0	1080	100.0
PRESIDENT AYUB KHAN OF PAKISTAN				
Increased Cold war	122	5.0	299	27.7
Decreased Cold war	3	0.1	5	0.5
Promoted world peace	5	0.2	6	0.5
Served own national interests	290	11.8	251	23.2
Don't know/No opinion	2040	82.9	519	48.1
Total	2460	100.0	8100	100.0

All-India Urban

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

President Kennedy

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Increased cold war	Decr-eased cold war	Promoted world peace	Served own national Interests	Don't know or No opinion	Total
SEX							
Male	891	15.0	12.5	14.5	9.7	48.3	100.0
Female	189	2.6	2.7	6.9	4.2	83.6	100.0
AGE GROUP							
21—35	571	14.0	11.2	14.0	10.5	50.3	100.0
36—50	331	11.2	10.9	13.6	6.0	58.3	100.0
Above 50	153	11.8	9.2	10.4	9.2	59.4	100.0
Unspecified	25	16.0	8.0	4.0	4.0	68.0	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	149	0.7	...	2.0	0.7	96.6	100.0
Under-matric	350	12.6	13.1	8.9	10.9	54.5	100.0
Matric	289	10.3	11.8	19.4	7.3	51.2	100.0
Graduate & above	265	22.7	12.4	18.9	11.3	34.7	100.0
Unspecified	27	14.8	11.1	7.4	18.5	48.2	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	249	5.6	7.6	2.8	5.2	78.8	100.0
101—200	348	15.8	9.8	15.2	8.3	50.9	100.0
201—350	295	14.9	13.9	15.6	9.2	46.4	100.0
351—700	112	14.3	12.5	23.2	13.4	36.6	100.0
Over 700	45	15.6	13.3	15.6	15.6	39.9	100.0
Unspecified	31	9.6	6.5	9.7	13.0	61.2	100.0
Total	1080	12.9	10.7	13.2	8.8	54.4	100.0

All-India Urban

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

President Kennedy

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Increased cold war	Decreased cold war	Promoted world peace	Served own national interests	Don't know or No opinion	Total
RELIGION							
Hindu	881	14.3	11.2	12.0	9.2	53.3	100.0
Muslim	108	6.5	4.6	10.2	9.3	69.4	100.0
Christian	55	5.4	11.0	43.6	7.3	32.7	100.0
Sikh	18	5.5	27.8	...	...	66.7	100.0
Others	13	7.7	7.7	...	...	84.6	100.0
Unspecified	5	20.0	...	20.0	...	60.0	100.0
VOTING INTENTION							
Congress	467	12.2	12.0	18.0	10.5	47.5	100.0
P.S.P.	85	8.2	14.1	15.3	5.9	56.5	100.0
Communist	86	36.0	4.7	1.2	7.0	51.1	100.0
Swatantra	91	12.1	20.9	14.3	8.8	43.9	100.0
Jan Sangh	31	29.0	9.7	3.2	6.5	51.6	100.0
Socialist	16	6.2	12.5	12.5	12.5	56.3	100.0
Independent	51	7.8	13.7	13.7	17.7	47.1	100.0
Others	32	12.5	3.1	25.0	6.3	53.1	100.0
Unspecified	221	7.2	5.4	5.9	5.4	76.1	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	95	21.0	14.7	11.6	18.9	33.8	100.0
Bihar	45	6.7	2.2	...	...	91.1	100.0
Delhi	25	...	8.0	4.0	8.0	80.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	43.9	22.7	6.7	12.0	14.7	100.0
Kerala	35	2.8	...	20.0	...	77.2	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	18.2	9.0	5.5	20.0	47.3	100.0
Madras	125	11.2	1.6	47.2	1.6	38.4	100.0
Maharashtra	160	7.5	18.1	8.8	13.1	52.5	100.0
Mysore	80	18.8	16.2	23.7	15.0	26.3	100.0
Orissa	15	...	...	...	6.6	93.4	100.0
Punjab	60	18.3	13.3	...	...	68.4	100.0
Rajasthan	50	2.0	16.0	10.0	4.0	68.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	12.7	9.3	6.7	8.7	62.6	100.0
West Bengal	110	...	2.7	7.3	3.6	86.4	100.0
Total	1080	12.9	10.7	13.2	8.8	54.4	100.0

All-India Urban

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

Premier Khrushchev

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Increased cold war	Decreased cold war	Promoted world peace	Served own national interests	Don't know or No opinion	Total
SEX							
Male	891	23.8	9.7	11.2	9.7	45.6	100.0
Female	189	7.4	1.1	5.3	4.7	81.5	100.0
AGE GROUP							
21—35	571	24.2	8.6	11.9	8.9	46.4	100.0
36—50	331	18.7	8.2	7.8	8.2	57.1	100.0
Above 50	153	13.7	7.2	10.4	10.5	58.2	100.0
Unspecified	25	20.0	4.0	...	8.0	68.0	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	149	0.7	0.7	...	0.7	97.9	100.0
Under-matric	350	15.1	6.3	6.0	10.0	62.6	100.0
Matric	289	24.2	11.4	14.2	8.7	41.5	100.0
Graduate & above	265	37.0	11.3	17.4	11.3	23.0	100.0
Unspecified	27	14.8	7.4	7.4	18.5	51.9	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	249	11.2	2.8	2.0	6.4	77.6	100.0
101—200	348	20.7	9.8	12.3	7.2	50.0	100.0
201—350	295	26.4	7.1	11.2	9.8	45.5	100.0
351—700	112	26.7	13.4	15.2	17.0	27.7	100.0
Over 700	45	28.9	13.4	15.5	13.3	28.9	100.0
Unspecified	31	16.1	16.0	13.0	6.5	48.4	100.0
Total	1080	20.9	8.1	10.2	8.9	51.9	100.0

All-India Urban

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

Premier Khrushchev

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Increased cold war	Decreased cold war	Promoted world peace	Served own national interests	Don't know or No opinion	Total
RELIGION							
Hindu	881	21.2	8.8	10.9	9.2	49.9	100.0
Muslim	108	9.3	1.8	11.1	10.2	67.6	100.0
Christian	55	43.6	7.3	3.6	7.3	38.2	100.0
Sikh	18	...	22.2	...	...	77.8	100.0
Others	13	23.0	...	...	...	77.0	100.0
Unspecified	5	40.0	...	...	...	60.0	100.0
VOTING INTENTION							
Congress	467	24.6	9.4	10.1	12.0	43.9	100.0
P. S. P.	85	21.2	9.4	8.2	5.9	55.3	100.0
Communist	86	12.8	13.9	27.9	5.8	39.6	100.0
Swatantra	91	32.9	6.6	6.6	6.6	47.3	100.0
Jan Sangh	31	35.4	9.7	...	6.5	48.4	100.0
Socialist	16	12.5	18.8	6.2	12.5	50.0	100.0
Independent	51	25.5	5.9	2.0	15.6	51.0	100.0
Others	32	6.3	3.1	28.1	6.3	56.2	100.0
Unspecified	221	10.9	3.6	6.8	4.5	74.2	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	95	32.6	17.9	12.6	15.8	21.1	100.0
Bihar	45	2.2	2.2	...	2.3	93.3	100.0
Delhi	25	8.0	8.0	4.0	...	80.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	45.4	13.3	5.3	14.7	21.3	100.0
Kerala	35	11.4	...	5.7	...	82.9	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	20.0	7.3	20.0	16.4	36.3	100.0
Madras	125	23.2	1.6	33.6	...	41.6	100.0
Maharashtra	160	18.7	9.4	3.1	16.3	52.5	100.0
Mysore	80	37.5	12.5	7.5	12.5	30.0	100.0
Orissa	15	...	...	...	6.6	93.4	100.0
Punjab	60	18.3	10.0	...	...	71.7	100.0
Rajasthan	50	26.0	6.0	4.0	4.0	60.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	18.0	11.3	4.7	4.7	61.3	100.0
West Bengal	110	2.7	0.9	16.4	12.7	67.3	100.0
Total	1080	20.9	8.1	10.2	8.9	51.9	100.0

All-India Urban

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

President Nasser

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Increased cold war	Decreased cold war	Promoted world peace	Served own national interests	No opinion	Total
SEX							
Male	891	2.1	7.9	12.1	25.7	52.2	100.0
Female	189	1.0	2.7	2.1	5.3	88.9	100.0
AGE GROUP							
21—35	571	2.1	7.5	12.1	24.7	53.6	100.0
36—50	331	1.5	6.4	9.1	20.2	62.8	100.0
Above 50	153	1.3	6.5	8.5	19.6	64.1	100.0
Unspecified	25	8.0	4.0	...	4.0	84.0	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	149	...	...	1.3	1.4	97.3	100.0
Under-Matric	350	2.3	5.1	9.4	12.6	70.6	100.0
Matric	289	1.7	12.8	11.4	25.6	48.5	100.0
Graduate & above	265	3.0	7.2	15.1	43.4	31.3	100.0
Unspecified	27	...	3.7	14.8	14.9	66.6	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	249	0.4	4.8	7.6	6.8	80.4	100.0
101—200	348	2.3	7.8	13.2	19.8	56.9	100.0
201—350	295	2.4	7.5	7.8	31.5	50.8	100.0
351—700	112	1.8	7.1	13.4	34.8	42.9	100.0
Over 700	45	6.7	8.9	11.1	40.0	33.3	100.0
Unspecified	31	...	6.5	12.9	9.7	70.9	100.0
Total	1080	1.9	6.9	10.4	22.1	58.7	100.0

All-India Urban

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

President Nasser

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Increased cold war	Decreased cold war	Promoted world peace	Served own national interests	No opinion	Total
RELIGION							
Hindu	881	1.7	7.2	11.5	21.1	58.5	100.0
Muslim	108	1.9	4.6	7.4	22.2	63.9	100.0
Christian	55	3.6	1.8	5.5	50.9	38.2	100.0
Sikh	18	5.6	27.8	...	...	66.6	100.0
Others	13	7.7	7.7	...	7.7	76.9	100.0
Unspecified	5	...	...	...	...	100.0	100.0
VOTING INTENTION							
Congress	467	1.7	8.4	12.4	23.1	54.4	100.0
P.S.P.	85	1.2	8.2	9.4	23.6	57.6	100.0
Communist	86	4.7	5.8	12.8	25.6	51.1	100.0
Swatantra	91	2.2	6.6	13.2	24.2	53.8	100.0
Jan Sangh	31	...	13.0	3.2	25.8	58.0	100.0
Socialist	16	6.2	18.8	6.3	12.5	56.2	100.0
Independent	51	...	9.8	11.8	31.4	47.0	100.0
Others	32	3.1	...	12.5	25.0	59.4	100.0
Unspecified	221	1.8	2.7	5.0	14.9	75.6	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	95	1.1	8.4	20.0	29.5	41.0	100.0
Bihar	45	...	2.2	...	2.2	95.6	100.0
Delhi	25	...	...	8.0	4.0	88.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	2.7	21.3	13.3	32.0	30.7	100.0
Kerala	35	2.9	...	...	34.3	62.8	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	5.5	10.9	16.4	23.6	43.6	100.0
Madras	125	0.8	...	...	52.8	46.4	100.0
Maharashtra	160	1.8	8.3	20.6	15.0	54.3	100.0
Mysore	80	2.5	10.0	23.8	26.2	37.5	100.0
Orissa	15	...	...	6.7	...	93.3	100.0
Punjab	60	5.0	18.3	...	3.3	73.4	100.0
Rajasthan	50	...	...	2.0	14.0	84.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	2.0	7.3	9.3	12.0	69.4	100.0
West Bengal	110	1.8	0.9	3.6	20.0	73.7	100.0
Total	1080	1.9	6.9	10.4	22.1	58.7	100.0

All-India Urban

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

Mr. Mao Tse-Tung

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Increased cold war	Decreas-ed cold war	Promot-ed world peace	Served own national interests	Don't know	Total
SEX							
Male	891	30.6	0.4	0.8	14.4	53.8	100.0
Female	189	5.8	...	...	3.7	90.5	100.0
AGE GROUP							
21—35	571	29.1	0.2	0.3	12.6	57.8	100.0
36—50	331	24.2	0.6	1.2	13.3	60.7	100.0
Above 50	153	23.5	0.7	0.7	11.7	63.4	100.0
Unspecified	25	8.0	...	...	4.0	88.0	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	149	0.7	...	...	1.3	98.0	100.0
Under-matric	350	18.9	0.3	0.8	8.0	72.0	100.0
Matric	289	36.3	0.7	0.3	11.4	51.3	100.0
Graduate & above	265	41.6	0.3	1.1	25.0	32.0	100.0
Unspecified	27	7.4	...	...	22.2	70.4	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	249	10.8	...	0.4	7.2	81.6	100.0
101—200	348	27.9	0.6	0.6	12.3	58.6	100.0
201—350	295	31.9	0.7	0.3	15.2	51.9	100.0
351—700	112	33.9	...	2.7	19.6	43.8	100.0
Over 700	45	46.7	...	...	13.3	40.0	100.0
Unspecified	31	22.6	...	...	3.2	74.2	100.0
Total	1080	26.3	0.4	0.6	12.5	60.2	100.0

All-India Urban

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

Mr. Mao Tse-Tung

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Increased cold war	Decreased cold war	Promoted world peace	Served own national interests	Don't know	Total
RELIGION							
Hindu	881	26.1	0.3	0.8	13.5	59.3	100.0
Muslim	108	21.3	0.9	...	8.3	69.5	100.0
Christian	55	45.5	...	...	12.7	41.8	100.0
Sikh	18	16.7	...	...	...	83.3	100.0
Others	13	23.0	...	...	...	77.0	100.0
Unspecified	5	...	...	...	...	100.0	100.0
VOTING INTENTION							
Congress	467	31.9	0.9	0.4	9.0	57.8	100.0
P.S.P.	85	31.7	...	1.2	16.5	50.6	100.0
Communist	86	17.4	...	1.2	27.9	53.5	100.0
Swatantra	91	25.2	...	1.0	18.8	55.0	100.0
Jan Sangh	31	29.0	...	...	22.6	48.4	100.0
Socialist	16	56.2	...	...	12.5	31.3	100.0
Independent	51	31.4	...	...	23.5	45.1	100.0
Others	32	28.1	...	...	18.8	53.1	100.0
Unspecified	221	12.2	...	0.9	5.0	81.9	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	95	32.6	...	1.0	25.3	41.1	100.0
Bihar	45	...	...	...	2.2	97.8	100.0
Delhi	25	...	...	12.0	4.0	84.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	37.4	1.4	1.3	29.3	30.6	100.0
Kerala	35	34.3	...	...	2.9	62.8	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	43.6	...	...	1.8	54.6	100.0
Madras	125	48.0	...	...	22.4	29.6	100.0
Maharashtra	160	25.6	0.6	...	15.0	58.8	100.0
Mysore	80	26.2	...	...	18.8	55.0	100.0
Orissa	15	6.6	...	...	...	93.4	100.0
Punjab	60	20.0	...	...	...	80.0	100.0
Rajasthan	50	20.0	...	...	2.0	78.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	22.7	0.6	...	3.3	73.4	100.0
West Bengal	110	9.0	1.0	1.8	10.9	77.3	100.0
Total	1080	26.3	0.4	0.6	12.5	60.2	100.0

All-India Urban

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

President Ayub Khan of Pakistan

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Increased cold war	Decreased cold war	Promoted world peace	Served own national interests	Don't know	Total
SEX							
Male	891	31.3	0.6	0.7	26.4	41.0	100.0
Female	189	10.6	...	...	8.5	80.9	100.0
AGE GROUP							
21—35	571	32.2	0.4	0.4	23.1	43.9	100.0
36—50	331	21.5	0.6	0.6	26.3	51.0	100.0
Above 50	153	25.5	0.6	1.3	19.0	53.6	100.0
Unspecified	25	20.0	...	...	12.0	68.0	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	149	2.0	0.7	...	3.4	93.9	100.0
Under-matric	350	22.3	0.3	0.3	16.3	60.8	100.0
Matric	289	36.8	0.3	0.3	27.3	35.3	100.0
Graduate & Above	265	40.0	0.8	1.5	40.0	17.7	100.0
Unspecified	27	22.2	...	...	14.8	63.0	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	249	13.7	0.4	0.4	11.6	73.9	100.0
101—200	348	28.4	0.9	0.9	21.6	48.2	100.0
201—350	295	34.9	...	...	29.5	35.6	100.0
351—700	112	31.2	0.9	1.8	37.5	28.6	100.0
Over 700	45	51.9	...	...	26.7	22.2	100.0
Unspecified	31	16.1	...	...	19.4	64.5	100.0
Total	1080	27.7	0.4	0.5	23.2	48.2	100.0

All-India Urban

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

President Ayub Khan of Pakistan

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Increased cold war	Decreased cold war	Promoted world peace	Served own national interests	Don't know	Total
RELIGION							
Hindu	881	30.6	0.5	0.6	21.5	46.8	100.0
Muslim	108	12.0	...	0.9	27.8	59.3	100.0
Christian	55	18.1	...	...	51.0	30.9	100.0
Sikh	18	16.7	5.6	...	11.1	66.6	100.0
Others	13	23.1	...	...	7.7	69.2	100.0
Unspecified	5	...	...	...	20.0	80.0	100.0
VOTING INTENTION							
Congress	467	31.1	0.4	0.4	25.7	42.4	100.0
P. S. P.	85	23.5	1.2	1.2	29.4	44.7	100.0
Communist	86	30.2	...	...	24.4	45.4	100.0
Swatantra	91	26.4	1.0	2.2	26.4	44.0	100.0
Jan Sangh	31	32.3	...	...	19.3	48.4	100.0
Socialist	16	43.8	...	...	12.5	43.7	100.0
Independent	51	25.4	...	...	31.4	43.2	100.0
Hindu Mahasabha	32	31.2	...	...	21.9	46.9	100.0
Undecided	221	19.9	0.5	0.5	13.6	65.6	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	95	43.1	...	1.1	33.7	22.1	100.0
Bihar	45	...	...	...	4.4	95.6	100.0
Delhi	25	4.0	4.0	12.0	...	80.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	57.4	1.3	...	33.3	8.0	100.0
Kerala	35	25.7	...	...	34.3	40.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	41.8	...	...	25.5	32.7	100.0
Madras	125	11.2	...	...	61.6	27.2	100.0
Maharashtra	160	30.7	...	0.6	15.6	53.1	100.0
Mysore	80	43.8	2.6	1.3	28.6	23.7	100.0
Orissa	15	20.0	...	...	...	80.0	100.0
Punjab	60	21.7	1.6	...	6.7	70.0	100.0
Rajasthan	50	20.0	...	...	10.0	70.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	31.3	...	...	10.0	58.7	100.0
West Bengal	110	10.0	...	...	15.5	74.5	100.0
Total	1080	27.7	0.4	0.5	23.2	48.2	100.0

All-India Urban

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

President de Gaulle

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Increased cold war	Decreased cold war	Promoted world peace	Served own national interests	Don't know	Total
SEX							
Male	891	16.7	2.5	1.8	16.5	62.5	100.0
Female	189	2.1	1.1	...	2.1	94.7	100.0
AGE GROUP							
21—35	571	16.6	3.0	1.8	14.7	63.9	100.0
36—50	331	11.2	1.5	1.5	13.6	72.2	100.0
Above 50	153	12.4	...	0.7	13.7	73.2	100.0
Unspecified	25	8.0	4.0	...	4.0	84.0	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	149	...	...	...	0.7	99.3	100.0
Under-matric	350	9.1	2.3	2.3	9.4	76.9	100.0
Matric	289	15.9	3.8	1.7	14.2	64.4	100.0
Graduate & above	265	27.2	1.9	1.1	26.8	43.0	100.0
Unspecified	27	11.1	...	...	18.5	70.4	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	249	4.4	2.0	3.2	8.0	82.4	100.0
101—200	348	14.9	2.0	1.7	13.2	68.2	100.0
201—350	296	17.9	3.1	0.3	15.3	63.4	100.0
351—700	112	15.2	1.8	0.9	24.1	58.0	100.0
Over 700	45	28.9	2.2	...	24.5	44.4	100.0
Unspecified	31	22.6	...	...	6.5	70.9	100.0
Total	1080	14.2	2.2	1.5	14.0	68.1	100.0

All-India Urban

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President de Gaulle

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Increased cold war	Decreased cold war	Promoted world peace	Served own national interests	Don't know	Total
RELIGION							
Hindu	881	14.6	2.5	1.8	14.2	66.9	100.0
Muslim	108	12.1	0.9	...	11.1	75.9	100.0
Christian	55	9.1	...	...	23.6	67.3	100.0
Sikh	18	22.2	5.6	...	...	72.2	100.0
Others	13	15.4	...	....	...	84.6	100.0
Unspecified	5	...	...	...	20.0	80.0	100.0
VOTING INTENTION							
Congress	467	14.4	3.2	2.4	15.8	64.2	100.0
P. S. P.	85	12.9	2.4	2.4	9.4	72.9	100.0
Communist	86	22.1	2.3	...	10.5	65.1	100.0
Swatantra	91	14.3	4.4	2.2	18.7	60.4	100.0
Jan Sangh	31	25.8	...	...	12.9	61.3	100.0
Socialist	16	18.8	...	...	12.5	68.7	100.0
Independent	51	17.6	2.0	2.0	21.6	56.8	100.0
Others	32	6.3	...	...	28.1	65.6	100.0
Unspecified	221	9.5	...	...	7.7	82.8	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	95	27.4	...	2.1	29.5	41.0	100.0
Bihar	45	...	2.2	...	2.2	95.6	100.0
Delhi	25	...	...	4.0	...	95.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	21.3	14.7	16.0	12.0	36.0	100.0
Kerala	35	...	...	...	5.7	94.3	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	30.9	3.6	...	9.1	56.4	100.0
Madras	125	8.8	...	...	20.8	70.4	100.0
Maharashtra	160	15.0	2.5	...	24.4	58.1	100.0
Mysore	80	15.0	3.8	1.2	25.0	55.0	100.0
Orissa	15	.	...	...	...	100.0	100.0
Punjab	60	18.3	3.3	...	...	78.4	100.0
Rajasthan	50	2.0	...	...	6.0	92.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	20.7	0.7	...	4.7	73.9	100.0
West Bengal	110	3.6	...	...	10.0	86.4	100.0
Total	1080	14.2	2.2	1.5	14.0	68.1	100.0

All-India Urban

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

Dr. Konrad Adenauer—Chancellor of W. Germany

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Increased cold war	Decreased cold war	Promoted world peace	Served own national interests	Don't know	Total
SEX							
Male	891	10.0	1.9	1.3	18.7	68.1	100.0
Female	189	1.6	1.6	0.5	3.2	93.1	100.0
AGE GROUP							
21—35	571	9.5	2.1	1.0	17.7	69.7	100.0
36—50	331	7.6	1.5	1.5	14.8	74.6	100.0
Above 50	153	7.2	2.0	1.3	14.4	75.1	100.0
Unspecified	25	8.0	...	...	4.0	88.0	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate	149	...	...	...	...	100.0	100.0
Under-matric	350	4.3	1.2	1.1	11.1	82.3	100.0
Matric	289	12.1	2.4	1.0	13.5	71.0	100.0
Graduate & above	265	15.5	3.4	1.5	34.0	45.6	100.0
Unspecified	27	3.7	...	7.4	18.5	70.4	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100	249	2.8	0.8	0.8	7.6	88.0	100.0
101—200	348	10.1	1.4	1.7	15.2	71.6	100.0
201—350	295	9.8	2.7	0.7	20.7	66.1	100.0
351—700	112	12.5	2.7	0.9	21.4	62.5	100.0
Over 700	45	11.1	2.2	2.2	28.9	55.6	100.0
Unspecified	31	6.5	3.2	3.2	9.7	77.4	100.0
Total	1080	8.5	1.9	1.2	16.0	72.4	100.0

All-India Urban

Here are some possible results of the role of some political leaders in various countries. What are your feelings about their role ?

Dr. Konard Adenauer—Chancellor of W. Germany

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Increased cold war	Decreased cold war	Promoted world peace	Served own national interests	Don't know	Total
RELIGION							
Hindu	881	9.4	1.7	1.1	15.7	72.1	100.0
Muslim	108	4.6	2.8	2.8	13.9	75.9	100.0
Christia	55	3.6	...	...	32.7	63.7	100.0
Sikh	18	...	11.1	...	...	88.9	100.0
Others	13	15.4	...	...	7.7	76.9	100.0
Unspecified	5	...	...	...	20.0	80.0	100.0
VOTING INTENTION							
Congress	467	8.4	1.7	1.7	16.3	71.9	100.0
P. S. P.	85	5.9	1.2	1.2	17.6	74.1	100.0
Communist	86	25.6	...	...	9.3	65.1	100.0
Swatantra	91	3.3	4.4	...	20.9	71.4	100.0
Jan Sangh	31	12.9	3.2	...	19.4	64.5	100.0
Socialist	16	...	12.5	...	31.3	56.2	100.0
Independent	51	5.9	5.9	2.0	25.5	60.7	100.0
Hindu Mahasabha	32	6.3	...	3.1	28.1	62.5	100.0
Undecided	221	6.2	0.5	0.9	10.0	82.3	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh	95	23.2	4.2	1.1	18.9	52.6	100.0
Bihar	45	...	...	...	2.2	97.8	100.0
Delhi	25	4.0	...	4.0	...	92.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	12.0	...	...	21.3	66.7	100.0
Kerala	35	...	...	...	20.0	80.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	23.6	1.8	1.8	7.3	65.5	100.0
Madras	125	8.8	...	...	31.2	60.0	100.0
Maharashtra	160	10.0	2.5	2.5	25.6	59.4	100.0
Mysore	80	5.0	1.2	5.0	30.0	58.8	100.0
Orissa	15	...	...	...	...	100.0	100.0
Punjab	60	6.7	6.7	...	...	86.6	100.0
Rajasthan	50	...	...	...	8.0	92.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	7.3	4.0	1.3	4.7	82.7	100.0
West Bengal	110	0.9	...	...	10.9	88.2	100.0
Total	1080	8.5	1.9	1.2	16.0	72.4	100.0

Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister

The Spectrum of Popularity

Among the Indian States surprisingly it is in Bihar and West Bengal that assessment of Jawaharlal Nehru has been significantly lower than all the other States. Even in Kerala almost half the respondents have stated that Nehru's rating as the Prime Minister was "very good" In Rajasthan, where the Congress has suffered significant reverses and in Madhya Pradesh where its vote has come down considerably, the popularity of Jawaharlal Nehru, however, remained almost the same as before, viz., around 60 per cent stating his role as "very good". **In Bihar the percentage has come down to a very low figure to 22.2 per cent and in West Bengal it is the lowest, standing at less than 15 per cent. 'Nehru Appeal' seems to be losing in the eastern States; but was as high as ever almost everywhere else. Have Berubari and Assam brought this about ?**

The popularity of Nehru was the highest in Maharashtra, Punjab and in Gujarat.

All-India Urban

What is your opinion about Nehru as Prime Minister ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Very bad	Don't know	Total
SEX								
Male	891	61.2	27.3	5.3	1.0	0.6	4.6	100.0
Female	189	37.5	29.1	3.2	...	...	30.2	100.0
AGE GROUP								
21—35	571	53.8	29.4	5.8	0.9	0.5	9.6	100.0
36—50	331	59.3	28.1	4.2	0.6	0.6	7.2	100.0
Above 50	153	61.4	22.2	3.3	1.3	0.6	11.2	100.0
Unspecified	25	76.0	12.0	4.0	...	...	8.0	100.0
EDUCATION								
Illiterate	149	28.9	25.9	1.3	1.3	...	41.9	100.0
Under-matric	350	65.4	22.3	3.7	0.3	0.6	7.7	100.0
Matric	289	63.3	29.1	5.2	...	0.7	1.7	100.0
Graduate & above	265	53.2	35.5	8.3	2.3	0.7	...	100.0
Unspecified	27	74.1	7.4	3.7	...	...	14.8	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)								
1—100	249	51.0	22.5	2.0	0.8	0.4	23.3	100.0
101—200	348	60.6	27.3	3.8	1.1	0.9	6.3	100.0
201—350	295	58.0	31.6	6.4	0.3	0.3	3.4	100.0
351—700	112	56.3	30.3	8.9	1.8	0.9	1.8	100.0
Over 700	45	64.5	26.7	4.4	...	...	4.4	100.0
Unspecified	31	48.4	25.8	12.9	...	...	12.9	100.0
Total	1080	57.2	27.6	4.9	0.8	0.5	9.0	100.0

All-India Urban

What is your opinion about Nehru as Prime Minister ?

Percentages

	No. of Respon-dents	Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Very bad	Don't know	Total
RELIGION								
Hindu	881	57.9	26.1	5.7	1.8	0.7	8.6	100.0
Muslim	108	48.1	34.3	2.8	...	...	14.8	100.0
Christian	55	63.7	34.5	...	...	...	1.8	100.0
Sikh	18	61.1	22.2	...	...	...	16.7	100.0
Others	13	30.7	53.9	...	...	...	15.4	100.0
Unspecified	5	80.0	20.0	...	...	...	...	100.0
STATE								
Andhra Pradesh	95	57.9	33.7	6.3	...	...	2.1	100.0
Bihar	45	22.2	51.2	4.4	...	...	22.2	100.0
Delhi	25	68.0	20.0	...	...	...	12.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	69.3	10.7	10.7	5.3	...	4.0	100.0
Kerala	35	45.7	51.4	2.9	...	...	...	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	61.8	30.9	7.3	...	...	...	100.0
Madras	125	43.2	55.2	0.8	...	0.8	...	100.0
Maharashtra	160	82.6	9.4	0.6	1.2	1.2	5.0	100.0
Mysore	80	53.8	33.8	10.0	...	1.2	1.2	100.0
Orissa	15	66.7	26.7	...	...	...	6.6	100.0
Punjab	60	75.0	11.7	...	...	1.6	11.7	100.0
Rajasthan	50	60.0	18.0	...	...	...	22.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	68.0	20.7	2.0	0.6	...	8.7	100.0
West Bengal	110	14.5	30.0	17.3	1.8	0.9	35.5	100.0
Total	1089	57.2	27.6	4.9	0.8	0.5	9.0	100.0

All-India Rural

What is your opinion about Nehru as Prime Minister ?

Percentages

		No. of Respondents	Very Good	Good	Fair	Bad	Very Bad	Don't know	Total
SEX									
Male		1946	50.2	33.6	2.0	0.6	0.3	13.3	100.0
Female		514	17.3	27.0	0.6	0.6	...	54.5	100.0
	Total	2460	43.3	32.3	1.7	0.6	0.2	21.9	100.0
AGE-GROUP									
21—35		1119	44.1	30.6	1.4	0.7	0.2	23.0	100.0
36—50		802	42.8	36.3	2.4	0.4	0.1	18.0	100.0
Above 50		503	42.6	30.0	0.4	0.8	0.4	25.8	100.0
Unspecified		36	41.7	27.7	11.1	...	...	19.5	100.0
	Total	2460	43.3	32.3	1.7	0.6	0.2	21.9	100.0
EDUCATION									
Illiterate		1113	25.7	31.5	1.1	0.6	0.1	41.0	100.0
Under-matric		1009	55.3	34.5	20.1	0.7	0.2	7.2	100.0
Matric		240	67.9	28.8	1.7	0.4	0.4	0.8	100.0
Graduate & above		65	64.6	29.3	4.6	...	1.5	...	100.0
Unspecified		33	51.6	21.2	3.0	...	...	24.2	100.0
	Total	2460	43.3	32.3	1.7	0.6	0.2	21.9	100.0
INCOME-GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)									
1—100		1350	36.7	32.4	1.4	0.7	0.3	28.5	100.0
101—200		731	48.7	33.7	1.4	0.5	...	15.7	100.0
201—350		232	59.5	29.3	3.4	0.4	0.4	7.0	100.0
351—700		76	59.2	30.2	4.0	...	1.3	5.3	100.0
Over 700		14	88.6	21.4	...	...	...	...	100.0
Unspecified		57	35.0	28.1	1.8	1.8	...	33.3	100.0
	Total	2460	43.3	32.3	1.7	0.6	0.2	21.9	100.0

All-India Rural

What is your opinion about Nehru as Prime Minister ?

Percentages

		No. of Respondents	Very Good	Good	Fair	Bad	Very Bad	Don't know & others	
RELIGION									
Hindu		2126	43.0	32.7	1.7	0.5	0.2	21.9	100.0
Muslim		191	38.2	32.5	2.6	...	...	26.7	100.0
Christian		59	47.5	40.7	...	...	...	11.8	100.0
Sikh		39	69.2	12.8	...	10.3	...	7.7	100.0
Others		13	61.5	23.1	...	...	...	15.4	100.0
Unspecified		32	50.0	15.6	...	...	...	34.4	100.0
	Total	2460	43.3	32.3	1.7	0.6	0.2	21.9	100.0
STATE									
Andhra Pradesh		225	67.7	26.2	1.3	...	0.4	4.4	100.0
Bihar		315	15.9	58.4	1.3	0.6	...	23.8	100.0
Delhi		5	8.0	20.0	...	...	...	...	100.0
Gujarat		105	66.7	26.7	4.8	0.9	...	0.9	100.0
Kerala		100	27.0	73.0	...	...	...	...	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		200	35.5	34.5	4.0	1.0	...	25.0	100.0
Madras		200	49.0	45.5	1.0	...	0.5	4.0	100.0
Maharashtra		200	86.5	6.5	1.0	...	...	6.0	100.0
Mysore		130	25.4	43.8	...	...	...	30.8	100.0
Orissa		120	10.0	37.5	0.8	...	...	51.7	100.0
Punjab		110	78.2	10.9	...	4.5	...	6.4	100.0
Rajasthan		115	31.3	9.6	...	...	...	59.1	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		460	54.3	23.1	1.1	0.6	2.0	20.7	100.0
West Bengal		175	2.3	25.7	6.3	1.1	1.1	63.5	100.0
	Total	2460	43.3	32.3	1.7	0.9	0.2	21.9	100.0

The Ranking of Countries : A Reflection of 'Images'

As was done in previous cases a number of questions were put to respondents to find out their relative assessment of different countries both in the relationships which India has with them as well as the economic systems which these countries have within themselves. In addition, there was an assessment of the role played by these countries in the Cold War.

The first fact to be noticed was the relatively smaller percentages of respondents entirely ignorant about these countries. There continues to be, unfortunately, significant percentages of these respondents who prefer to express no opinion. The Institute feels, however, that to a large extent this latter figure is indicative not so much of the reluctance of the respondents to reply as of their inability to express an opinion.

Combined all-India figures can be quite misleading. While this was not true in the case of domestic political opinions—as election results are obviously determined mostly by the rural vote—in the assessment of opinions on international issues, however the rural responses revealed large areas of ignorance. On the other hand, the urban sector as a class has not only given very frank and thought-provoking responses, but presented a wide and interesting commentary. No all-India totals were, therefore, provided in the tables while analyses of urban and rural schedules were presented separately for each of these questions.

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to the Soviet Union ?

	Rural		Urban	
	Actual	%	Actual	%
Friendly to Asian countries	325	13.2	363	33.6
Generously giving aid to India for economic development	470	19.1	446	41.3
Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment	204	8.3	253	23.4
Her economic system leads to exploitation	48	1.9	85	7.9
Her economic system leads to rise in standard of living of all in the country	89	3.6	194	18.0
War loving	143	5.8	152	14.1
Peace loving	226	9.2	188	17.4
Never read or heard about the country	763	31.0	179	16.6
Unable to specify	1097	44.6	305	28.2
*Base	2460		1080	

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to the United States ?

	Rural		Urban	
	Actual	%	Actual	%
Friendly to Asian countries	425	17.3	473	43.8
Generously giving aid to India for economic development	575	23.4	559	51.7
Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment	126	5.1	185	17.1
Her economic system leads to exploitation	60	2.4	85	7.9
Her economic system leads to rise in standard of living of all in the country	241	9.8	284	26.3
War loving	102	4.1	134	12.4
Peace loving	306	12.4	241	22.3
Never read or heard about the country	734	29.8	169	15.6
Unable to specify	1091	44.3	286	26.5
*Base	2460		1080	

*No check—provision for multiple answers

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to Great Britain ?

	Rural		Urban	
	Actual	%	Actual	%
Friendly to Asian countries	151	6.1	302	28.0
Generously giving aid to India for economic development	268	10.9	300	27.8
Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment	55	2.2	80	7.4
Her economic system leads to exploitation	41	1.7	50	4.6
Her economic system leads to rise in standard of living of all in the country	73	3.0	120	11.1
War loving	60	2.4	49	4.5
Peace loving	197	8.0	231	21.4
Never read or heard about the country	902	36.7	180	16.7
Unable to specify	1126	45.3	380	35.2
*Base	2460		1080	

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to West Germany ?

	Rural		Urban	
	Actual	%	Actual	%
Friendly to Asian countries	82	3.3	158	14.6
Generously giving aid to India for economic development	100	4.1	226	20.9
Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment	23	1.1	74	6.9
Her economic system leads to exploitation	23	0.9	23	2.1
Her economic system leads to rise in standard of living of all in the country	44	1.8	107	9.9
War loving	62	2.5	78	7.2
Peace loving	69	2.8	112	10.4
Never read or heard about the country	1076	43.7	185	17.1
Unable to specify	1150	46.7	480	44.4
*Base	2460		1080	

*No check—provision for multiple answers

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to France ?

	Rural		Urban	
	Actual	%	Actual	%
Friendly to Asian countries	53	2.2	94	8.7
Generously giving aid to India for economic development	28	1.1	43	4.0
Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment	12	0.5	14	1.3
Her economic system leads to exploitation	22	0.9	26	2.4
Her economic system leads to rise in standard of living of all in the country	23	0.9	51	4.7
War loving	56	2.3	85	7.9
Peace loving	44	1.8	72	6.7
Never read or heard about the country	1146	46.6	194	17.9
Unable to specify	1159	47.1	639	59.2
*Base	2460		1080	

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to China ?

	Rural		Urban	
	Actual	%	Actual	%
Friendly to Asain countries	24	1.0	27	2.5
Generously giving aid to India for economic development	2	0.1	6	0.5
Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment	20	0.8	48	4.4
Her economic system leads to exploitation	47	2.9	85	7.9
Her economic system leads to rise in standard of living of all in the country	23	0.9	33	3.0
War loving	188	7.6	296	27.4
Peace loving	33	1.3	25	2.3
Never read or heard about the country	1064	43.2	195	18.0
Unable to specify	1146	46.6	534	49.4
*Base	2460		1080	

*No check—provision for multiple answers

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to Japan ?

	Rural		Urban	
	Actuals	%	Actuals	%
Friendly to Asian countries	76	3.1	189	17.5
Generously giving aid to India for economic development	92	3.7	144	13.3
Has successfully solved the problem of unemployment	51	2.1	75	6.9
Her economic system leads to exploitation	14	0.6	19	1.7
Her economic system leads to rise in standard of living of all in the country	48	1.9	93	8.6
War loving	24	1.0	17	1.6
Peace loving	82	3.3	166	15.4
Never read or heard about the country	1199	48.7	191	17.7
Unable to specify	1051	42.7	525	48.6
*Base	2460		1080	

*No check—provision for multiple answers

Russia and the U.S.A.

As can be expected, knowledge about Russia and the United States of America and to some extent, about Great Britain was found to be fairly universal. Among the other countries, China has evoked not unnaturally a higher response than France, West Germany and others.

Between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Indian public opinion was more favourable to the U.S.A. ; the margin of difference, however, was quite small and in certain responses cannot be taken as statistically significant.

Economic Aid—the First Concern

The U.S.A. as well as the U.S.S.R. were mentioned by the largest number of respondents "for the generous aid" which these countries have been giving towards Indian economic development.

Asian Nationalism

Next in importance is the friendly appraoch which both have exhibited towards Asian countries. **In both these cases the U.S.A. had a clear lead of more than ten per cent in urban areas and about five per cent in rural areas. It is significant that the pattern of responses is more or less the same in both urban and rural centres even though the number of respondents in rural areas was much smaller than in urban areas, despite the higher number of rural interviews. In rural areas near about 75 per cent were "unable to express an opinion" or "they have never heard about these countries". The corresponding proportion in urban areas was just about 40.**

War and Peace

17.4 per cent have categorised Russia as "peace-loving" ; 22.3 per cent stated the same with respect of the U.S.A. As against this, the percentage of respondents categorising U.S.S.R. as "war-loving" was 14.1 while only 12.4 said this in the case of the U.S.A.

Economic Systems—East or West ?

The relative assessment of economic systems of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. has revealed that the Indian Public is slightly more confident about the system in the U.S.A. Near about eight per cent in both cases have stated that the economic system in that country generally leads to exploitation. As against this 18 per cent of the respondents have stated that the Russian system contributes to the raising of standard of living of the people in the country whereas a similar statement was made in respect of the U.S.A. by 26.3 per cent.

It is only in respect of the policies of these two countries towards the solution of the unemployment problem that the U. S. S. R. had a very significant lead over the U. S. A. 23.4 per cent think that the Soviet economic system will help in the complete elimination of the unemployment problem whereas only 17.1 per cent state thus in respect of the U.S.A.

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to the United States ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Has solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War-loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard of living				
SEX										
Male	891	49.0	57.2	19.7	9.1	29.8	14.0	25.2	10.8	24.9
Female	189	19.6	25.9	4.8	2.1	9.5	4.8	8.5	38.6	33.9
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	47.5	56.7	19.3	9.4	29.6	15.1	24.0	14.0	22.9
36—50	331	39.0	47.1	15.1	5.4	22.4	9.7	20.8	16.0	30.8
Above 50	153	44.4	49.7	15.0	7.2	25.5	7.8	22.9	18.9	28.8
Unspecified	25	20.0	12.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	16.0	...	28.0	36.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	5.4	6.0	1.3	...	1.3	1.3	0.7	65.1	30.2
Under-matric	350	30.3	36.9	16.2	4.9	21.4	10.3	15.4	17.1	39.7
Matric	289	57.1	65.4	19.0	9.0	26.6	18.3	29.4	3.5	22.1
Graduate & above	265	70.9	85.3	25.7	15.5	47.9	15.8	36.6	0.4	7.5
Unspecified	27	22.2	22.2	11.1	3.7	11.1	3.7	14.8	3.7	66.7
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	17.7	20.5	8.4	1.6	12.0	8.4	6.0	36.9	39.8
101—200	348	41.7	52.0	14.4	10.9	22.7	12.9	24.1	10.6	29.9
201—350	295	55.3	64.1	20.0	9.1	31.5	12.2	25.1	9.5	20.3
351—700	112	66.9	79.5	30.4	8.0	42.8	14.3	37.5	2.7	11.6
Over 700	45	71.1	75.6	31.1	8.9	55.6	26.7	42.2	2.2	11.1
Unspecified	31	45.2	48.4	22.6	9.7	29.0	12.9	22.6	25.8	16.1
Total	1080	43.8	51.8	17.1	7.9	29.4	12.4	22.3	15.6	26.5

Note : No check—provision for multiple answers

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to the United States ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Has solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard of living				
RELIGION										
Hindu	881	43.6	52.1	17.7	9.1	27.4	14.2	21.1	15.6	25.3
Muslim	108	34.3	39.8	15.7	3.7	23.1	5.6	17.6	23.1	36.1
Christian	55	70.9	81.8	10.9	1.8	21.8	1.8	50.9	...	18.2
Sikh	18	38.9	33.3	11.1	...	27.8	11.1	...	22.2	22.2
Others	13	30.8	38.5	23.1	...	7.7	...	30.8	...	61.5
Unspecified	5	40.0	20.0	20.0	...	...	...	8.0	60.0	80.0
VOTING INTENTION										
Congress	467	50.3	56.7	21.6	6.6	31.9	12.4	29.1	9.8	26.3
P. S. P.	85	47.0	57.6	12.9	4.7	25.9	4.7	21.2	12.9	25.9
Communist	86	27.9	56.9	17.4	22.1	23.3	29.1	9.3	26.7	9.3
Swatantra	91	54.9	60.4	18.7	9.9	28.6	7.7	27.5	8.8	28.6
Jan Sangh	31	38.7	45.2	25.8	3.2	25.8	29.0	16.1	6.5	35.5
Socialist	16	56.9	68.7	25.0	12.5	37.5	12.5	18.8	18.8	18.8
Independent	52	54.9	56.9	13.7	5.9	21.6	7.8	25.5	15.7	27.4
Hindu Mahasabha	32	46.9	46.9	6.2	9.4	12.5	15.6	28.1	18.8	21.9
Undecided	221	27.1	32.6	9.0	5.9	17.2	9.0	10.9	28.0	32.6
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	56.8	83.1	15.8	10.5	54.7	15.8	23.1	3.2	9.5
Bihar	45	4.4	4.4	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	..	37.8	60.0
Delhi	25	20.0	24.0	16.0	8.0	16.0	...	12.0	20.0	56.0
Gujarat	75	56.0	65.3	42.7	12.0	45.3	42.7	26.7	...	10.7
Kerala	35	34.3	100.0	...	...	17.0	2.9	31.4	...	...
Madhya Pradesh	55	60.0	69.1	36.4	7.2	61.8	30.1	21.8	...	23.6
Madras	125	75.2	88.0	...	4.0	4.0	0.8	44.0	...	12.0
Maharashtra	160	28.7	30.6	10.6	6.2	23.1	6.9	15.0	0.6	62.5
Mysore	80	71.2	82.5	38.8	8.8	51.2	21.2	38.8	7.5	3.8
Orissa	15	20.0	20.0	6.7	6.7	...	6.7	...	60.0	20.0
Punjab	60	31.7	30.0	5.0	...	...	8.3	23.3	15.0	53.3
Rajasthan	50	42.0	22.0	18.0	20.0	8.0	2.0	22.0	38.0	20.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	33.3	42.0	17.3	12.0	26.0	14.0	14.7	22.0	31.3
West Bengal	110	31.8	27.3	23.6	7.3	24.5	10.0	14.5	60.9	4.5
Total	1080	43.8	51.8	17.1	7.9	29.4	12.4	22.3	15.6	26.5

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to the Soviet Union ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard of living				
SEX										
Male	891	38.0	45.9	26.9	8.8	20.5	15.8	20.2	10.7	26.8
Female	189	12.7	19.6	6.9	3.7	5.8	5.8	4.2	39.2	34.9
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	35.2	45.4	25.9	9.6	21.9	15.6	20.0	14.2	24.9
36—50	331	31.1	36.5	22.4	6.3	14.5	13.0	14.2	16.0	31.7
Above 50	153	35.9	41.8	18.3	5.9	13.1	9.8	17.6	24.8	32.0
Unspecified	25	16.0	8.0	12.0	...	4.0	20.0	...	28.0	36.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	4.7	4.7	2.0	2.0	1.3	1.3	...	65.1	30.9
Under-matric	350	26.9	31.7	22.0	5.1	15.7	13.1	11.4	16.6	40.9
Matric	289	41.5	54.3	26.3	7.3	21.8	17.6	23.9	3.5	25.9
Graduate & above	265	52.4	64.1	35.1	15.1	27.5	18.1	29.1	4.5	9.1
Unspecified	27	11.1	3.7	14.8	11.1	3.7	11.1	7.4	7.4	63.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	12.0	16.1	12.0	4.0	8.8	10.0	4.4	36.5	41.4
101—200	348	33.9	44.2	23.6	7.2	17.2	14.1	18.4	10.3	31.6
201—350	295	39.3	51.5	25.4	10.5	18.3	16.6	17.6	9.5	21.7
351—700	112	54.5	58.9	35.7	8.9	30.4	14.3	31.2	11.6	13.4
Above 700	45	60.0	60.0	42.2	13.3	40.0	24.4	37.8	11.1	13.3
Unspecified	31	35.5	22.6	22.6	9.7	19.4	6.4	29.0	25.8	22.6
Total	1080	33.6	41.3	23.4	7.9	17.9	14.1	17.4	16.6	28.2

Note : No check—provision for multiple answers.

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to the Soviet Union ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard of living				
RELIGION										
Hindu	881	34.0	40.0	25.0	8.5	18.9	15.8	18.2	16.9	27.4
Muslim	108	29.6	36.1	18.5	4.6	15.7	9.2	11.1	22.2	37.0
Christian	55	32.1	74.5	14.5	5.5	10.9	1.8	12.7	...	20.0
Sikh	18	38.9	33.3	5.6	...	...	5.6	33.3	11.1	50.0
Others	13	38.5	46.2	30.8	7.7	23.1	7.7	7.7	30.8	23.1
Unspecified	5	20.0	20.0	...	20.0	20.0	...	20.0	...	20.0
VOTING INTENTION										
Congress	467	36.8	44.3	27.8	8.3	21.8	17.6	18.2	9.8	27.8
P. S. P.	85	32.9	45.9	18.8	8.2	14.1	9.4	12.9	12.9	28.2
Communist	86	46.5	59.3	37.2	4.6	36.3	10.5	34.9	24.4	9.3
Swatantra	91	34.1	41.8	17.6	12.1	11.0	15.4	13.2	8.8	31.9
Jan Sangh	31	22.6	32.3	25.8	3.2	19.4	29.0	9.7	6.4	41.9
Socialist	16	43.8	50.0	43.8	...	25.0	18.8	31.2	18.8	18.8
Independent	51	37.2	41.2	21.6	15.7	11.8	13.7	13.7	15.7	29.4
Hindu Mahasabha	32	28.1	46.9	9.4	6.2	3.1	6.2	25.0	18.8	25.0
Unspecified	221	23.5	25.8	13.6	5.9	9.9	8.1	12.2	33.5	33.9
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	42.0	43.1	36.8	18.9	41.0	16.8	29.5	3.1	12.6
Bihar	45	6.7	2.2	4.4	...	2.2	2.2	2.2	37.8	55.6
Delhi	25	16.0	12.0	8.0	4.0	...	...	16.0	20.0	60.0
Gujarat	75	26.7	49.3	54.7	13.3	42.7	64.0	13.3	...	12.0
Kerala	35	...	100.0	...	...	....	...	5.7	...	...
Madhya Pradesh	55	67.3	72.7	56.4	9.1	63.6	29.1	25.5	...	21.8
Madras	125	40.8	87.6	1.6	0.8	3.2	...	28.0	...	12.8
Maharashtra	160	23.1	21.2	21.2	11.2	6.2	11.2	5.0	0.6	64.4
Mysore	80	58.8	48.8	36.2	30.0	21.2	32.5	21.2	7.5	10.0
Orissa	15	20.0	13.3	13.3	...	6.7	6.7	...	60.0	20.0
Punjab	60	31.7	30.0	8.3	...	...	8.3	23.3	15.0	53.3
Rajasthan	50	28.0	12.0	6.0	4.0	...	4.0	6.0	38.0	30.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	34.0	36.0	23.3	2.7	17.3	12.0	15.3	26.7	33.3
West Bengal	110	33.6	26.4	29.0	1.8	27.3	0.9	26.4	60.9	4.5
Total	1080	33.6	41.3	23.4	7.9	17.9	14.1	17.4	16.6	28.2

Great Britain, West Germany and China

Great Britain

The pattern of responses in respect of Great Britain is similar even though the quantum of these responses is in every case much smaller. Great Britain was placed at a high level "for its efforts towards peace".

The position which this country occupied was slightly above that of the U. S. S. R., but almost equal to that of the U. S. A.

West Germany

West Germany was also mentioned "for the generous aid" which it has given to India for its economic development and a significant proportion mentioned the "friendly policies which West Germany is pursuing towards Asian countries". 6.9 per cent have praised the West German economic system for the successful way in which unemployment was tackled, and only 2.1 per cent have stated that this leads to exploitation. **Less than 8 per cent have categorised West Germany as war-loving while 10.4 per cent have mentioned its peaceful policies.**

China—the Lowest in the Scale

Among the countries taken for this relative assessment, it is China that has come out as the most "unfriendly" towards India. Almost half the respondents who have given answers to these questions have categorised China as "war-loving" and eight per cent have stated that the Chinese economic system "leads to exploitation". There were very few respondents who had good things to say about China.

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to Great Britain ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard of living				
SEX										
Male	891	31.2	30.2	8.7	5.3	12.9	4.8	24.1	11.8	35.0
Female	189	12.7	16.4	1.0	1.6	2.6	3.2	8.5	39.7	36.0
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	29.1	30.8	10.0	5.1	13.7	4.9	23.8	15.1	32.4
36—50	331	26.6	22.7	4.5	3.6	8.2	3.6	19.0	17.2	38.7
Above 50	153	30.0	32.0	5.2	4.6	9.1	5.2	20.9	19.6	20.9
Unspecified	25	4.0	...	...	8.0	4.0	4.0	...	28.0	60.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	4.0	3.4	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.3	65.1	32.2
Under-matric	350	18.3	13.4	6.6	3.1	8.6	3.7	11.1	18.6	48.6
Matric	289	34.9	36.7	6.2	4.1	9.0	6.9	24.9	5.5	32.9
Graduate & above	265	49.1	52.8	14.3	9.8	23.4	5.7	43.4	0.4	17.0
Unspecified	27	3.7	7.4	...	...	3.7	...	11.1	3.7	81.5
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—101	249	8.4	6.4	4.0	3.6	4.0	1.6	4.4	37.3	45.8
101—200	348	23.6	27.0	4.0	4.3	9.2	4.0	22.7	11.8	40.2
201—350	295	37.9	39.7	10.5	4.4	10.8	5.1	27.1	10.5	29.2
351—700	112	48.2	42.8	14.3	7.2	22.3	8.0	33.9	3.6	17.8
Over 700	45	48.9	40.0	17.8	6.7	35.6	13-3	35.6	4.4	26.7
Unspecified	31	35.5	22.6	3.2	9.7	16.1	3.2	22.6	29.0	25.8
Total	1080	28.0	27.8	7.4	4.6	11.1	4.5	21.4	16.7	35.2

Note : No check—provision for multiple answers.

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to Great Britain ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard of living				
RELIGION										
Hindu	881	28.2	25.8	6.7	5.2	11.3	5.0	20.4	26.6	35.6
Muslim	108	21.3	25.0	11.1	1.8	13.9	1.8	16.7	24.1	39.8
Christian	55	38.2	69.1	16.4	3.6	5.5	...	49.1	...	23.6
Sikh	18	27.8	27.8	...	...	...	5.6	27.8	22.2	50.0
Others	13	23.1	15.4	...	...	...	15.4	...	30.8	38.5
Unspecified	5	40.0	20.0	...	...	40.0	...	20.0	...	20.0
VOTING INTENTION										
Congress	467	31.3	29.6	7.5	4.3	14.1	5.4	25.5	12.0	35.1
P. S. P.	85	28.2	30.6	3.5	8.2	7.0	2.4	18.8	12.9	24.7
Communist	86	24.4	32.6	7.0	11.6	15.1	9.3	20.9	26.7	23.3
Swatantra	91	35.2	28.6	9.9	4.4	8.8	1.1	22.0	8.8	39.6
Jan Sangh	31	22.6	29.0	19.4	6.5	12.9	9.7	16.1	9.7	41.9
Socialist	16	25.0	37.0	12.5	...	25.0	6.2	37.5	18.8	31.2
Independent	51	35.3	33.3	7.8	3.9	9.8	...	21.6	15.7	35.3
Hindu Mahasabha	32	15.6	37.5	3.1	3.1	...	6.2	31.2	18.8	31.2
Undecided	221	20.4	17.2	6.3	1.8	6.3	3.2	11.8	28.0	37.6
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	44.2	26.3	14.7	10.5	32.6	2.1	34.7	3.2	25.3
Bihar	45	2.2	2.2	...	2.2	...	...	2.2	37.8	60.0
Delhi	25	12.0	16.0	4.0	...	...	...	16.0	20.0	56.0
Gujarat	75	21.3	2.7	6.7	22.7	13.3	5.3	6.7	2.7	34.7
Kerala	35	17.0	100.0	5.7	...	...	...	60.0	...	...
Madhya Pradesh	55	38.2	47.3	21.8	9.1	40.0	25.5	23.6	3.6	27.3
Madras	125	40.8	85.6	4.8	1.6	...	0.8	44.0	...	13.6
Maharashtra	160	10.6	7.5	4.4	1.9	1.9	3.1	9.4	0.6	74.3
Mysore	80	48.8	33.8	16.2	8.8	21.2	11.2	33.8	10.0	22.5
Orissa	15	13.3	13.3	6.7	...	...	13.3	6.7	20.0	60.0
Punjab	60	26.7	26.7	5.0	...	...	...	26.7	15.0	53.3
Rajasthan	50	26.0	4.0	2.0	6.0	4.0	...	4.0	40.0	34.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	26.7	18.7	6.7	1.3	12.0	7.3	12.7	24.7	42.0
West Bengal	110	31.8	11.8	4.5	...	16.4	1.4	17.3	60.9	4.5
Total	1080	28.0	27.8	7.4	4.6	11.1	4.5	21.4	16.7	35.2

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to West Germany ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard of living				
SEX										
Male	891	16.9	23.7	7.9	2.6	19.9	8.1	12.1	12.1	44.2
Female	189	3.7	7.9	2.1	...	1.0	3.2	2.1	40.7	45.5
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	16.1	24,2	8.6	2.3	12.2	7.9	10.7	15.4	42.2
36—50	331	12.1	16.9	4.8	1.4	6.9	7.2	9.7	17.8	46.8
Above 50	153	16.3	20.9	5.9	2.6	9.1	5.2	11.8	20.3	45.1
Unspecified	25	4.0	...	...	...	...	4.0	4.0	28.0	60.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	2.0	1.3	...	...	0.7	1.3	...	65.1	33.6
Under-matric	350	11.4	10.9	4.3	2.6	5.7	5.1	3.7	18.6	55.1
Matric	289	16.3	25.9	4.8	1.0	7.3	10.0	12.1	6.2	48.1
Graduate & above	265	24.9	41.5	17.0	4.1	24.5	10.9	15.8	1.5	28.3
Unspecified	27	7.4	3.7	...	...	...	...	3.7	3.7	85.2
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	4.0	3.2	2.4	1.6	3.6	3.6	4.9	37.3	49.0
101—200	348	13.2	22.4	3.2	2.9	7.8	8.0	10.0	12.1	50.0
201—350	295	18.6	29.5	9.5	1.7	11.2	6.8	10.5	11.2	41.7
351—700	112	27.7	29.5	9.8	2.7	16.9	13.4	16.9	6.2	29.5
Over 700	45	24.4	33.3	28.9	2.2	31.1	11.1	24.4	2.2	35.6
Unspecified	31	16.1	16.1	16.1	...	16.1	3.2	12.9	29.0	38.7
Total	1080	14.6	20.9	6.9	2.1	9.9	7.2	10.4	17.1	44.4

Note : No check—provision for multiple answers.

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to West Germany ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard of living				
RELIGION										
Hindu	881	15.2	20.0	7.0	2.5	10.1	7.9	10.7	17.2	43.9
Muslim	108	12.9	14.8	8.3	0.9	12.9	4.6	9.2	24.1	49.1
Christian	55	7.3	45.5	3.6	...	5.5	1.8	7.3	...	43.6
Sikh	18	22.2	33.3	...	...	...	...	22.2	16.7	55.6
Others	13	15.4	15.4	...	...	...	15.4	...	30.8	38.5
Unspecified	5	...	...	20.0	...	20.0	...	...	...	20.0
VOTING INTENTION										
Congress	467	16.3	20.1	7.0	2.1	12.0	8.6	11.8	12.8	46.2
P. S. P.	85	14.1	29.4	7.0	3.5	7.0	2.4	2.4	12.8	42.4
Communist	86	15.1	20.9	9.3	4.6	11.6	16.3	10.5	27.9	31.4
Swatantra	91	16.5	30.8	6.6	3.3	7.7	2.2	14.3	9.9	47.2
Jan Sangh	31	19.4	19.4	12.9	...	16.1	12.9	16.1	6.5	48.4
Socialist	16	18.8	31.2	12.5	...	6.2	6.2	12.5	18.8	50.0
Independent	51	21.6	25.5	5.9	3.9	9.8	3.9	13.7	15.7	45.1
Hindu Mahasabha	32	3.1	21.9	3.1	...	...	9.4	6.2	18.8	40.6
Undecided	221	9.5	13.6	5.0	0.4	7.7	4.5	7.7	28.0	44.8
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	13.7	23.1	22.1	6.3	31.6	14.7	13.7	3.2	37.9
Bihar	45	2.2	...	...	...	...	2.2	...	37.8	60.0
Delhi	25	8.0	8.0	...	...	...	...	8.0	20.0	68.0
Gujarat	75	5.3	9.3	10.7	10.7	16.0	17.3	13.3	2.7	37.3
Kerala	35	...	54.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	45.7
Madhya Pradesh	55	27.3	29.1	10.9	7.2	30.9	29.1	16.4	5.1	32.7
Madras	125	3.2	52.8	1.6	...	...	4.0	1.6	...	41.6
Maharashtra	160	8.1	2.0	1.2	0.6	2.5	3.8	5.0	0.6	81.2
Mysore	80	36.2	28.8	18.8	1.2	20.0	6.2	26.2	10.0	31.2
Orissa	15	13.3	18.3	6.7	...	...	...	6.7	60.0	20.0
Punjab	60	23.3	26.7	...	...	...	1.7	23.3	15.0	56.7
Rajasthan	50	18.0	2.0	...	4.0	...	...	...	40.0	42.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	12.7	18.0	4.7	0.7	7.3	8.7	12.0	26.0	44.7
West Bengal	110	30.0	15.5	10.9	...	15.5	3.6	12.7	62.7	5.4
Total	1080	14.6	20.9	6.9	2.1	9.9	7.2	10.4	17.1	44.4

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to France ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard of living				
SEX										
Male	891	10.3	4.7	1.5	2.8	5.6	9.2	7.9	12.9	60.0
Female	189	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	1.6	1.0	41.8	55.0
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	9.1	3.9	1.9	3.1	6.7	9.3	6.1	16.1	57.6
36—50	331	8.8	3.9	0.6	1.2	2.1	6.0	6.3	19.0	61.9
Above 50	153	8.5	5.2	0.7	2.6	3.9	7.2	8.5	20.9	57.5
Unspecified	25	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	...	28.0	68.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	1.3	0.7	...	0.7	0.7	0.7	...	65.8	34.2
Under-matric	350	7.4	3.4	0.9	1.4	3.7	6.0	7.4	19.7	61.4
Matric	289	10.4	3.5	0.7	1.4	4.5	10.4	7.6	6.2	65.7
Graduate & above	265	13.2	7.5	3.4	5.7	8.7	12.1	8.3	3.0	60.4
Unspecified	27	3.7	...	...	3.7	3.7	3.7	7.4	3.7	85.2
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	4.4	1.6	0.4	1.2	2.0	4.0	0.4	37.8	50.6
101—200	348	7.2	5.5	0.3	2.3	4.3	7.8	7.2	12.1	65.8
201—350	295	10.2	3.7	2.7	2.0	4.1	8.1	5.4	12.5	64.1
351—700	112	15.2	7.1	0.9	5.4	8.0	9.8	10.7	7.1	53.6
Above 700	45	17.8	2.2	6.7	6.7	17.8	20.0	13.3	8.9	48.9
Unspecified	31	6.4	...	...	...	6.4	12.9	3.2	29.0	45.2
Total	1080	8.7	4.0	1.3	2.4	4.7	7.9	6.7	17.9	59.2

Note : No check—provision for multiple answers.

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to France ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard of living				
RELIGION										
Hindu	881	8.8	4.2	1·1	2.6	4.9	8.0	7.0	18.0	57.5
Muslim	108	9.2	2.8	1.8	1.8	6.5	8.3	5.6	24.1	58.3
Christian	55	5.5	3.6	3.6	1.8	1.8	...	3.6	...	87.3
Sikh	18	11.1	5.6	...	...	...	16.7	11.1	27.8	55.6
Others	13	7.7	...	...	...	...	15.4	...	30.8	46.1
Unspecified	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100.0
VOTING INTENTION										
Congress	467	10.3	4.7	1.5	2.1	5·8	10.0	8.6	13.9	57.2
P. S. P	85	8.2	2.4	1.2	2.4	3.5	2.4	1.2	12.9	70.0
Communist	86	10.5	1.2	...	4.6	8.1	11.6	5.8	27.9	48.8
Swatantra	91	4.4	2.2	...	3.3	...	2.2	9.9	9.9	75.8
Jan Sangh	31	9.7	3.2	...	3.2	6.5	19.4	6.5	9.7	54.8
Socialist	16	12.5	12.5	...	...	6·2	12.5	12.5	18.8	62.5
Independent	51	13.7	7.8	1.9	3.9	5.9	5.9	3.9	19.6	58.8
Hindu Mahasabha	32	3.1	3.1	...	...	...	9.4	6.2	18.8	59.4
Undecided]	221	5.9	3.6	2.3	1.8	3.6	4.5	4.1	28.5	56.6
OCCUPATION										
Andhra Pradesh	95	8.4	4.2	4·2	7.4	10.5	12.6	5.3	3.2	65.2
Bihar	45	...	...	...	...	...	2.2	...	37.8	62.2
Delhi	25	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	4.0	20.0	72.0
Gujarat	75	5.3	...	...	10.7	1.3	6.7	20.0	2.7	53.3
Kerala	35	...	2.9	...	...	...	...	...	...	97.1
Madhya Pradesh	55	16.4	10.9	3.6	9.1	32.7	34.5	10.9	5.1	41.8
Madras	125	...	11.2	...	...	...	1.6	...	...	87.2
Maharashtra	160	3.8	...	...	1.9	1.2	6.2	3.8	1.9	85.6
Mysore	80	13.8	6.2	2.5	2.5	3.8	12.5	8.8	16.2	53.8
Orissa	15	13.3	13.3	6.7	...	...	...	6.7	60.0	20.0
Punjab	60	16.7	5.0	...	...	...	11.7	15.0	15.0	58.3
Rajasthan	50	14.0	2.0	2.0	...	...	...	...	40.0	46.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	8.0	4.7	2.0	0.7	6.7	10.7	7.3	27.3	48.7
West Bengal	110	22.7	...	1.4	...	6.4	1.8	10.0	62.7	10.0
Total	1080	8.7	4.0	1.3	2.4	4.7	7.9	6.7	1.79	59.2

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to Japan ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard of living				
SEX										
Male	891	20.0	15.0	7.7	2.0	9.9	2.0	17.6	12.9	48.5
Female	189	5.8	5.3	3.2	0.5	2.6	...	4.8	40.2	49.2
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	20.0	14.4	9.3	2.3	11.0	1.4	18.0	16.3	45.4
36—50	331	14.8	12.4	4.2	1.8	6.0	1.5	12.1	17.8	59.6
Above 50	153	17.0	13.7	5.2	...	5.9	1.9	15.0	20.9	51.0
Unspecified	25	...	...	...	...	4.0	4.0	...	28.0	64.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	2.7	0.7	0.7	...	0.7	...	1.3	65.8	32.2
Under-matric	350	11.1	6.9	2.3	1.7	4.0	2.0	12.3	20.0	56.3
Matric	289	21.5	13.1	5.2	2.4	6.9	2.1	17.3	5.9	57.1
Graduate & above	265	31.7	30.6	19.2	2.3	21.5	1.5	25.7	1.9	34.7
Unspecified	27	...	...	...	...	3.7	...	7.9	3.7	85.2
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	5.6	2.8	1.6	1.2	1.6	1.6	7.2	37.3	48.6
101—200	348	14.1	11.5	4.3	2.0	5.5	1.4	14.7	12.1	58.0
201—350	295	22.0	20.0	11.2	0.7	11.5	1.4	17.3	12.5	44.1
351—700	112	30.4	16.9	10.7	3.6	16.1	3.6	18.7	7.1	41.9
Above 700	45	37.8	33.3	20.0	2.2	28.9	...	37.8	4.4	33.3
Unspecified	31	32.3	12.9	6.4	6.4	16.1	...	25.8	29.0	32.3
Total	1080	17.5	13.3	6.9	1.7	8.6	1.6	15.4	17.7	48.6

Note : No check—provision for multiple answers.

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to Japan ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard of living				
RELIGION										
Hindu	881	18.5	13.3	6.7	2.2	9.6	1.7	15.9	17.9	46.2
Muslim	108	11.1	6.5	6.5	...	4.6	0.9	12.9	24.1	57.4
Christian	55	7.3	21.8	14.5	...	5.5	...	9.1	...	70.9
Sikh	18	33.3	33.3	5.6	...	...	...	33.3	16.7	50.0
Others	13	23.1	7.7	...	...	...	7.7	7.7	30.8	30.8
Unspecified	5	20.0	20.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	80.0
VOTING INTENTION										
Congress	467	18.8	14.1	5.4	2.4	10.0	1.5	18.4	13.9	49.7
P. S. P.	85	16.5	16.5	8.2	1.2	7.0	...	4.7	12.9	55.3
Communist	86	22.1	12.8	10.5	4.6	10.5	2.3	20.1	26.7	33.7
Swatantra	91	17.6	16.5	9.9	1.1	6.6	...	14.3	11.0	56.0
Jan Sangh	31	32.3	16.1	3.2	...	6.5	3.2	16.1	9.7	51.6
Socialist	16	18.8	18.8	12.5	...	12.5	12.5	18.8	18.8	37.5
Independent	51	3.9	3.9	1.9	...	...	1.9	3.9	7.8	29.4
Hindu Mahasabha	32	37.5	18.8	12.5	3.1	9.4	3.1	28.1	31.2	93.8
Undecided	221	11.3	9.9	7.7	0.4	8.1	1.4	11.8	28.0	44.8
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	22.1	18.9	10.5	1.0	31.6	1.0	24.2	3.2	42.1
Bihar	45	2.2	...	...	...	...	...	2.2	37.8	62.2
Delhi	25	4.0	4.0	...	...	4.0	...	4.0	20.0	72.0
Gujarat	75	20.0	2.7	5.3	14.7	10.7	4.0	25.3	2.7	36.0
Kerala	35	...	57.1	25.7	...	...	...	...	...	42.9
Madhya Pradesh	55	34.5	14.5	10.9	3.6	23.6	9.1	30.9	9.1	36.4
Madras	125	1.6	21.6	12.8	...	...	...	1.6	...	75.2
Maharashtra	160	8.1	1.2	1.2	0.6	1.9	2.5	8.1	0.6	83.1
Mysore	80	45.0	26.2	10.0	2.5	21.2	1.2	38.8	12.5	22.5
Orissa	15	13.3	13.3	6.7	...	...	...	6.7	60.0	20.0
Punjab	60	26.7	25.0	1.7	...	...	...	26.7	15.0	58.3
Rajasthan	50	14.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	40.0	46.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	18.7	16.0	6.7	1.3	6.0	0.7	19.3	27.3	42.0
West Bengal	110	25.4	3.6	6.4	...	10.9	1.8	11.8	62.7	7.3
Total	1080	17.5	13.3	6.9	1.7	8.6	1.6	15.4	17.7	48.6

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to China ?

Percentage

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard of living				
SEX										
Male	891	2.7	0.7	5.2	9.0	3.6	31.5	2.7	13.1	47.4
Female	189	1.6	...	1.0	2.6	0.5	7.9	0.5	41.3	48.7
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	3.0	0.5	5.2	9.5	3.5	30.8	1.9	16.1	45.4
36—50	331	2.4	0.3	4.8	5.7	3.3	23.9	2.7	18.1	51.1
Above 50	153	1.3	1.3	1.3	7.2	1.3	23.5	3.3	22.2	48.4
Unspecified	25	...	...	...	4.0	...	20.0	...	36.0	48.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	0.7	0.7	...	0.7	...	2.7	...	65.8	32.2
Under-matric	350	1.7	0.6	3.7	6.0	3.1	19.7	2.3	19.7	54.0
Matric	289	3.1	0.3	6.6	7.6	2.1	30.4	1.7	5.9	55.4
Graduate & above	265	4.1	0.8	5.7	15.1	6.0	50.2	4.1	3.0	35.8
Unspecified	27	...	...	3.7	3.7	...	7.4	3.7	11.1	81.5
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	0.8	0.8	2.4	4.4	1.6	12.8	1.6	37.3	45.0
101—200	348	2.3	0.3	4.9	7.2	2.9	25.6	2.3	12.1	54.9
201—350	295	3.4	0.3	5.1	8.1	4.1	33.2	2.0	12.9	47.5
351—700	112	2.7	0.9	6.2	15.2	4.5	41.9	4.5	7.1	38.4
Above 700	45	4.4	2.2	4.4	13.3	4.4	44.4	4.4	6.7	40.0
Unspecified	31	6.4	...	3.2	6.4	...	32.3	...	35.5	32.3
Total	1080	2.5	0.6	4.4	7.9	3.1	27.4	2.3	18.1	47.7

Note : No check—provision for multiple answers.

All-India Urban

In your opinion which of the under-noted statements apply to China ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Friendly to Asian countries	Generous aid to India	Solved unemployment problem	Economic system leads to :		War loving	Peace loving	Never read or heard	Can't say
					Exploitation	Rise in standard living				
RELIGION										
Hindu	881	2.6	0.6	4.5	8.3	2.9	27.4	2.4	18.3	46.7
Muslim	108	1.8	...	5.6	5.6	6.5	21.3	1.8	23.1	50.9
Christian	55	1.8	...	1.8	7.3	...	40.0	1.8	...	56.4
Sikh	18	5.6	5.6	...	...	...	27.8	5.6	16.7	50.0
Others	13	...	...	7.7	15.4	...	30.8	...	30.8	30.8
Unspecified	5	...	...	...	...	...	20.0	...	40.0	80.0
VOTING INTENTION										
Congress	467	11.7	0.4	5.1	9.4	3.4	32.1	1.9	13.7	46.2
P. S. P.	85	2.3	1.2	3.5	4.7	2.3	36.5	2.3	12.9	44.7
Communist	86	7.0	...	11.6	2.3	7.0	16.3	3.5	26.7	41.9
Swatantra	91	2.2	...	2.2	13.2	...	31.9	2.2	9.9	56.0
Jan Sangh	31	6.4	...	3.2	3.2	9.7	35.5	3.2	9.7	45.2
Socialist	16	6.2	...	12.5	12.5	...	25.0	...	18.8	50.0
Independent	51	1.9	...	...	5.9	1.9	25.5	1.9	21.6	52.9
Hindu Mahasabha	32	...	...	...	6.5	...	12.5	...	21.9	65.6
Undecided	221	2.3	1.4	2.7	5.9	2.3	18.1	3.2	28.9	46.6
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	2.1	...	4.2	16.8	3.1	43.1	6.3	3.1	38.9
Bihar	45	...	...	...	...	...	4.4	...	37.8	60.0
Delhi	25	...	...	8.0	4.0	...	24.0	...	20.0	52.0
Gujarat	75	1.3	...	20.0	22.7	12.0	61.3	1.3	4.0	22.7
Kerala	35	...	...	...	...	...	48.6	...	...	51.4
Madhya Pradesh	55	3.6	...	21.8	12.7	14.5	52.7	3.6	7.3	29.1
Madras	125	...	...	0.8	...	0.8	15.2	...	...	83.2
Maharashtra	160	...	1.2	0.6	9.4	0.6	16.9	1.9	0.6	76.9
Mysore	80	8.7	2.5	3.8	25.0	2.5	45.0	2.5	13.7	27.5
Orissa	15	6.7	...	...	...	...	...	...	66.7	26.7
Punjab	60	10.0	1.7	...	...	...	16.7	10.0	38.0	58.3
Rajasthan	50	2.0	...	...	...	...	2.0	...	42.2	54.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	2.0	...	4.0	6.0	2.0	25.3	1.3	28.0	41.3
West Bengal	110	3.6	0.9	3.6	...	5.5	21.8	2.7	62.7	8.2
Total	1080	2.5	0.6	4.4	7.9	3.1	27.4	2.3	18.1	47.6

Domestic Political Opinion and Attitudes to International Issues

The pattern of response thus clearly indicates that attitudes to international issues are mostly determined by the international relationships which exist between those countries and India, rather than domestic voting intention. This is not surprising even though it might lack in a certain amount of consistency. The importance of any international issue is reflected on a domestic scale. As a corollary, it was found that domestic voting intentions are, for all practical purposes, insulated from international pulls. Only the Communist Party is the major exception. Viewed from political affiliations, the voters for the Communist Party have exhibited a certain amount of consistency in their international opinions as well ; to some extent, the people who expressed their intention of voting for Swatantra have also shown a general preference for the West. The congress as such seems to be almost neutral in this leaning ; the opinions expressed vary from the extreme Right to the extreme Left.

All-India (Urban and Rural)

If there were an election today, for which party will you vote for the Lok Sabha ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Congress	P. S. P.	Communist	Swatantra	Jan Sangh	Socialist	Independent	Others*	Undecided & Refusal
AGE GROUP										
21—35	1404	43.4	9.9	12.8	1.9	1.6	2.0	2.8	5.9	19.7
36—50	968	45.1	10.2	12.7	1.4	1.7	1.5	2.2	5.6	19.6
Above 50	579	49.2	7.8	9.7	0.7	1.4	1.7	2.1	5.5	21.9
Unspecified	49	46.9	2.1	18.3	...	2.1	...	...	4.1	26.5
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	1187	35.3	8.9	10.1	0.3	1.1	2.2	1.9	7.1	33.1
Under-matric	1184	52.8	10.9	14.2	0.9	1.9	1.5	2.2	5.1	10.5
Matric	385	51.2	6.8	15.1	3.6	1.3	1.8	3.6	4.4	12.2
Graduate & above	197	43.7	10.7	10.7	8.1	3.6	1.0	4.0	2.5	15.7
Unspecified	47	55.6	4.2	2.1	2.1	...	...	4.2	8.5	23.3
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	1474	41.0	9.3	13.0	0.6	1.4	1.8	2.4	6.9	23.6
101—200	905	47.5	10.3	13.5	1.2	1.4	1.4	2.4	5.1	17.2
201—350	380	50.5	8.7	7.6	4.5	1.6	2.6	4.7	2.9	16.9
351—700	132	57.6	9.1	8.3	4.5	3.8	0.8	...	2.3	13.6
Over 700	36	52.8	16.7	2.8	2.8	8.3	5.5	...	8.3	2.8
Unspecified	73	42.5	4.1	16.4	1.4	1.4	...	1.4	6.8	26.0
Total	3000	45.0	9.5	12.3	1.5	1.6	1.8	2.4	5.7	20.2

Note : Horizontal totals add upto 100% in each case.

*Others include : Hindu Mahasabha, Republican party, Akali, Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, D. M. K., Vidarbha party, Janata and Ganatantra Parishad.

All-India (Urban and Rural)

If there were an election today, for which party will you vote for the Lok Sabha ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Congress	P. S. P.	Communist	Swatantra	Jan Sangh	Socialist	Independent	Others	Undecided & Refusal
RELIGION										
Hindu	2566	45.5	9.4	12.6	1.5	1.7	1.5	2.2	5.1	20.5
Muslim	245	45.3	10.2	15.5	1.2	0.8	5.3	4.1	3.3	14.3
Christian	87	56.3	10.3	3.5	2.3	...	...	6.9	6.9	13.8
Sikh	48	14.5	...	2.1	2.1	2.1	...	...	37.5	41.7
Others	20	25.0	30.0	...	...	5.0	...	...	20.0	20.0
Unspecified	34	41.2	11.8	11.8	...	...	2.9	2.9	5.9	23.5
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	273	59.0	4.8	17.2	1.8	...	1.5	4.4	0.7	10.6
Bihar	338	48.5	12.4	8.9	0.6	...	0.9	0.6	7.7	20.4
Delhi	17	29.4	11.8	5.8	5.9	29.4	...	5.9	...	11.8
Gujarat	142	52.8	9.2	13.4	2.1	2.1	1.4	1.4	2.8	14.8
Kerala	117	23.9	17.1	44.5	...	...	0.8	2.6	3.4	7.7
Madhya Pradesh	227	42.3	11.5	8.8	0.4	3.9	2.7	1.3	4.4	24.7
Madras	263	42.6	5.7	17.9	3.4	...	...	2.3	12.9	15.2
Maharashtra	280	60.7	12.5	4.3	2.1	0.4	0.4	5.4	4.6	9.6
Mysore	170	43.5	11.2	10.6	5.2	0.6	4.1	1.8	1.2	21.8
Orissa	128	35.9	6.3	3.1	...	...	...	1.6	32.0	21.1
Punjab	140	31.4	2.9	6.4	0.7	14.3	0.7	0.7	16.4	26.5
Rajasthan	140	31.4	10.0	1.4	2.2	1.4	...	6.4	5.0	42.2
Uttar Pradesh	535	44.7	10.8	5.9	0.7	1.3	5.2	2.1	...	29.3
West Bengal	230	41.3	6.9	33.0	0.4	...	...	0.9	1.8	15.7
Total	3000	45.0	9.5	12.3	1.5	1.6	1.8	2.4	5.7	20.2

All-India Rural

If there were an election today, for which party will you vote for the Lok Sabha ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Congress	P. S. P.	Communist	Jan Sangh	Socialist	Independent	*Others	Refusal & Undecided
AGE GROUP									
21—35	1119	44.1	10.7	13.5	1.3	2.2	2.1	6.3	19.8
36—50	802	44.5	10.7	14.0	1.5	1.6	1.5	6.6	19.6
Above 50	503	50.0	7.2	10.5	1.0	1.4	2.0	6.0	21.9
Unspecified	36	25.0	...	25.0	...	...	2.8	2.8	19.4
EDUCATION									
Illiterate	1113	35.8	9.1	10.2	1.0	2.3	1.7	7.5	32.4
Under-matric	1009	53.4	11.5	15.4	1.7	1.4	1.9	5.6	9.1
Matric	240	55.0	6.6	19.2	0.4	2.5	2.1	4.6	9.6
Graduate & above	65	50.8	10.8	13.9	3.1	...	4.6	1.5	15.3
Unspecified	33	54.5	6.1	3.0	...	...	...	9.1	27.3
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)									
1—100	1350	41.4	9.5	13.5	1.2	1.8	1.9	7.3	23.4
101—200	731	48.7	10.7	14.5	1.0	1.5	1.9	5.4	16.3
201—350	232	56.8	8.6	8.6	1.3	3.4	3.1	3.1	15.1
351—700	76	56.6	11.9	9.2	3.9	1.3	...	2.6	14.5
Above 700	14	42.9	28.6	...	7.1	7.1	...	14.3	...
Unspecified	57	42.1	5.3	17.5	1.8	...	1.8	8.7	22.8
Total	2460	45.6	9.8	13.2	1.3	1.8	1.9	6.3	20.1

*Others include : Hindu Mahasabha, Republican party, Akali, S.M.S., D.M.K., Vidarbha Party, Janata and Gantantra Parishad.

Note : Horizontal totals add upto 100% in each case.

All-India Rural

If there were an election today, for which party will you vote for the Lok Sabha ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Congress	P. S. P.	Communist	Jan Sangh	Socialist	Independent	*Others	Refusal & Undecided
RELIGION									
Hindu	2126	45.9	4.7	13.4	1.3	1.6	1.8	5.5	20.8
Muslim	191	47.8	10.5	17.8	1.0	5.2	1.5	3.6	12.6
Christian	59	55.9	11.9	3.3	...	...	8.5	10.2	10.2
Sikh	39	12.8	...	2.6	2.6	...	...	46.1	35.9
Others	13	23.0	30.8	...	7.7	...	...	30.8	7.7
Unspecfieid	32	37.5	12.5	12.5	...	3.1	...	6.3	28.1
STATE									
Andhra Pradesh	225	62.7	3.6	18.2	...	1.3	4.5	0.8	8.9
Bihar	315	49.2	12.7	9.6	...	0.9	0.6	8.3	18.7
Delhi	5	20.0	...	...	60.0	...	20.0	...	...
Gujarat	105	54.3	9.6	16.2	...	1.9	0.9	2.9	14.2
Kerala	100	22.0	17.0	48.0	...	...	3.0	4.0	6.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	40.5	12.5	8.5	4.0	2.5	1.0	4.5	26.5
Madras	200	46.5	4.0	20.5	...	...	1.0	14.0	14.0
Maharashtra	200	64.0	14.0	5.0	...	0.5	3.5	5.0	8.0
Mysore	130	43.1	14.6	12.3	...	5.4	0.8	0.8	23.0
Orissa	120	35.8	5.8	3.4	...	...	0.8	32.5	21.7
Punjab	110	31.8	2.7	8.2	14.5	...	...	20.0	22.8
Rajasthan	115	30.4	9.6	0.9	...	...	6.9	6.1	46.1
Uttar Pradesh	460	43.7	11.5	6.3	1.1	5.2	2.0	...	30.2
West Bengal	175	41.2	7.4	35.4	...	...	...	1.7	14.3
Total	2460	45.6	9.8	13.2	1.3	1.8	1.9	6.3	20.1

*Others include : Hindu Mahasabha, Republican party, Akali, S.M.S., D.M.K., Vidarbha party, Janata and Ganatantra Parishad.

Note : Horizontal totals add upto 100% in each case.

All-India Urban

If there were an election today, for which party will you vote for the Lok Sabha ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Congress	P. S. P.	Communist	Swatantra	Jan Sangh	Socialist	Independent	*Others	Undecided & Refusal
AGE GROUP										
21—35	571	40.8	7.0	10.2	9.5	2.8	1.0	5.1	4.2	19.4
36—50	331	47.7	8.2	6.3	8.5	2.7	1.5	5.4	0.9	18.8
Above 50	153	43.2	11.1	4.6	5.2	3.9	3.3	6.2	2.6	23.5
Unspecified	25	40.0	4.0	...	4.0	...	...	...	4.0	48.0
EDUCATION										
Illiterate	149	28.2	6.7	8.7	5.4	1.3	2.0	4.7	2.0	41.1
Under-matric	350	49.2	7.7	7.4	6.0	3.1	2.0	3.4	2.3	18.9
Matric	289	45.3	6.9	8.0	9.6	2.8	1.0	6.6	4.2	15.6
Graduate & above	265	40.0	10.6	9.1	12.4	3.8	1.1	3.4	3.0	16.6
Unspecified	27	59.3	...	...	3.7	...	...	14.8	3.7	18.5
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)										
1—100	249	37.0	8.0	3.9	7.6	3.2	2.4	5.2	2.8	24.9
101—200	348	42.6	8.3	9.2	6.6	2.6	1.1	4.6	4.0	21.0
201—350	295	41.1	8.8	6.4	11.5	2.0	1.7	7.1	3.1	18.3
351—700	112	58.9	5.4	6.3	10.7	3.6	...	...	0.9	14.2
Over 700	45	55.6	8.9	4.4	2.2	8.9	2.2	...	2.2	15.6
Unspecified	31	48.4	...	12.9	6.5	...	...	3.2	...	29.0
Total	1080	43.2	7.9	8.0	8.4	2.9	1.5	4.7	2.9	20.5

All-India Urban

If there were an election today, for which party will you vote for Lok Sabha ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	Congress	P. S. P.	Communist	Swatantra	Jan Sangh	Socialist	Independent	*Others	Undecided & Refusal
RELIGION										
Hindu	881	43.5	7.7	8.7	8.9	3.5	1.3	3.7	3.4	19.3
Muslim	108	37.0	9.3	6.5	5.6	...	4.6	12.	0.9	24.1
Christian	55	60.0	7.3	1.8	9.1	...	...	7.3	...	14.5
Sikh	18	22.2	...	...	5.6	...	...	...	5.6	66.6
Others	13	30.8	23.0	7.7	7.7	...	...	...	...	30.8
Unspecified	5	60.0	...	...	...	...	...	20.0	...	20.0
STATE										
Andhra Pradesh	95	43.1	10.5	12.5	11.5	1.1	1.1	4.2	...	15.9
Bihar	45	37.8	11.1	...	6.7	...	...	...	2.2	42.2
Delhi	25	32.0	12.0	4.0	8.0	16.0	...	...	...	28.0
Gujarat	75	48.0	9.3	6.7	8.0	6.7	1.3	4.0	2.7	13.3
Kerala	35	37.2	17.1	22.9	...	...	5.7	...	...	17.1
Madhya Pradesh	55	54.6	1.8	12.7	1.8	3.6	3.6	1.8	1.8	18.3
Madras	125	31.2	11.2	9.6	14.4	...	...	6.4	9.6	17.6
Maharashtra	160	53.1	9.4	2.5	8.1	1.9	...	10.0	4.4	10.6
Mysore	80	43.8	...	5.0	21.3	1.2	...	6.2	2.5	20.0
Orissa	15	46.7	13.1	...	6.7	...	...	13.3	20.0	...
Punjab	60	30.0	1.7	...	1.7	13.3	1.7	3.3	1.7	46.6
Rajasthan	50	34.0	10.0	2.0	12.0	6.0	...	4.0	2.0	30.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	50.0	6.7	3.3	8.0	2.6	6.0	2.0	...	23.4
West Bengal	110	41.8	5.4	24.6	2.7	...	...	4.6	1.8	19.1
Total	1080	43.2	7.9	8.0	8.4	2.9	1.5	4.7	2.9	20.5

*Others include : Hindu Mahasabha, Republican party, Akali, S.M.S., D.M.K., Vidarbha party, Janata and Ganatantra Parishad.

Note : Horizontal totals add upto 100% in each case.

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Prevailing International Tensions

An All-India Survey of Indian Expectations and Attitudes

and

A Survey on Indian Newspaper Readership—1961

In this issue of the Monthly Public Opinion Surveys the results of two all-India studies are presented. The first of these relates to the people's attitudes towards the present East-West conflict including the role which the United Nations is playing. The basic question which more or less guided all the subsequent questions of this survey was the Indian public's expectations on the possibility of a third world war. The survey did not attempt to assess separately in this context the preferred policy for India : this incidentally has already been dealt with in our double issue 77, 78.

A related survey on the means of communications, which ultimately mould these attitudes towards international problems was also conducted with specific reference to newspapers. A radio listening survey is now in the field and it is hoped that a comprehensive study of the channels of communication will be presented by the end of this year. This Survey also has a limited context being mostly of an exploratory nature. The major emphasis had been to assess the depth of readership and generally the extent of the relative efficacy of the news and editorial comments as contributory factors in the moulding of Indian public attitudes.

The Sample

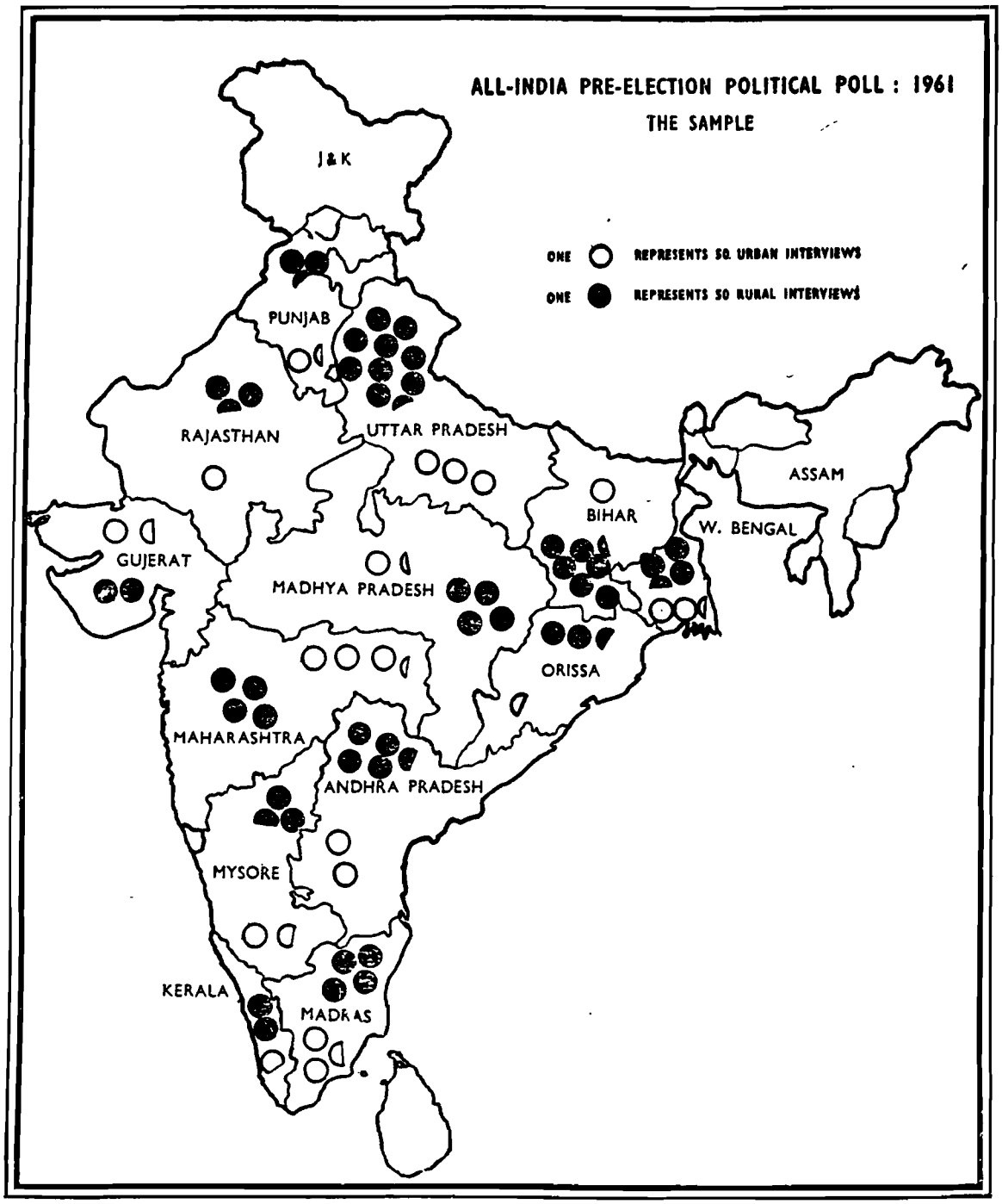
The surveys, though conducted separately, were on the same sample as was used for the all-India Pre-Election Political Poll of 1961. The total sample consisted of 3540 interviews of which 2460 were in rural areas. The proportionate urban sample works out to 540 interviews, but for the same reasons as were explained in our issues Nos. 74, 75, 76, this urban sample was doubled and in all 1080 interviews were conducted. As before, the States of Assam, Jammu & Kashmir and the centrally administered territories of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura were excluded. This survey was conducted during October and November 1961.

The Sample

	URBAN		RURAL	
	Actual	%	Actual	%
AGE GROUP				
21—35	537	52.9	1119	45.5
36—50	331	30.6	802	32.6
Above 50	153	14.2	503	20.4
Unspecified	25	2.3	36	1.5
Total	1080	100.0	2460	100.0

The Sample (Contd.)

		URBAN		RURAL	
		Actual	%	Actual	%
EDUCATION					
Illiterate		149	13.8	1113	45.3
Under-matric		350	32.4	1009	41.0
Matric		289	26.8	240	9.8
Gratuate & above		265	24.5	65	2.6
Unspecified		27	2.5	33	1.3
	Total	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)					
1—100		249	23.1	1350	54.9
101—200		348	32.2	731	29.7
201—350		295	27.3	232	9.4
351—700		112	10.4	76	3.1
Over 700		45	4.2	14	0.6
Unspecified		31	2.8	57	2.3
	Total	1080	100.0	2460	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh		95	8.8	225	9.1
Bihar		45	4.2	315	12.8
Delhi		25	2.3	5	0.2
Gujarat		75	6.9	105	4.3
Kerala		35	3.2	100	4.1
Madhya Pradesh		55	5.1	200	8.1
Madras		125	11.6	200	8.1
Maharasthra		160	14.8	200	8.1
Mysore		80	7.4	130	5.3
Orissa		15	1.4	220	4.9
Punjab		60	5.6	110	4.5
Rajasthan		50	4.6	115	4.7
Uttar Pradesh		150	13.9	460	18.7
West Bengal		110	10.2	175	7.1
	Total	1080	100.0	2460	100.0


ALL-INDIA PRE-ELECTION POLITICAL POLL : 1961
THE SAMPLE
ONE REPRESENTS 50 URBAN INTERVIEWS
ONE REPRESENTS 50 RURAL INTERVIEWS
J&K
PUNJAB
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
BIHAR
ASSAM
W. BENGAL
GUJERAT
MADHYA PRADESH
ORISSA
MAHARASHTRA
ANDHRA PRADESH
MYSORE
KERALA
MADRAS

The Danger Of War

Almost all the urban population in India considers that there is "much danger" of war at the present moment. In rural areas, however, it was only one in three who considered that there was "much danger" of a war. In rural areas, as can be expected, more than half the population had no opinion to express on this particular topic. The percentage of respondents who considered the possibility of a war "somewhat remote" was 25 in urban areas, and around 10 in rural areas.

Here also the overall figures of expectations had a wide dispersion if individual States are considered. For example, while the danger of war was rated high in Maharashtra, Madras and Madhya Pradesh, in Bihar, Orissa and Kerala the proportion of people with this view was considerably less than a quarter. In fact, in Bihar it was as low as 6.7 per cent. In urban areas, it was somewhat significant to see that the higher educated groups expect war more than the lower educated groups. In fact, the trend was a consistent one, rising with education, and with income. This could be possibly due to the higher extent of awareness with the present world tensions and also due to the higher response received from these sections. The latter factor has considerably reduced the people in the "don't know" category and the proportions in both the response categories were consequently higher.

In rural areas, considerably more than half the total respondents preferred not to express any opinion. Here also within the compass of the overall figures, there were significant differences between States. For example, in Gujarat and Maharashtra the proportion of rural population stating that there was much danger of war was more than 50 per cent. Here also the responses received from Bihar and Orissa were very poor, with 88 per cent and 97 per cent not expressing any opinion. As a result, the proportions in the first category were much lower ; in Bihar it was 4.4 per cent and in Orissa it was 1.7 per cent.

All-India Urban

Would you say there is much danger of a world war ?

Percentages

		No. of Respondents	Much danger	Not much	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35		487	48.3	27.1	24.6	100.0
36—50		265	48.3	24.2	27.5	100.0
Above 50		122	52.5	20.5	27.0	100.0
Unspecified		21	38.1	28.6	33.3	100.0
	Total	895	48.6	25.4	26.0	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate		95	21.0	2.2	76.8	100.0
Under-matric		287	50.9	17.1	32.0	100.0
Matric		251	53.4	27.9	18.7	100.0
Graduate & above		235	51.5	42.1	6.4	100.0
Unspecified		27	51.9	25.9	22.2	100.0
	Total	895	48.6	25.4	26.0	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100		196	38.3	14.3	47.4	100.0
101—200		301	50.8	24.9	24.3	100.0
201—350		253	51.4	28.5	20.1	100.0
351—700		87	57.5	35.6	6.9	100.0
Over 700		34	50.0	41.2	8.8	100.0
Unspecified		24	41.6	29.2	29.2	100.0
	Total	895	48.6	25.4	26.0	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh		95	44.2	43.2	12.6	100.0
Bihar		45	6.7	...	93.3	100.0
Gujarat		75	37.3	52.0	10.7	100.0
Kerala		35	25.7	62.9	11.4	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		55	72.7	12.7	14.6	100.0
Madras		125	54.4	19.2	26.4	100.0
Maharashtra		160	68.1	21.9	10.0	100.0
Mysore		80	50.0	31.3	18.7	100.0
Orissa		15	20.0	20.0	60.0	100.0
Punjab		60	46.7	8.3	45.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		150	43.3	17.3	39.4	100.0
	Total	895	48.6	25.4	26.0	100.0

All-India Rural

Would you say there is much danger of a world war ?

Percentages

		No. of Respondents	Much danger	Not much	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35		964	34.5	12.2	53.2	100.0
36—50		730	27.0	10.8	62.2	100.0
Above 50		440	27.0	7.3	65.7	100.0
Unspecified		31	22.5	6.5	71.0	100.0
	Total	2165	30.3	10.6	59.1	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate		916	13.8	0.9	85.3	100.0
Under-matric		929	39.0	13.0	48.0	100.0
Matric		232	50.5	34.0	15.5	100.0
Graduate & above		62	62.9	33.9	3.2	100.0
Unspecified		26	42.3	3.8	53.9	100.0
	Total	2165	30.3	10.6	59.1	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100		1179	23.9	6.4	69.7	100.0
101—200		638	36.4	13.8	49.8	100.0
201—350		214	43.9	21.5	34.6	100.0
351—700		70	40.0	22.9	37.1	100.0
Over 700		13	53.8	23.1	23.1	100.0
Unspecified		51	25.5	3.9	70.6	100.0
	Total	2165	30.3	10.6	59.1	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh		225	32.8	26.3	40.9	100.0
Bihar		315	4.4	7.6	88.0	100.0
Gujarat		105	52.4	11.4	36.2	100.0
Kerala		100	14.0	41.0	45.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		200	37.0	4.0	59.0	100.0
Madras		200	45.0	14.0	41.0	100.0
Maharashtra		200	51.0	17.5	31.5	100.0
Mysore		130	26.9	3.1	70.0	100.0
Orissa		120	1.7	1.7	96.6	100.0
Punjab		110	36.4	...	63.6	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		460	33.9	3.7	62.4	100.0
	Total	2165	30.3	10.6	59.1	100.0

Who Will Start a War—the U.S.S.R. or the U.S.A.?

Near about 44 per cent could not venture an opinion on the likely party which would start a war, but the respondents who gave replies to this question showed a commendable appreciation of the current situation. They did not appear to be guided by any personal or ideological factors. More than half the respondents who ventured an answer to this question have stated that the war would come not because of any aggressive attitude of a particular country, but would come due to the very fact that two camps with considerable amount of power behind each, were facing each other in many international issues. The spark might come any time; but then both are to be blamed. The other significant point particularly with reference to the present conditions in India was the response from a small, though significant, proportion of the respondents, that China would be the country which by its actions would most likely trigger a war. The responses which attempted to put the blame individually against the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. were more or less equal. Even though in urban areas Russia was considered by more people as a source for world conflict, the difference of the proportions was not found to be statistically significant. In the rural areas, also a similar situation was observed; the proportion of respondents blaming the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. individually was found to be 3.6 and 3.5 per cent respectively, remarkably and unexpectedly small.

An analysis of these responses with reference to education, and income groups did not reveal any significant associations. By States, there was, however, a significant difference. In Madhya Pradesh the respondents who thought that the U. S. A. would be the likely party which will start a war was as high as 20 per cent as compared to only 7.3 per cent who placed the blame on the U.S.S.R. Just the opposite was the case in respect of Maharashtra, Mysore and Gujarat. The most striking result of this study was given by the figures obtained in Kerala. While 8.6 per cent of the respondents thought that Russia was the most likely agency to start a new war, it was only about 3 per cent who expressed the same opinion with reference to the U.S.A. This, perhaps is an indication that the responses are not correlated to the apparent political affiliations even though in this particular case, it is quite possible that there had been of recent some significant change in these affiliations.

All-India Urban

Should a war come, do you think it is more likely to arise through U.S.A., Russia or some other way ?

Percentages

		No. of Respon-dents	Both USA and Russia	USA	Russia	China	Other way	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP									
21—35		487	30.0	8.0	9.2	4.7	6.6	41.5	100.0
36—50		265	31.7	4.2	7.5	5.7	3.4	47.5	100.0
Above 50		122	35.2	4.1	2.5	5.7	9.0	43.5	100.0
Unspecified		31	38.1	...	...	9.5	9.5	42.9	100.0
	Total	895	31.4	6.1	7.6	5.3	6.0	43.6	100.0
EDUCATION									
Illiterate		95	5.3	...	...	1.0	3.2	90.5	100.0
Under-matric		287	27.8	5.6	7.7	7.0	4.9	47.0	100.0
Matric		251	31.0	9.2	7.2	5.2	6.8	40.6	100.0
Graduate and above		235	45.1	6.8	11.1	5.1	6.8	25.1	100.0
Unspecified		27	44.5	...	7.4	3.7	14.8	29.6	100.0
	Total	895	31.4	6.1	7.6	5.3	6.0	43.6	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)									
1—100		196	19.9	4.6	5.1	5.6	4.6	60.2	100.0
101—200		301	31.6	8.6	8.6	4.3	4.7	42.2	100.0
201—350		253	36.4	5.2	7.1	4.7	7.1	39.5	100.0
351—700		87	41.4	4.6	8.0	4.6	9.2	32.2	100.0
Over 700		34	41.2	2.9	20.6	11.8	5.9	17.6	100.0
Unspecified		24	20.8	8.3	...	12.5	12.5	45.9	100.0
	Total	895	31.4	6.1	7.6	5.3	6.0	43.6	100.0
STATE									
Andhra Pradesh		95	51.6	6.3	5.3	7.4	6.3	23.1	100.0
Bihar		45	6.7	...	...	...	...	93.3	100.0
Gujarat		75	41.3	6.7	12.0	4.0	14.7	21.3	100.0
Kerala		35	22.8	2.9	8.6	...	8.6	57.1	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		55	21.8	20.0	7.3	3.6	16.4	30.9	100.0
Madras		125	25.6	6.4	3.2	0.8	0.8	63.2	100.0
Maharashtra		160	46.9	3.1	10.6	8.8	3.1	27.5	100.0
Mysore		80	32.5	3.7	15.0	3.8	13.7	31.3	100.0
Orissa		15	13.3	6.7	...	...	6.7	73.3	100.0
Punjab		60	21.7	10.0	10.0	3.3	1.7	53.3	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		150	20.0	6.0	5.3	10.0	4.0	54.7	100.0
	Total	895	31.4	6.1	7.6	5.3	6.0	43.6	100.0

All-India Rural

Should a war come, do you think it is more likely to arise through U.S.A., Russia or some other way ?

Percentages

		No. of Respon-dents	Both USA and Russia	USA	Russia	China	Other way	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP									
21—35		964	14.8	4.3	4.3	3.5	2.0	71.1	100.0
36—50		730	12.0	4.0	3.3	1.6	1.8	77.3	100.0
Above 50		440	10.9	1.4	2.3	0.9	2.5	82.0	100.0
Unspecified		31	19.4	...	...	3.2	3.2	74.2	100.0
	Total	2165	13.2	3.6	3.5	2.3	2.0	75.4	100.0
EDUCATION									
Illiterate		916	1.2	0.3	0.7	0.2	...	97.6	100.0
Under-matric		929	20.6	4.4	4.7	4.4	3.1	62.8	100.0
Matric		232	24.6	11.7	8.2	3.0	4.7	47.8	100.0
Graduate and above		62	24.1	9.7	9.7	1.6	6.5	48.4	100.0
Unspecified		26	42.3	...	...	...	...	57.7	100.0
	Total	2165	13.2	3.6	3.5	2.3	2.0	75.4	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)									
1—100		1179	9.2	2.5	2.3	2.2	1.4	82.4	100.0
101—200		638	16.9	5.5	3.9	1.9	2.5	69.3	100.0
201—350		214	24.3	2.8	7.5	3.7	2.8	58.9	100.0
351—700		70	14.3	2.9	5.7	5.7	7.1	64.3	100.0
Over 700		13	23.1	15.4	7.7	7.6	...	46.2	100.0
Unspecified		51	7.8	3.9	5.9	...	...	82.4	100.0
	Total	2165	13.2	3.6	3.5	2.3	2.0	75.4	100.0
STATE									
Andhra Pradesh		225	20.4	11.1	5.3	2-7	5.8	54.7	100.0
Bihar		315	6.7	2.2	1.3	0.3	...	89.5	100.0
Gujarat		105	35.2	1.9	9.6	3.8	1.9	47.6	100.0
Kerala		100	6.0	7.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	82.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		200	3.5	2.5	1.5	2.5	1.0	89.0	100.0
Madras		200	10.0	7.0	4.5	...	1.5	77.0	100.0
Maharashtra		200	38.0	1.5	7.5	7.0	2.5	43.5	100.0
Mysore		130	25.4	0.8	2.3	...	0.7	70.8	100.0
Orissa		120	0.8	...	...	...	...	99.2	100.0
Punjab		110	11.8	5.4	6.4	3.6	5.5	67.3	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		460	5.4	1.5	2.0	3.5	2.4	85.2	100.0
	Total	2165	13.2	3.6	3.5	2.3	2.0	75.4	100.0

Cold War Strategy : Who's Winning ?

Whatever may be the opinion about Russia's intentions, one fact that has been highlighted by the response to the subsequent question was with respect to its achievements. **More than half the respondents in urban areas have stated that it was the U.S.S.R. that was currently winning the Cold War. The proportion in favour of the West was found to be as low as a quarter of the U.S.S.R.'s** In rural areas this question was obviously somewhat difficult to understand and as a consequence, more than 80 per cent of the respondents have expressed no opinion. Amongst the few that understood the question and also ventured a response, it is the U.S.S.R. that was named as currently winning the Cold War. The proportion who thought so about the West was again less than a quarter of the above. In this particular case, however, there seemed to be no disagreement whatsoever and the pattern of response was fairly similar, There was no difference with respect to either age, education or income and also there was no significant difference between States. Most of the difference that was found is attributable only to varying proportions of response received in different States.

Missiles Race—Who Is Ahead ?

There was an overwhelming acceptance that the U.S.S.R. was far ahead in the field of missiles and rockets of the U.S.A. More than half the total respondents and more than 75 per cent of those who answered this question stated that Russia was and likely to be far ahead of the U.S.A. in the space race. This response seems to be again universal as no correlation was observed with age and education. Nor there was any significant difference between the proportions observed in different States.

India and the West

Near about half the respondents expressed their satisfaction on the considerable economic aid which the West and particularly, the U.S.A. was giving to India for economic development. The significant factor in this respect was the low content of the 'no opinion' category particularly in urban areas. This is definite progress as compared to the previous surveys which this Institute has conducted sometime back and the position that was obtained—that the economic help of the West though more in quantity, failed to attract great public attention—seems to have changed significantly with the passage of time. The high response firstly, of knowledge and secondly, of acceptance is a clear indication that there has been an increase of the urban public's awareness of the realities. There, however, continued to be large areas of ignorance in rural India and a very plausible reason for this was the absence of accessible channels of communication.

All-India Urban

Who is winning the Cold War Russsia or the West ?

		Percentages					
		No. of Respon-dents	Russia	The West	Nei-ther	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP							
21—35		487	25.3	3.9	25.3	45.5	100.0
36—50		265	19.6	7.5	22.3	50.6	100.0
Above 50		122	23.8	6.5	19.7	50.0	100.0
Unspecified		21	28.5	4.8	23.8	42.9	100.0
	Total	895	23.5	5.4	23.6	47.5	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate		95	5.3	...	2.1	92.6	100.0
Under-matric		287	26.1	7.7	9.4	56.8	100.0
Matric		251	24.3	7.6	25.5	42.6	100.0
Graduate & above		235	25.1	2.1	48.5	24.3	100.0
Unspecified		27	37.0	7.4	14.8	40.8	100.0
	Total	895	23.5	5.4	23.6	47.5	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100		196	19.9	4.1	9.2	66.8	100.0
101—200		301	22.2	7.0	23.2	47.6	100.0
201—350		253	23.8	5.9	32.0	38.3	100.0
351—700		87	33.3	2.3	29.9	34.5	100.0
Over 700		34	32.4	5.9	23.5	38.2	100.0
Unspecified		24	16.7	...	33.3	50.0	100.0
	Total	895	23.5	5.4	23.6	47.5	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh		95	24.2	2.1	35.8	37.9	100.0
Bihar		45	...	2.2	2.2	95.6	100.0
Delhi		...	...	...	...	...	...
Gujarat		75	20.0	8.0	49.3	22.7	100.0
Kerala		35	...	...	54.3	45.7	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		55	45.5	7.3	10.9	36.3	100.0
Madras		125	0.8	1.6	51.2	46.4	100.0
Maharashtra		160	52.5	8.8	8.1	30.6	100.0
Mysore		80	32.5	5.0	25.0	37.5	100.0
Orissa		15	6.7	...	13.3	80.0	100.0
Punjab		60	15.0	6.7	10.0	68.3	100.0
Rajasthan		...	...	...	...	...	...
Uttar Pradesh		150	17.3	7.3	6.0	69.4	100.0
West Bengal		...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	895	23.5	5.4	23.6	47.5	100.0

All-India Rural

Who is winning the Cold War, Russia or the West ?

		Percentages					
		No. of Respon-dents	Russia	The West	Neither	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP							
21—35		964	11.6	2.9	7.1	78.4	100.0
30—50		730	9.7	1.9	4.8	83.6	100.0
Above 50		440	5.7	1.1	4.5	88.7	100.0
Unspecified		31	22.6	...	3.2	74.2	100.0
	Total	2165	9.9	2.2	5.7	82.2	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate		916	0.7	0.2	...	99.1	100.0
Under-matric		929	15.8	2.8	4.4	77.0	100.0
Matric		232	15.9	7.8	24.6	51.7	100.0
Graduate & above		62	22.6	1.6	41.9	33.9	100.0
Unspecified		26	42.3	...	...	57.7	100.0
	Total	2165	9.9	2.2	5.7	82.2	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100		1179	7.7	1.3	1.3	89.7	100.0
101—200		638	11.1	3.6	10.5	74.8	100.0
201—350		214	16.8	1.5	14.9	66.8	100.0
351—700		70	15.7	4.3	11.4	68.6	100.0
Over 700		13	23.1	7.7	...	69.2	100.0
Unspecified		51	5·9	3.9	3.9	86.3	100.0
	Total	2165	9.9	2.2	5.7	82.2	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh		225	15.1	4.0	1.8	79.1	100.0
Bihar		315	2.6	0.3	2.5	94.6	100.0
Gujarat		105	29.5	4.8	19.0	46.7	100.0
Kerala		100	...	...	7.0	93.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		200	20.5	1.5	2.0	94.0	100.0
Madras		200	3.0	1.5	30.5	65.0	100.0
Maharashtra		200	48.0	5.5	3.0	43.5	100.0
Mysore		130	1.5	1.5	1.6	95.4	100.0
Orissa		120	0.8	...	...	99.2	100.0
Punjab		110	4.6	1.8	1.8	91.8	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		460	5.8	2.4	2.2	89.6	100.0
	Total	2165	9.9	2.2	5.7	82.2	100.0

All-India Urban

Which country do you think is further ahead in the field of long range missiles and rockets, the United States or Russia ?

Percentages

		No. of Respondents	U. S. A.	Russia	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35		487	5.1	65.1	29.8	100.0
36—50		265	7.2	54.3	38.5	100.0
Above 50		122	8.2	50.8	41.0	100.0
Unspecified		21	...	61.9	38.1	100.0
	Total	895	6.0	59.9	34.1	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate		95	1.0	9.5	89.5	100.0
Under-matric		287	4.2	53.3	42.5	100.0
Matric		251	9.2	68.5	22.3	100.0
Graduate & above		235	7.3	80.4	12.3	100.0
Unspecified		27	3.7	48.1	48.2	100.0
	Total	895	6.0	59.9	34.1	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100		196	2.5	37.8	59.7	100.0
101—200		301	5.6	62.8	31.6	100.0
201—350		253	9.5	65.6	24.9	100.0
351—700		87	8.0	73.6	18.4	100.0
Over 700		34	3.0	79.4	17.6	100.0
Unspecified		24	...	66.7	33.3	100.0
	Total	825	6.0	59.9	34.1	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh		95	6.3	63.2	30.5	100.0
Bihar		45	...	8.9	91.1	100.0
Gujarat		75	9.3	88.0	2.7	100.0
Kerala		35	...	94.3	5.7	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		55	3.6	78.2	18.2	100.0
Madras		125	8.8	73.6	17.6	100.0
Maharashtra		160	3.8	71.9	24.3	100.0
Mysore		80	8.7	57.5	33.8	100.0
Orissa		15	...	33.3	66.7	100.0
Punjab		60	6.6	31.7	61.7	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		150	7.4	35.5	57.3	100.0
	Total	895	6.0	59.9	34.1	100.0

All-India Rural

Which country do you think is further ahead in the field of long range missiles and rockets, the United States or Russia?

Percentages

		No. of Respondents	U. S. A.	Russia	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35		964	2.9	33.4	63.7	100.0
36—50		730	2.7	27.4	69.9	100.0
Above 50		440	2.0	19.8	78.2	100.0
Unspecified		31	...	38.7	61.3	100.0
	Total	2165	2.6	28.7	68.7	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate		916	0.7	3.6	95.7	100.0
Under-matric		929	4.2	37.1	58.7	100.0
Matric		232	2.5	77.2	20.3	100.0
Graduate & above		62	6.5	85.4	8.1	100.0
Unspecified		26	3.8	42.3	53.9	100.0
	Total	2165	2.6	28.7	68.7	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100		1179	2.5	17.0	80.5	100.0
101—200		638	2.2	41.7	56.1	100.0
201—350		214	3.7	49.5	46.8	100.0
351—700		70	1.4	51.5	47.1	100.0
Over 700		13	23.1	30.8	46.1	100.0
Unspecified		51	3.9	15.7	80.4	100.0
	Total	2165	2.6	28.7	68.7	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh		225	2.7	39.6	57.7	100.0
Bihar		315	0.3	9.2	90.5	100.0
Gujarat		105	9.5	49.5	41.0	100.0
Kerala		100	...	83.0	17.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		200	3.0	10.5	86.5	100.0
Madras		200	3.5	66.5	30.0	100.0
Maharashtra		200	6.0	54.0	40.0	100.0
Mysore		130	1.5	21.5	77.0	100.0
Orissa		120	...	...	100.0	100.0
Punjab		110	0.9	18.2	80.9	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		460	2.6	12.6	84.8	100.0
	Total	2165	2.6	28.7	68.7	100.0

All-India Urban

Do you think that U.S.A. and the West are or are not doing as much as they should to help the under-developed countries with financial and technical assistance ?

		Percentages				
		No. of Respon-dents	Are doing	Are not	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35		487	52.6	15.2	32.2	100.0
36—50		265	46.1	12.8	41.1	100.0
Above 50		122	47.5	9.0	43.5	100.0
Unspecified		21	47.6	9.5	42.9	100.0
	Total	895	49.8	13.6	36.6	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate		95	6.3	...	93.7	100.0
Under-matric		287	46.7	5.6	47.7	100.0
Matric		251	57.8	15.1	27.1	100.0
Graduate & above		235	61.7	28.5	9.8	100.0
Unspecified		27	59.3	...	40.7	100.0
	Total	895	49.8	13.6	36.6	100.0
INCOME GROUP						
(Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100		196	33.2	5.1	61.7	100.0
201—350		301	49.8	11.6	38.6	100.0
351—700		253	55.7	20.2	24.1	100.0
Over 700		87	67.8	16.1	16.1	100.0
Unspecified		34	64.7	20.6	14.7	100.0
		24	37.5	16.7	45.8	100.0
	Total	895	49.8	13.6	36.6	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh		95	37.9	24.2	37.9	100.0
Bihar		45	...	4.4	95.6	100.0
Gujarat		75	53.3	32.0	14.7	100.0
Kerala		35	88.6	...	11.4	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		55	56.4	9.1	34.5	100.0
Madras		125	78.4	12.0	9.6	100.0
Maharashtra		160	65.6	11.3	23.1	100.0
Mysore		80	61.3	18.7	20.0	100.0
Orissa		15	26.7	...	73.3	100.0
Punjab		60	5.0	11.7	83.3	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		150	32.7	8.0	59.3	100.0
	Total	895	49.8	13.6	36.6	100.0

All-India Rural

Do you think that America and the West are or are not doing as much as they should to help the under-developed countries with financial and technical assistance ?

		Percentages				
		No. of Respon-dents	Are doing	Are not	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35		964	25.5	2.4	72.1	100.0
36—50		730	21.2	3.0	75.8	100.0
Above 50		440	15.5	1.1	83.4	100.0
Unspecified		31	29.0	...	71.0	100.0
	Total	2165	22.1	2.3	75.6	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate		916	1.8	0.1	98.1	100.0
Under-matric		929	25.9	3.2	70.9	100.0
Matric		232	69.0	4.7	26.3	100.0
Graduate & above		62	82.2	9.7	8.1	100.0
Unspecified		26	38.5	7.7	53.8	100.0
	Total	2165	22.1	2.3	75.6	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)						
1—100		1197	11.0	1.6	87.4	100.0
101—200		638	34.8	1.7	63.5	100.0
201—350		214	41.6	6.0	52.4	100.0
351—700		70	34.3	8.6	57.1	100.0
Over 700		13	53.8	...	46.2	100.0
Unspecified		51	11.8	2.0	86.2	100.0
	Total	2165	22.1	2.3	75.6	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh		225	18.2	6.7	75.1	100.0
Bihar		315	3.8	1.3	94.9	100.0
Gujarat		105	60.0	...	40.0	100.0
Kerala		100	49.0	2.0	49.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		200	8.0	1.0	91.0	100.0
Madras		200	59.5	0.5	40.0	100.0
Maharashtra		200	54.5	5.5	40.0	100.0
Mysore		130	9.2	3.1	87.7	100.0
Orissa		120	...	...	100.0	100.0
Punjab		110	0·9	2.7	96.4	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		460	12.2	1.7	86.1	100.0
	Total	2165	22.1	2.3	75.6	100.0

All-India Urban

In general, do you think the United Nations Organisation is doing a good job, or a poor job in trying to solve the problems it has to face ?

							Percentages
		No. of Respon-dents	Good job	Fair job	Poor job	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP							
21—35		487	24.0	32.6	12.0	31.4	100.0
36—50		265	22.6	27.2	11.7	38.5	100.0
Above 50		122	22.1	24.6	10.7	42.6	100.0
Unspecified		21	38.1	...	19.0	42.9	100.0
	Total	895	23.7	29.2	11.8	35.3	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate		95	3.2	1.0	...	95.8	100.0
Under-matric		287	23.3	15.7	9.8	51.2	100.0
Matric		251	24.8	38.6	13.5	23.1	106.0
Graduate & above		235	28.9	48.5	17.9	4.7	100.0
Unspecified		27	44.5	14.8	7.4	33.3	100.0
	Total	895	23.7	29.2	11.8	35.3	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100		196	18.4	9.2	6.1	66.3	100.0
101—200		301	24.2	32.9	12.0	30.9	100.0
201—350		253	24.5	36.8	12.6	26.1	100.0
351—700		87	33.3	39.1	16.1	11.5	100.0
Over 700		34	26.4	26.5	26.5	20.6	100.0
Unspecified		24	12.5	33.3	12.5	41.7	100.0
	Total	895	23.7	29.2	11.8	35.3	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh		95	20.0	32.6	21.1	26.3	100.0
Bihar		45	...	...	6.7	93.3	100.0
Gujarat		75	37.3	25.3	20.0	17.4	100.0
Kerala		35	28.6	60.0	5.7	5.7	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		55	23.6	23.6	12.8	40.0	100.0
Madras		125	1.6	83.2	0.8	14.4	100.0
Maharashtra		160	42.5	18.1	14.4	25.0	100.0
Mysore		80	41.2	25.0	10.0	23.8	100.0
Orissa		15	13.3	13.3	...	73.4	100.0
Punjab		60	15.0	15.0	10.0	60.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		150	18.7	8.7	14.0	58.6	100.0
	Total	895	23.7	29.2	11.8	35.3	100.0

All-India Rural

In general, do yon think the United Nations Organisation is doing a good job, or a poor job in trying to solve the problems it has to face ?

Percentages

		No. of Respon-dents	Good job	Fair job	Poor job	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP							
21—35		964	14.2	10.6	3.2	72.0	100.0
36—50		730	11.1	7.5	3.0	78.4	100.0
Above 50		440	8.0	4.8	1.3	85.9	100.0
Unspecified		31	6.5	9.7	6.4	77.4	100.0
	Total	2165	11.8	8.4	2.8	77.0	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate		916	0.8	0.1	...	99.1	100.0
Under-matric		929	16.1	5.2	4.4	74.3	100.0
Matric		232	29.3	42.2	6.5	22.0	100.0
Graduate & above		62	30.6	54.8	6.6	8.0	100.0
Unspecified		26	42.3	...	3.8	53.9	100.0
	Total	2165	11.8	8.4	2.8	77.0	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100		1179	7.6	2.1	1.8	88.5	100.0
101—200		638	16.0	15.2	2.8	66.0	100.0
201—350		214	19.2	22.9	5.1	52.8	100.0
351—700		70	20.0	12.9	11.4	55.7	100.0
Over 700		13	23.1	...	15.4	61.5	100.0
Unspecified		51	9.8	2.0	2.0	86.2	100.0
	Total	2165	11.8	8.4	2.8	77.0	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh		225	20.0	8.9	8.0	63.1	100.0
Bihar		315	1.6	2.9	0.3	95.2	100.0
Gujarat		105	38.1	4.8	0.9	56.2	100.0
Kerala		100	15.0	28.0	1.0	56.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		200	2.5	2.0	1.0	94.5	100.0
Madras		200	10.0	41.5	1.0	47.5	100.0
Maharashtra		200	44.0	6.5	6.0	43.5	100.0
Mysore		130	8.5	2.3	3.8	85.4	100.0
Orissa		120	...	0.8	0.8	98.4	100.0
Punjab		110	3.6	3.7	4.5	88.2	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		460	4.8	2-4	2.8	90.0	100.0
	Total	2165	11.8	8.4	2.8	77.0	100.0

All-India Urban

Speaking generally, would you say that your standard of living—things you can buy and do—is going up, going down, or remaining the same ?

			Percentages				
		No. of Respondents	Going up	Going down	Same	Don't Know	Total
ACE GROUP							
21—35		487	44.6	21.8	14.6	19.0	100.0
36—50		265	47.9	18.1	15.5	18.5	100.0
Above 50		122	39.3	27.9	9.8	23.0	100.0
Unspecified		21	38.1	4.8	23.8	33.3	100.0
	Total	895	44.7	21.1	14.4	19.8	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate		95	17.9	20.0	8.4	53.7	100.0
Under-matric		287	40.4	15.3	17.8	26.5	100.0
Matric		251	51.0	23.5	13.9	11.6	100.0
Graduate & above		235	53.6	27.2	12.8	6.4	100.0
Unspecified		27	48.2	11.1	18.5	22.2	100.0
	Total	895	41.7	21.1	14.4	19.8	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100		196	30.1	14.8	15.3	39.8	100.0
101—200		301	42.2	23.9	15.3	18.6	100.0
201—350		253	52.2	23.7	13.4	10.7	100.0
351—700		87	63.2	19.6	11.5	5.7	100.0
Over 700		34	52.9	14.7	14.7	17.7	100.0
Unspecified		24	37.5	25.0	16.7	20.8	100.0
	Total	895	44.7	21.1	14.4	19.8	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh		95	49.5	24.2	17.9	8.4	100.0
Bihar		45	15.6	...	2.2	82.2	100.0
Gujarat		75	54.7	8.0	37.3	...	100.0
Kerala		35	40.0	60.0	...	...	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		55	47.3	32.7	20.0	...	100.0
Madras		125	52.0	43.2	2.4	2.4	100.0
Maharashtra		160	53.8	16.3	20.6	9.3	100.0
Mysore		80	47.5	22.5	20.0	10.0	100.0
Orissa		15	60.0	...	13.3	26.7	100.0
Punjab		60	21.7	1.6	1.7	75.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		150	36.0	14.7	11.3	38.0	100.0
	Total	895	44.7	21.1	14.4	19.8	100.0

All-India Rural

Speaking generally, would you say say that your standard of living—things you can buy and do—is going up, going down, or remaining the same ?

Percentages

		No. of Respondents	Going up	Going down	Same	Don't know	Total
AGE GROUP							
21—35		964	37.4	19.0	10.1	34.5	100.0
36—50		730	31.3	18.3	13.8	36.6	100.0
Above 50		440	32.7	18.2	11.1	38.0	100.0
Unspecified		31	29.0	16.1	16.2	38.7	100.0
	Total	2165	33.8	18.6	11.6	36.0	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate		916	25.2	12.6	10.4	51.8	100.0
Under-matric		929	37.0	20.6	14.1	28.3	100.0
Matric		232	47.0	31.9	8.6	12.5	100.0
Graduate & above		62	61.3	29.0	8.1	1.6	100.0
Unspecified		26	38.5	15.4	3.8	42.3	100.0
	Total	2165	33.8	18.6	11.6	36.0	100.0
INCOME GROUP (Monthly in Rs.)							
1—100		1179	29.8	16.3	9.7	44.2	100.0
101—200		638	37.2	23.0	13.5	26.3	100.0
201—350		214	41.6	19.2	16.3	22.9	100.0
351—700		70	45.7	17.2	17.1	20.0	100.0
Over 700		13	69.2	...	...	30.8	100.0
Unspecified		51	27.5	19.6	7.8	45.1	100.0
	Total	2165	33.8	18.6	11.6	36.0	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh		225	22.2	22.2	12.0	43.6	100.0
Bihar		315	51.2	0.6	4.4	43.8	100.0
Gujarat		105	72.4	4.7	21.0	1.9	100.0
Kerala		100	17.0	78.0	...	5.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		200	22.5	31.5	28.0	18.0	100.0
Madras		200	46.0	40.5	1.0	12.5	100.0
Maharashtra		200	49.5	14.5	8.0	28.0	100.0
Mysore		130	18.5	13.8	46.9	20.8	100.0
Orissa		120	80.9	0.8	5.0	13.3	100.0
Punjab		110	7.3	...	4.5	88.2	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		640	13.7	16.3	9.3	60.7	100.0
	Total	2165	33.8	18.6	11.6	36.00	100.1

Newspaper Readership : Extent and Incidence

About one in four in urban areas do not see newspapers at all, nor do they generally hear about the items of news in newspapers. Thus, it seems, the major channel of communication to almost a quarter of the Indian urban public is limited to the spoken word. As compared to this, the dependence of Indian rural folk on what may be called hearsay was much higher with 60 per cent of the rural population neither reading nor having newspapers read to them.

In both sectors the section which takes interest in newspapers, even though they do not read them themselves, was quite limited, namely, less than 2 per cent in urban areas and less than 4 per cent in rural areas. It is possible to conclude from these basic figures that illiterates as a class are neglected by the newstellers almost as much as they are out of reach of the newspapers. They thus suffer a double disqualification.

Within these overall figures there were, however, wide regional differences which are interesting. For example, in Kerala as high a percentage as 97 read newspapers. So also was the case in Andhra Pradesh (90.5 per cent), Gujarat (89.3 per cent) and Madras (88.0 per cent). It is surprising to note that in urban Bengal newspaper readership was confined to less than 50 per cent. In Orissa it was as low as 33.3 per cent, that is, almost exactly one in every three individuals. Among illiterates, it was in Andhra Pradesh a greater interest was found in knowing the contents of the newspapers with 5.3 per cent who regularly go to somebody to hear about the news read out to them from the newspapers. In West Bengal this habit was confined to less than one per cent of the respondents.

In the rural sector it is in Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Madras and Maharashtra that a higher percentage ranging from 64 to 79 read newspapers. In Orissa though only 8.3 per cent read newspapers, almost one in every five of the rural population go regularly to have newspapers read to them. In Andhra Pradesh also this section was found to be larger than in the rest of the States.

It is interesting to note that there was no significant difference in the newspaper readership in urban areas if age groups are considered. **But in rural areas, it is the younger people particularly between 21 and 35 that generally read newspapers. This seems to show that increasing literacy in the last fifteen years is now telling.** It is also not unexpected that with education the extent of readership has improved in urban, as well as in rural, areas.

THE RATING OF FEATURES

News items were by far the major attractions in the newspapers. **Editorials received but very scant attention with less than nine per cent in urban areas and less than five per cent in rural areas stating them as freatures they liked most. It seems that "editorial" influence on the public opinion was almost negligible.** Perhaps this is one of the reasons why there cannot be a complete disassociation of news with opinions, for opinions expressed in the legitimate columns of editorials receive generally no attention whatsoever.

By States, there is no significant variation in this ranking of features and by education as well as by age groups the response was more or less similar to the overall averages.

THE LANGUAGES

English is by and far the most important language as far as news communication is concerned in urban areas. Suprisingly it is not an insignificant factor even in rural areas. In fact, more people read newspapers in English than in any other language including Hindi, if rural areas are concerned in the country as a whole. It may appear somewhat paradoxical, but it is obviously due to the fairly even distribution of English all through the country whereas regional language readership is still confined to only a part of it. Taken States individually, there are, however, a number of States in which the readership in regional languages including Hindi was much higher as compared to that of English.

Newspaper Readership—All-India Urban

Do you read newspapers or have them read to you by someone ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	I read	Others read to me	Neither I read nor someone read to me	Total
AGE GROUP					
21—35	571	75.5	1.6	22.9	100.0
36—50	331	70.4	2.7	26.9	100.0
Above 50	153	71.2	0.7	28.1	100.0
Unspecified	25	52.0	...	48.0	100.0
Total	1080	72.8	1.7	25.5	100.0
EDUCATION					
Illiterate	149	...	5.4	94.6	100.0
Under-matric	350	68.6	2.3	29.1	100.0
Matric	289	92.7	...	7.3	100.0
Graduate & above	265	97.0	1.1	1.9	100.0
Unspecified	27	77.8	...	22.2	100.0
Total	1080	72.8	1.7	25.5	100.0
STATE					
Andhra Pradesh	95	90.5	5.3	4.2	100.0
Bihar	45	44.4	...	55.6	100.0
Delhi	25	64.0	4.0	32.0	100.0
Gujarat	75	89.3	4.0	6.7	100.0
Kerala	35	97.1	...	2.9	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	55	83.6	...	16.4	100.0
Madras	125	88.0	...	12.0	100.0
Maharashtra	160	83.7	1.3	15.0	100.0
Mysore	80	81.3	3.7	15.0	100.0
Orissa	15	33.3	...	66.7	100.0
Punjab	60	53.3	...	46.7	100.0
Rajashtan	50	62.0	...	38.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	150	60.0	2.7	37.3	100.0
West Bengal	110	45.5	0.9	53.6	100.0
Total	1080	72.8	1.7	25.5	100.0

Newspaper Readership—All-India Rural

Do you read newspapers or have them read to you by someone ?

Percentages

		No. of Respon-dents	I read	Others read to me	Nither I read nor someone read to me	Total
AGE GROUP						
21—35		1119	42.1	2.9	55.0	100.0
36—50		802	33.8	4.6	61.6	100.0
Above 50		503	25.4	3.8	70.8	100.0
Unspecified		36	36.1	5.6	58.3	100.0
	Total	2460	35.9	3.6	60.5	100.0
EDUCATION						
Illiterate		1113	...	3.3	96.7	100.0
Under-matric		1009	57.3	5.1	37.6	100.0
Matric		240	95.8	0.4	3.8	100.0
Graduate & above		65	96.9	...	3.1	100.0
Unspecified		33	36.4	...	63.6	100.0
	Total	2460	35.9	3.6	60.5	100.0
STATE						
Andhra Pradesh		225	64.5	10.2	25.3	100.0
Bihar		315	14.0	3.2	82.8	100.0
Delhi		5	40.0	...	60.0	100.0
Gujarat		105	63.8	4.8	31.4	100.0
Kerala		100	79.0	...	21.0	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		200	13.0	...	87.0	100.0
Madras		200	65.0	0.5	34.5	100.0
Maharashtra		200	74.0	2.0	24.0	100.0
Mysore		130	42.3	0.8	56.9	100.0
Orissa		120	8.3	21.7	70.0	100.0
Punjab		110	29.1	1.8	69.1	100.0
Rajasthan		115	6.1	2.6	91.3	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		460	24.6	2.4	73.0	100.0
West Bengal		175	14.3	2.3	83.4	100.0
	Total	2460	35.9	3.6	60.5	100.0

Newspaper Readership—All-India Urban

Which items or features do you like most in the newspaper you read ?

Percentages

		No. of Respondents	News	Editorial	Other features	Can't say	Total
AGE GROUP							
21—35		431	77.7	8.4	9.3	4.6	100.0
36—50		233	80.3	6.4	5.2	8.1	100.0
Above 50		109	72.5	12.8	8.3	6.4	100.0
Unspecified		13	61.5	15.4	...	23.1	100.0
	Total	786	77.5	8.5	7.8	6.2	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate		...	...	...	...	...	...
Under-matric		240	82.5	4.2	5.8	7.5	100.0
Matric		268	76.1	9.0	9.0	5.9	100.0
Graduate & above		257	76.3	11.3	8.2	4.2	100.0
Unspecified		21	52.5	19.0	9.5	19.0	100.0
	Total	786	77.5	8.5	7.8	6.2	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh		86	79.2	4.6	4.6	11.6	100.0
Bihar		20	50.0	15.0	...	35.0	100.0
Delhi		16	87.5	...	12.5	...	100.0
Gujarat		67	86.6	3.0	...	10.4	100.0
Kerala		34	97.1	...	2.9	...	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		46	69.6	19.6	6.5	4.3	100.0
Madras		110	91.8	5.5	1.1	0.9	100.0
Maharashtra		134	79.1	11.2	2.2	7.5	100.0
Mysore		65	75.3	10.8	7.7	6.2	100.0
Orissa		5	100.0	...	...	...	100.0
Punjab		32	87.5	12.5	...	...	100.0
Rajasthan		31	35.5	3.2	58.1	3.2	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		90	64.4	12.2	16.7	6.7	100.0
West Bengal		50	72.0	10.0	16.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	786	77.5	8.5	7.8	6.2	100.0

Newspaper Readership—All-India Rural

Which items or features do you like most in the newspaper you read ?

Percentages

		No. of Respondents	News	Editorial	Other features	Can't say	Total
AGE GROUP							
21—35		471	83.0	3.6	3.4	10.0	100.0
36—50		271	84.9	5.9	1.5	7.7	100.0
Above 50		128	78.1	7.8	1.6	12.5	100.0
Unspecified		13	76.9	...	...	23.1	100.0
	Total	883	82.8	4.9	2.5	9.8	100.0
EDUCATION							
Illiterate		...	...	...	...	...	—
Under-matric		578	81.5	3.6	1.9	13.0	100.0
Matric		230	86.1	7.8	2.6	3.5	100.0
Graduate & above		63	84.1	6.3	8.0	1.6	100.0
Unspecified		12	75.0	...	...	25.0	100.0
	Total	883	82.8	4.9	2.5	9.8	100.0
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh		145	71.0	5.5	...	23.5	100.0
Bihar		44	77.3	22.7	...	...	100.0
Delhi		2	50.0	50.0	...	...	100.0
Gujarat		67	89.5	4.5	...	6.0	100.0
Kerala		79	98.7	1.3	...	...	100.0
Madhya Pradesh		26	84.6	3.8	...	11.6	100.0
Madras		130	88.5	2.3	5.4	3.8	110.0
Maharashtra		148	84.5	3.4	2.0	10.1	100.0
Mysore		55	60.0	3.6	7.3	29.1	100.0
Orissa		10	90.0	...	...	10.0	100.0
Punjab		32	96.9	3.1	...	...	100.0
Rajasthan		7	100.0	...	...	...	100.0
Uttar Pradesh		113	81.4	5.3	6.2	7.1	100.0
West Bengal		25	84.0	8.0	4.0	4.0	100.0
	Total	883	82.8	4.9	2.5	9.8	100.0

Newspaper Readership—All India Urban

In which language do you read newspapers ?
(Asked only of those who themselves read newspapers)

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	English	Hindi	Marathi	Tamil	Gujarati	Malayalam	Urdu	Bengali	Telugu	Punjabi	Sindhi	Oriya	Kannada	Unspecified
STATE															
Andhra Pradesh	89	100.0	2.2	1.1	...	...	1.1	5.6	12.4	22.5	...	...	...	2.2	1.1
Bihar	20	100.0	40.0	...	...	...	...	5.0	...	5.0	...	...	...	...	...
Delhi	16	56.3	56.3	...	...	...	...	12.5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gujarat	67	34.3	13.4	...	...	91.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.5
Kerala	34	79.4	...	...	5.9	...	88.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madhya Pradesh	46	54.3	37.0	2.2	...	...	...	28.3	10.9	...	...	...	...	...	2.2
Madras	110	82.7	...	...	73.6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Maharashtra	134	44.0	11.9	64.2	...	7.5	...	7.5	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.5
Mysore	65	92.3	...	...	6.2	...	56.9	...	...	...	...	1.5	...	...	3.1
Orissa	5	60.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	80.0	...	...
Punjab	32	50.0	12.5	...	...	...	...	50.0	...	...	18.8	...	...	...	...
Rajasthan	31	45.2	80.6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9.7	...	...	...
Uttar Pradesh	90	70.0	46.7	...	...	...	...	17.8	4.4	...	...	...	...	...	...
West Bengal	50	50.0	2.0	...	...	...	...	4.0	62.0	20.0	...	...	...	...	2.0
Total	789	66.4	16.9	11.1	11.0	9.0	8.6	8.2	6.5	3.9	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.3	1.3

Note : No check : Provision for multiple answers.

Newspaper Readership—All India Rural

In which language do you read newspapers ?
(Asked only of those who themselves read newspapers)

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	English	Hindi	Marathi	Telugu	Tamil	Malayalam	Urdu	Gujarati	Bengali	Kannada	Oriya	Punjabi	Unspecified
STATE														
Andhra Pradesh	158	25.9	0.6	...	97.5	...	...	8.9	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bihar	44	27.3	59.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	34.1	...	...	...	2.3
Delhi	2	100.0	...	...	...	...	...	50.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gujarat	67	1.5	3.0	...	...	...	59.7	...	100.0	...	...	...	...	...
Kerala	79	25.3	...	...	...	...	70.9	...	12.7	...	...	...	...	1.3
Madhya Pradesh	26	7.7	100.0	...	...	...	...	19.2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madras	130	58.5	0.8	...	1.5	90.8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Maharashtra	148	18.2	10.1	94.6	...	...	...	2.0	3.4	...	...	...	...	0.7
Mysore	55	7.3	21.8	32.7	...	...	38.2	29.1	...	...	40.0	...	1.8	3.6
Orissa	10	10.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100.0	...	...
Punjab	32	31.3	9.4	...	...	...	...	84.4	...	...	...	3.1	15.6	...
Rajasthan	7	14.3	85.7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28.6
Uttar Pradesh	113	8.8	99.1	...	...	0.9	...	15.0	...	0.9	...	...	...	0.9
West Bengal	25	26.5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100.0	...	...	...	...
Total	896	23.4	22.8	17.6	17.4	13.3	13.1	9.3	9.2	4.6	2.5	1.2	0.7	0.9

Note : No check : Provision for multiple answers.

Newspapers Readership—All-India

How many in your house read newspapers ?

Urban

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 or more	Can't say	None	Total
SIZE OF FAMILY													
1	34	64.7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	35.3	100.0
2	64	29.7	29.7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12.5	28.1	100.0
3	69	21.7	30.4	7.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.3	36.3	100.0
4	120	23.4	25.0	12.5	5.0	...	...	...	...	...	8.3	25.8	100.0
5	148	14.9	18.9	18.3	4.7	8.1	...	...	...	...	4.7	30.4	100.0
6	167	9.0	21.0	25.1	6.6	4.8	5.4	...	...	...	4.8	23.3	100.0
7	114	7.9	14.9	27.2	14.9	3.5	4.4	2.6	...	...	2.6	22.0	100.0
8	127	10.2	15.0	21.3	18.9	5.5	6.2	1.6	2.4	...	3.9	15.0	100.0
9 or more	225	8.5	9.8	12.0	14.7	8.4	9.3	3.1	5.1	8.4	3.1	19.6	100.0
Unspecified	12	8.3	33.4	25.0	8.3	8.3	...	...	...	...	8.3	0.4	100.0
Total	1080	15.1	18.1	16.4	9.2	4.7	4.0	1.1	0.9	1.8	4.8	23.9	100.0

Rural

SIZE OF FAMILY													
1	45	26.7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.4	68.9	100.0
2	89	10.1	9.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9.0	73.9	100.0
3	201	13.4	7.0	4.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.5	71.1	100.0
4	285	12.6	7.4	2.8	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.3	71.9	100.0
5	305	15.1	6.2	3.9	0.3	0.3	...	...	...	...	6.3	67.9	100.0
6	345	13.3	6.7	5.2	2.3	0.3	...	...	...	...	4.9	67.3	100.0
7	293	10.9	16.0	10.2	4.2	0.7	0.7	0.7	...	...	6.5	50.1	100.0
8	283	8.8	12.4	12.0	4.9	1.1	0.4	...	...	...	5.3	55.1	100.0
9 or more	586	8.9	9.7	5.3	4.3	1.2	2.2	0.9	...	1.0	8.5	58.0	100.0
Unspecified	28	14.3	14.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	7.1	14.3	50.0	100.0
Total	2460	11.7	9.3	5.7	2.4	0.6	0.7	0.3	...	0.3	6.4	62.6	100.0

Newspaper Readership—All-India Urban

How many in your house read newspapers ?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 or more	Unspecified	None
AGE GROUP												
21—35	571	17.0	20.7	14.0	10.2	4.4	3.5	0.7	1.4	1.9	21.8	4.4
36—50	331	13.0	17.5	21.2	7.3	4.5	4.5	0.6	0.3	0.9	25.1	5.1
Above 50	153	13.7	12.4	15.7	11.1	5.9	4.6	3.9	0.7	3.3	25.4	3.3
Unspecified	25	8.0	...	12.0	...	8.0	4.0	...	...	...	48.0	20.0
Total	1080	15.1	18.1	16.4	9.2	4.7	4.0	1.1	0.9	1.8	23.9	4.8
EDUCATION												
Illitcrate	149	5.4	3.4	2.0	...	...	0.7	...	...	0.7	87.8	...
Under-matric	350	18.0	17.4	13.2	7.4	4.3	3.7	1.4	0.9	0.9	27.1	5.7
Matric	289	16.3	24 2	21.8	10.0	5.9	4.3	1.0	1.0	2.4	6.9	6.2
Graduate & above	265	14.7	20.0	24.5	16.6	5.8	6.4	1.6	1.1	3.0	3.0	2.3
Unspecified	27	22.2	22.2	...	...	3.7	...	...	3.7	...	18.6	29.6
Total	1080	15.1	18.1	16.4	9.2	4.7	4.0	1.1	0.9	1.8	23.9	4.8
STATE												
Andhra Pradesh	95	28.8	26.3	12.6	4.2	4.2	4.2	1.1	...	...	6.4	12.6
Bihar	45	8.9	6.7	2.2	4.4	...	4.4	2.2	2.2	...	55.7	13.3
Delhi	25	28.0	16.0	8.0	16.0	—	...	4.0	...	...	28.2	...
Gujarat	75	24.0	32.0	10.7	5.3	1.3	...	...	...	2.7	10.7	13.3
Kerala	35	2.9	17.1	51.4	17.1	5.7	2.9	...	...	...	2.9	...
Madhya Pradesh	55	25.5	36.3	18.2	3.7	3.6	...	...	...	...	12.7	...
Madras	125	1.6	15.2	42.4	20.0	4.8	1.6	...	0.8	...	12.0	1.6
Maharashtra	160	14.3	15.6	12.5	9.4	6.9	6.3	3.0	1.3	2.5	14.4	13.8
Mysore	80	11.2	20.0	16.2	13.8	8.8	5.0	2.5	2.5	3.8	16.2	16.2
Orissa	15	6.7	6.7	6.7	6.7	...	6.7	...	...	...	66.5	...
Punjab	60	25.0	13.3	8.3	3.3	...	1.7	...	1.7	...	46.7	...
Rajasthan	50	10.0	18.0	16.0	10.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	...	38.0	...
Uttar Pradesh	150	17.3	15.3	10.0	6.8	5.3	3.3	...	...	4.0	38.0	...
West Bengal	110	10.0	10.9	10.0	7.3	8.2	10.9	0.9	1.8	3.6	36.4	...
Total	1080	15.1	18.1	16.4	9.2	4.7	4.0	1.1	0.9	1.8	23.9	4.8

Note : Horizontal totals add upto 100% in each case.

Newspaper Readership—All-India Rural

How many in your house read newspapers?

Percentages

	No. of Respondents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9 or more	None	Unspecified	Total
AGE GROUP												
21—35	1119	13.9	10.2	6.5	2.4	1.0	0.6	0.3	0.4	56.8	7.9	100.0
36—50	802	11.2	10.2	5.6	2.4	0.1	0.9	0.1	...	63.6	5.9	100.0
Above 50	503	8.1	6.0	4.4	2.2	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.6	73.3	4.0	100.0
Unspecified	36	8.3	5.6	2.7	8.4	...	...	...	...	66.7	8.3	100.0
Total	2460	11.7	9.3	5.7	2.4	0.6	0.7	0.3	0.3	62.6	6.4	100.0
EDUCATION												
Illiterate	1113	0.8	0.3	0.4	...	...	...	...	...	97.0	0.6	100.0
Under-matric	1009	23.6	13.0	6.7	2.2	0.5	0.8	0.4	0.4	41.3	11.1	100.0
Matric	240	15.4	30.4	20.4	10.0	2.5	2.1	0.4	1.7	3.8	13.3	100.0
Graduate & above	65	7.7	27.7	27.7	16.9	4.6	3.1	3.1	...	4.6	4.6	100.0
Unspecified	33	...	9.1	6.1	9.1	...	3.0	...	...	57.6	15.1	100.0
Total	2460	11.7	9.3	5.7	2.4	0.6	0.7	0.3	0.3	62.6	6.4	100.0
STATE												
Andhra Pradesh	225	24.0	8.0	3.6	2.2	0.4	0.4	0.4	...	29.8	31.2	100.0
Bihar	315	6.0	2.5	1.6	1.6	...	1.3	0.3	...	86.4	0.3	100.0
Delhi	5	...	...	...	...	...	20.0	20.0	...	60.0	...	100.0
Gujarat	105	15.2	4.7	1.0	1.9	...	...	...	...	36.2	41.0	100.0
Kerala	100	5.0	10.0	36.0	25.0	2.0	1.0	...	...	21.0	...	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	200	8.5	2.5	0.5	1.0	...	...	...	0.5	87.0	...	100.0
Madras	200	7.0	35.5	19.0	2.0	1.5	...	...	...	31.5	3.5	100.0
Maharashtra	200	19.5	19.0	12.5	4.5	2.0	2.0	...	...	24.0	16.5	100.0
Mysore	130	28.5	11.5	4.6	...	...	...	...	0.8	54.6	...	100.0
Orissa	120	7.5	0.8	...	...	...	...	...	...	91.7	...	100.0
Punjab	110	15.5	7.3	3.6	0.9	0.9	0.9	...	...	70.9	...	100.0
Rajasthan	115	0.9	2.5	1.7	...	...	...	...	...	94.0	0.9	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	460	10.0	8.9	2.8	1.5	0.2	0.4	0.9	0.7	73.9	0.7	100.0
West Bengal	175	8.6	3.5	1.1	...	1.1	1.1	...	1.7	82.9	...	100.0
Total	2460	11.7	9.3	5.7	2.4	0.6	0.7	0.3	0.3	62.6	6.4	100.0

The Rural Stagnation—A Comparative Study

An analysis of the progress made overall and in urban areas in particular, it is possible to take a complacent view of the achievement of the Indian Press. The absence of progress is much highlighted if the rural sector is considered. It is, in fact, in this sector that great opportunity exists and again here the greatest failure has been clearly demonstrated.

For purposes of this analysis a comparison was made between the results obtained during this survey with those of a similar study made in 1959. Detailed results of this previous study which was confined exclusively to rural areas, were presented in "The Monthly Public, Opinion Surveys" No. 53 during April 1960. The picture that was revealed is one of regrettable stability. As compared to 34 per cent who said that they were "reading newspapers" during 1959, the present figure was no higher than 36 per cent—a percentage difference which considering the varying sizes of the sample cannot be taken as statistically significant. In the other section of people who do not read papers themselves, but have them read to by others, there was actually a decline by 0.1 per cent—a difference which is again not statistically significant. Therefore, it would appear that there has been no significant change in the extent of newspaper readership in rural areas. Also, overall, it would appear that there was no signicant change even in the pattern of readership. Even though it would not be statistically correct to compare these proportions in individual sub-groups of age, education and States, the comparison, however, suggests some very significant changes that have occurred. For example, in Gujarat and Maharashtra the pattern as well as the extent of readership seems to be similar ; so also was the case in Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, and Madras. In respect of other States, there were, however, some very glaring differences in the percentages which will have to be partly explained by the difference in the sample content. As aginst 26.4 per cent who were reading newspapers in Andhra Pradesh in 1959, the present figure was as high as 64.5 per cent. In the case of Mysore there was a reversal of this, with 79.4 per cent reading newspapers in 1959 and only 42.3 per cent reading in 1961. One or other of these figures must be in error. In Kerala there was a significant improvement in the proportion, the respective figures in 1959 and 1961 being 55.4 per cent and 79.0 per cent. Most of these variations cannot be taken as correct in absolute terms ; but overall (not by States) a picture of relative stagnation can be assumed.

Newspaper Readership—All-India Rural
A comparison between 1959—1961

Do you read newspapers or have them read to you by someone ?

		1959			1961		
		No. of Respondents	I read	Others read to me	No. of Respondents	I read	Others read to me
AGE GROUP							
21—35		631	38.9	3.0	1119	42.1	2.9
36—50		726	32.8	4.3	802	33.2	4.6
51—60		295	31.5	4.1	503	25.4	3.8
Above 60		175	25.2	3.4			
Unspecified		17	41.2	...	36	36.1	5.6
	Total	1844	34.0	3.7	2460	35.9	3.6
EDUCATION							
Illiterate		873	...	5.8	1113	...	3.3
Under-Matric		775	57.9	1.9	1009	57.3	5.1
Matric		128	96.1	...	240	95.8	0.4
Graduate		48	97.9	2.1	65	96.9	...
Unspceified		20	40.0	10.0	33	36.4	...
	Total	1844	34.0	3.7	2460	35.9	3.6
STATE							
Andhra Pradesh		148	26.4	12.8	225	64.5	10.2
Bihar		151	6.6	2.6	315	14.0	3.2
Delhi		39	15.4	2.5	5	40.0	...
Gujarat		244	63.1	2.5	105	63.8	4.8
Maharashtra					200	74.0	2.0
Kerala		150	55.4	5.3	100	79.0	...
Madhya Pradesh		90	15.6	2.2	200	13.0	...
Madras		150	70.8	3.3	200	65.0	0.5
Mysore		121	79.4	5.8	130	42.3	0.8
Orissa		121	22.3	2.5	120	8.3	21.7
Punjab		90	23.3	4.5	110	29.1	1.8
Rajasthan		90	27.8	5.6	115	6.1	2.6
Uttar Pradesh		302	6.3	0.7	460	24.6	2.4
West Bengal		148	18.2	1.4	175	14.3	2.3
	Total	1844	34.0	3.7	2460	35.9	3.6