

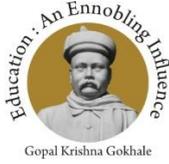
**“WHAT KIND OF A CANDIDATE DOES THE  
URBAN VOTER WANT?”**

*A Pre-Nomination Study in 16  
Municipal Councils of Maharashtra*

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**FOREWORD**

1. Maharashtra one of the most urbanized States of the country, has worked assiduously towards restoring the rightful place of the local bodies in the political governance. This is evident from the conduct of free, fair and transparent elections to nearly 28,000 local bodies by the State Election Commission since its inception in 1994, (26 Municipal Corporations, 340 Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats, 34 Zilla Parishads, 351 Panchayat Samitis and approx. 27,781 Gram Panchayats).
2. As per the Constitution and various State Laws, any Indian above the age of 21years can contest any of the above elections,if not otherwise disqualified. No other prequalification such as education, social service, income, caste etc. has been prescribed. Despite of this, some activities / citizen groups have lately been advocating for prescribing certain pre-qualifications for the contesting candidates.
3. In October 2016, the State Election Commission, looking at the fast paced changes in the country, especially those relating to role of youth, entrusted Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune, with the task of gauging mood of the voters regarding the qualities they wished to have in their elected representatives.
4. I am happy that Gokhale Institute, after conducting a scientific survey of 4200 respondents in 16 Municipal Councils (poll on 27<sup>th</sup> November 2016) from 10<sup>th</sup> October to 17<sup>th</sup> October, has come out with very interesting results covering both the existing as well as potential candidates. These findings show the gap between what the voters want, and what they get in terms of candidates.
5. Urban voters in Maharashtra feel unhappy about the fact that most candidates are not even matriculate, are corrupt and do not have any experience of developmental projects. They want a candidate who is accessible, is at least a degree holder and can drive ward level developmental projects efficiently.
6. I take this opportunity to congratulate Smt.Manasi Phadke, Dr. Rajas Parchure and the entire team of Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics for making this analytical study possible.
7. I am pleased to learn that Gokhale Institute is publishing the survey findings in a report, elucidating their methodology and analysis. I am sure this will help in improving the quality of the candidates and result in more free, fair and transparent elections.

**Shri. J. Saharia**  
State Election Commission  
Maharashtra

### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am very pleased to present this report titled “What Type of Candidates do Urban Voters Want?: A Pre-Nomination Voter Perception Survey” The State Election Commission of Maharashtra has been conducting local body elections in Maharashtra from 1994. It has been working tirelessly to increase the voter turnout and conduct elections in a free, fair and transparent manner.

Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics was given the task of analyzing what type of candidature the urban voter wants. We created a questionnaire and a sampling plan encompassing 16 Municipal Councils in Maharashtra that would help us to assess into voter perceptions regarding existing candidates and their expectations from potential contestants. Further, we conducted this survey prior to the candidate nomination process, so that we could get voter opinion in an unbiased manner. The results are very interesting indeed and have been presented in great detail in the report. We have also created a “Voter Satisfaction with Candidate Quality (VSCQ)” Index, that helps one to understand where voter perception regarding candidate quality is the best and where it is the worst.

Let me express my gratitude to Shri Jageshwar Saharia, State Election Commissioner, Maharashtra, for **granting** this interesting study project to the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics. Shri Channe, Secretary, State election Commission, Maharashtra, Shri K. Suryarishnamurty, Assistant Commissioner, State Election Commission, Maharashtra, was a mentor for our team and guided and supported us at every stage of the project.

Mrs. Manasi Phadke has been the chief co-ordinator of this project and has been driving the processes right from data management to writing the report meticulously. I congratulate her for coming out with a timely and interesting publication. Mr. Pramod Sadolikar, our survey co-ordinator for the project helped to put together the survey teams to drive the project in record time. Mrs. Anjali Shitole was instrumental in helping us with the statistical part of the analysis. Mr. Vilas Mankar gave us all the technical assistance needed for this project extremely sincerely.

This project helped us to gain deep insights into the dynamics of local body elections from a voter perspective. I am sure that the report will serve as a useful addition to the existing literature on the subject.

**Prof. Rajas Parchure**  
Offg. Director  
Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics  
Pune

**HIGHLIGHTS**

**WHAT VOTERS FEEL**

The proportion of youthful candidates has been increasing over past few years

Most contesting candidates are not even matriculate

Most candidates do not have any community building experience at all

Most candidates are corrupt, the level of corruption is n't falling

Independent candidates are less corrupt

Rich candidates buy elections

Most candidates have a criminal background; this keeps good candidates away

**WHAT VOTERS WANT**

My candidate should be less than 40 years of age

I need a well-educated degree holding candidate for the development of my city

My candidate should have some NGO experience

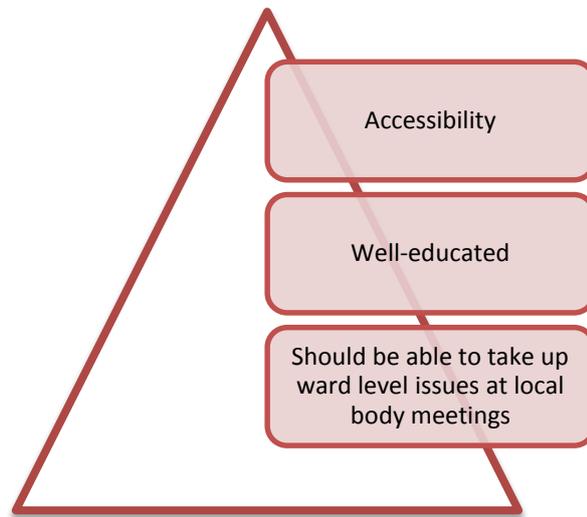
Efficiency in driving community development is more important than having a clean image

Authorities need to do more to keep criminal elements away

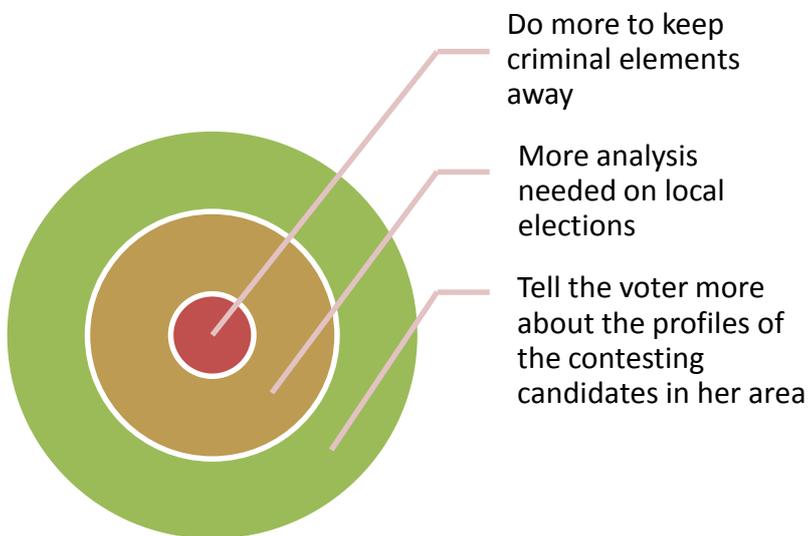
**WHAT VOTERS WILL GET**



**VOTERS' VERDICT ON TOP 3 DESIRABLE CHARACTERISTICS IN CONTESTING CANDIDATES**



**VOTERS' EXPECTATIONS FROM SECM**



**CHAPTER I****RATIONALE AND DESIGN OF THE VOTER  
PERCEPTION SURVEY****INTRODUCTION**

The 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment to the Constitution, which gave constitutional status to the Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRI), was passed in 1992. The same Amendment provided for creation of the State Election Commission of Maharashtra (SECM) for conduct of elections in urban and rural local self-governance bodies. All urban and rural local body elections in Maharashtra since 1994 have been conducted by the SECM. While urban bodies include Municipal Corporations, Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats, rural bodies encompass ZillaParishads, PanchayatSamitis and Gram Panchayats.

In Maharashtra State, at the time of establishment of the SECM, some of the local bodies, rural as well as urban, were already in existence and were functioning with elected members. It was decided to allow such local bodies to continue and hold elections to these local bodies as and when they completed their 5-year term. Thus, in Maharashtra, all local bodies do not go to polls at the same time. Different local bodies, urban and rural, go to polls as and when their 5-year term ends.

Since its establishment, the SECM has conducted 4 rounds of elections in all the local bodies. The first round was from 1994-98, the second round was from 1999-2003, the third from 2004-08 and the fourth from 2009-13. From 2014 onwards, the fifth round of elections is being conducted by the SECM across all rural and urban local bodies in Maharashtra. Whilst some bodies have already conducted the fifth round of elections, in nearly 26 out of 36 districts in Maharashtra, urban and rural bodies will go to polls from November 2016 to March 2017.

The elections to Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats will be conducted first. The nomination forms by the candidates will be filed in late October. Once the scrutiny and validation is complete, the election campaigning by the different candidates starts. Elections are slated to commence from second week of November 2016.

## **NOTA AND THE RATIONALE FOR THE VOTER PERCEPTION SURVEY**

In these local body elections to Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats, the NOTA option will be made available to the voters. Thus, if the voters so want, they will be able to voice their opinion that none of the candidates contesting elections are acceptable as elected representatives at Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats.

In September 2013, the Hon Supreme Court of India asked the Election Commission of India to provide all voting machines with a NOTA button so as to enable voters to voice their opinion if they so felt that none of the contesting candidates was suitable. According to the Supreme Court judgement, the NOTA option would lead to a “systemic change in polls and political parties will be forced to project clean candidates.” ([www.elections.in](http://www.elections.in)) Since the electorate was being given the right to reject all candidates, the NOTA option would automatically lead to cleaner candidates with no criminal backgrounds contesting the elections.

The 2014 LS elections saw heavy usage of the NOTA option by the electorate in India. Later, in the Maharashtra State Assembly elections held in October 2014, the number of people going for None Of the Above (NOTA) option in Mumbai was seen to be even higher as compared to the number of voters who had opted for NOTA in the LS elections in April 2014. In a total of 36 Assembly seats in Mumbai, 65,735 people chose to reject all the candidates in their constituencies, while 52,952 people in all opted for NOTA in the general elections held in April-May. NOTA managed to poll more votes than smaller parties like Communist Party of India (Marxist), Samajwadi Party, SwabhimaniShetkariPaksha, RashtriyaSamajPaksha and others (DNA, 21<sup>st</sup> October 2014).

All these numbers go to show the discontentment of the electorate with the candidates. If candidate quality is not good, voters will definitely voice their opinion by opting for NOTA. However, it is important to realize that whilst NOTA is extremely powerful in terms of giving voice to the electorate, it does not really provide a solution to poor candidate quality.

A recent study on data trends in Municipal Council and Nagar Panchayat elections in Maharashtra by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune indicates that the average proportion of Independent candidates who win Municipal Council and Nagar Panchayat elections stands at around 17 per cent. This implies that 83 per cent of the seats are won by candidates contesting on a party ticket. It would be erroneous to apply the percentage of winning candidates to contesting candidates; however, it seems logical to claim that a much higher percentage of candidates contest Council elections on a party ticket as compared to those contesting independently. If this is the case, then it is obvious that better candidate quality can only be ensured if political parties get a clear signal as to what type of candidates the voters really want. NOTA is the voice of rejection; what is needed now to better the system is a voice given to the voters prior to elections so that they can suggest what type of candidature would be acceptable to them.

It is precisely this voice of acceptance that needs to be heard, documented, analyzed and shared, so that all stake holders get a clear signal as to what type of candidature would be acceptable to the electorate. The true success of NOTA would lie in no voter really opting for NOTA; it is in order to understand the choice of the electorate that a survey of voter perceptions was carried out by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune.

## **DESIGN OF THE SURVEY AND SAMPLING CONSIDERATIONS**

A two-stage sampling method was used to identify the Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats in which the survey would be carried out. The method is described below.

### **Stage I: To choose number of Councils**

The State of Maharashtra is divided into 6 administrative divisions. Each division has a distinctive geographical, sociological, economic and cultural profile, which creates a distinctive political environment therein. Hence, sampling of Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats was done in every division. Keeping in sight the time and cost considerations, it was decided to sample 3 Councils and/or Nagar Panchayats in every division in consultation with the SECM.

It was further decided to sample voters from two Municipal Councils classified under the “A” category as well as 1 Nagar Panchayat in each division. A recently conducted study by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics titled “Municipal Council Elections in Maharashtra: A Data Analysis (1994-2004)” gives detailed insights into voter turnout trends within the different councils. Differential trends in voter turnouts within the different Councils are suggestive of differential political activism quotients of the voters.

Since the sample should include a variety of voters geographically as well as by their voting behavior, Municipal Councils with minimum and maximum voter turnouts were chosen in each division. This would help to sample from voters in areas with low and high voter activism, thereby enabling the survey to be sufficiently heterogeneous.

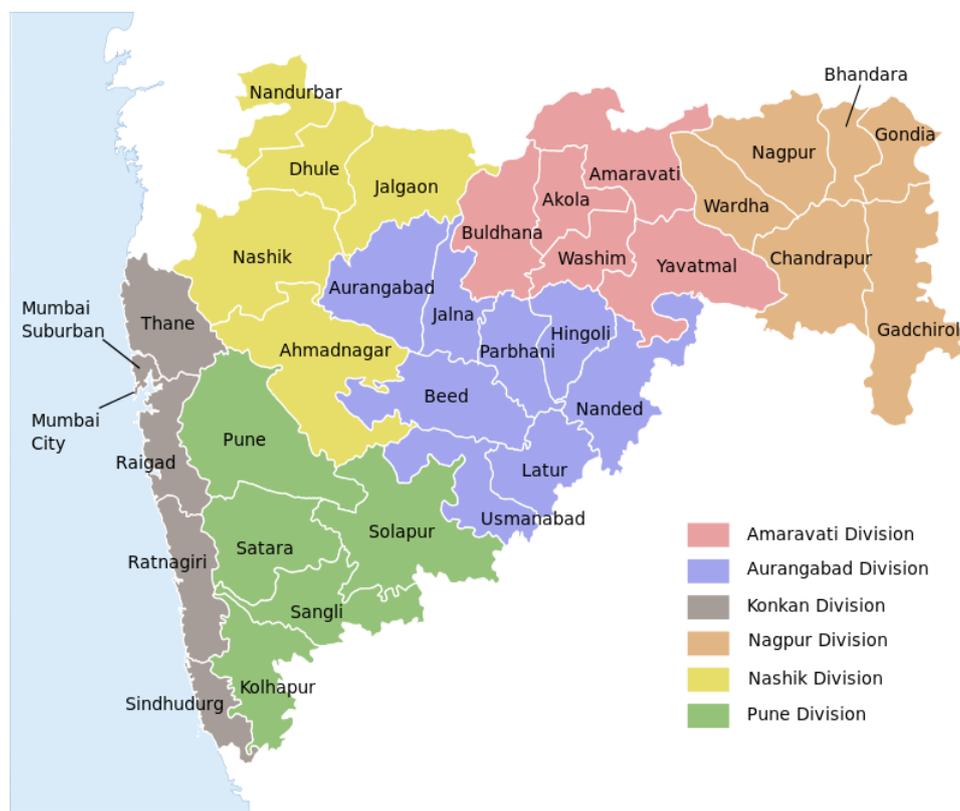
In some divisions, there were no Nagar Panchayat elections to be conducted. In such cases, Nagar Panchayats were substituted with Municipal Councils classified under the “C” category. In some divisions, there were no Municipal Councils classified under the “A” category. Suitable substitutions were made in such cases too. A final purposive substitution was done if the Councils were geographically clustered together too closely.

However, after all adjustments, the survey in Nashik and Konkan divisions could logistically be carried out only in 2 areas each. Hence, voters in 16 Municipal Councils in Maharashtra have been covered in the sample. These are shown in the table below.

**Table 1.1: Councils and Nagar Panchayats included in the sample**

Sr. No.	Division	District	Municipal Councils
1	Amravati	Yavatmal	Yavatmal
2		Buldhana	Deoolgaon raja
3		Amravati	Achalpur
4	Nashik	Ahmednagar	Shirdi
5		Jalgaon	Bhusawal
6	Konkan	Ratnagiri	Dapoli
7		Palghar	Mokhada
8	Pune	Satara	Khandala
9		Kolhapur	Ichalkaranji
10		Satara	Satara
11	Nagpur	Wardha	Wardha
12		Gondia	Gondia
13		Chandrapur	Sindewahi
14	Aurangabad	Latur	Udgir
15		Nanded	Mahur
16		Jalna	Jalna
			<b>Total</b>

**Figure 1.1: Division-wise Map of Maharashtra**



**Stage II: To choose number of voters in every Council or Nagar Panchayat**

The voter population in each of the Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats was used as the population frame for sample selection. At a 95 per cent confidence interval and a 5 per cent margin of error, the sample size was seen to average to around 350 in the Councils. With a cushion of about 12-13 per cent for non response and data cleaning, it was decided to use a sample of 400 voters per Council. Across 16 areas, this implies a total voter sample of 6400 voters, of which a sample of around 5600 voters would be available post-cleaning.

If we assume the total population across all chosen Councils to be the population frame for sample choice, the sample size is seen to be 5667 at 95 per cent confidence interval with a 1.3 per cent margin of error. Thus, the sample size of 5600 as chosen by us seems to be consistent with the other sampling methodology too.

### **Right-hand rule of sampling to identify the household**

A simple right-hand rule was created to identify the household within which the respondent voter would be identified. In the right hand sampling method, a household is randomly chosen as a start point. If the household is in a building, the enumerator is asked to move 10 buildings to her right to identify the next household. If the household is in a slum area or in an area with individual bungalows, the enumerator is asked to move 20 houses to the right to identify the next house. In this fashion, the right hand sampling rule was employed to identify the household from which the respondent is to be identified.

### **Identifying the respondent within the household**

Once the enumerator identifies the household, the next step is to enable him to identify the respondent within the household. A simple rule of identifying the respondent was created.

In the first household randomly selected, the enumerator takes the responses from a voter who is ready to answer the questions. If this respondent is “Male” above 40 years of age, the enumerator is asked to interview “Female” above 40 years of age in the next interview. The third interview is to be held vis-a-vis “Male” below 40 years of age and the fourth vis-a-vis “Female” below 40 years of age. If such a respondent is not present at that time in the household, the enumerator typically schedules an appointment and goes back for the interview. If a person with the required gender and age profile is not present in that household at all, then and only then is the enumerator allowed to look for a substitute respondent.

### **Tools:**

A close-ended questionnaire, attached in Appendix A, was designed to understand voter perceptions regarding

- i. Candidate quality, in general
- ii. What type of candidate would the voters want, in particular

The same questionnaire was used in all the 16 Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats to understand voter perceptions.

### **Time Frame**

The survey was launched on 7<sup>th</sup> October 2016 and was completed on the 17<sup>th</sup> October. Following section gives the final sample size percentage covered in the chosen Municipal Councils of Maharashtra.

### MCC and Sampling Issues

The Model Code of Conduct (MCC) for Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats elections became applicable on 15<sup>th</sup> October 2016, whilst the survey was still going on in the chosen Councils within the sample. With the application of the MCC, it became difficult for the enumerators to complete the given sample in many of the areas. We were forced to call off the survey within many of the Councils and hence, could not complete the requisite sample size. The actual sample size collected was 4700 instead of 6400, which implies a data loss of about 25 per cent. Another 12 per cent of the sample was lost in data cleaning. Thus, the total sample available with us for analysis was only that of 4169 voters, instead of the expected 5600 responses that had been planned.

The worst affected areas for sampling were Bhusawal, Jalna and Mahur, where the sample collected and available post clean-up was that of 140, 192 and 196 voters respectively. This sample size is consistent with 95 per cent confidence interval with a 7 per cent margin of error. In market research, a 4-8 per cent margin of error is seen to be "acceptable" as a norm and hence, even with lower sample sizes, the sample collected in Bhusawal, Jalna and Mahur was seen to be acceptable for understanding the broader data trends. The following table shows the final sample sizes in the different Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats.

**Table 1.2: Sample Size Coverage in different Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats**

Sr. No.	Division	District	Municipal Councils	Sample Size	Percentage sampled in every area
1	Amravati	Yavatmal	Yavatmal	291	7.0
2		Buldhana	Deoolgaon raja	242	5.8
3		Amravati	Achalpur	245	5.9
4	Nashik	Ahmednagar	Shirdi	320	7.7
5		Jalgaon	Bhusawal	140	3.4
6	Konkan	Ratnagiri	Dapoli	334	8.0
7		Palghar	Mokhada	220	5.3

8	Pune	Satara	Khandala	303	7.3
9		Kolhapur	Ichalkaranji	332	8.0
10		Satara	Satara	325	7.8
11	Nagpur	Wardha	Wardha	298	7.1
12		Gondia	Gondia	217	5.2
13		Chandrapur	Sindewahi	302	7.2
14	Aurangabad	Latur	Udgir	210	5.0
15		Nanded	Mahur	198	4.7
16		Jalna	Jalna	192	4.6
			<b>Total</b>		<b>100</b>

CHAPTER II

CHARACTERISTICS OF VOTERS AS COVERED IN THE SAMPLE

This chapter reveals the characteristics of the voters as covered in the sample.

Table 2.1 indicates the distribution of the sample across age groups. Age-group is a characteristic by which voter perceptions and voter demands may change significantly. The sample tries to cover young (18- 35 years), middle aged (36 – 50 years) and old (51- 60 years as well as 60 and above) voters equally.

**Table 2.1: Age-wise Distribution within Sample**

Age bracket	Age-wise distribution of voters within sample	Percent
18 yrs- 35 yrs	1435	34.4
36 yrs - 50 yrs	1532	36.7
51 yrs - 60 yrs	645	15.5
60 yrs and Above	557	13.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 2.1: Age-wise Distribution within Sample**

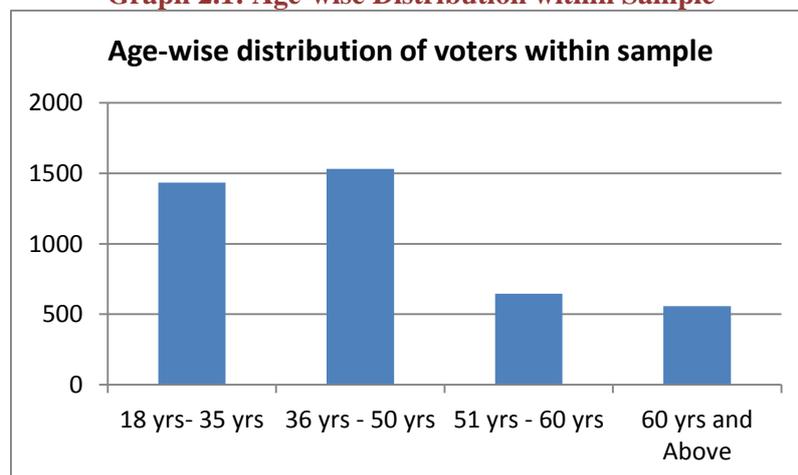


Table 2.2 indicates the distribution of the sample across gender. This is also an important sample characteristic since voter perceptions of male and female voters could be significantly different from each other.

**Table 2.2: Gender-wise Distribution within Sample**

Gender	Gender-wise distribution of voters within sample	Percent
Male	2318	55.6
Female	1851	44.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 2.2: Gender-wise Distribution within Sample**

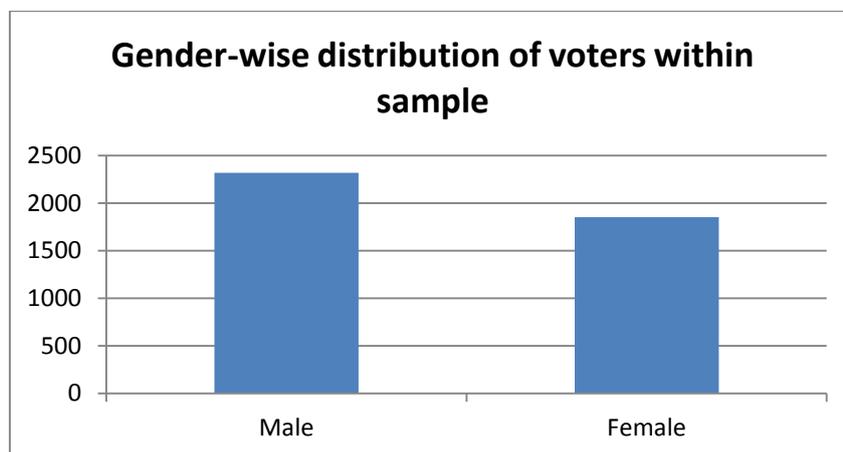
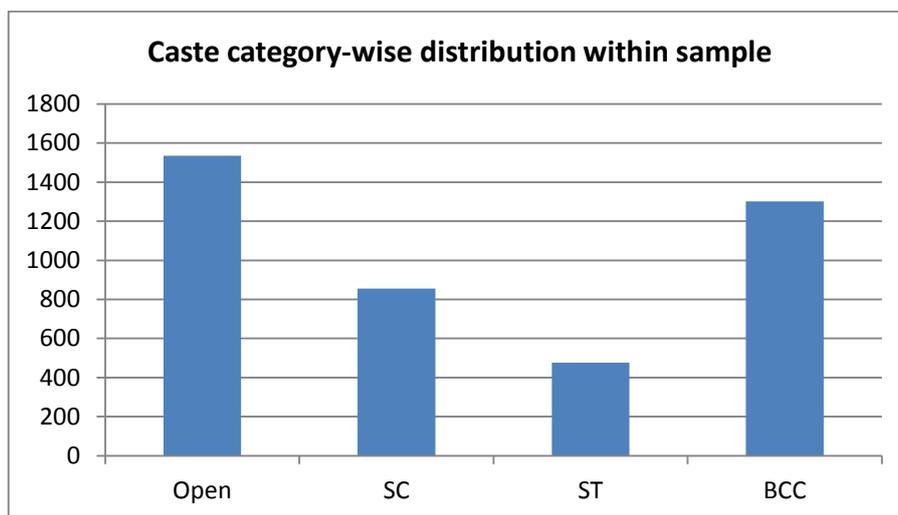


Table 2.3 shows the distribution of the sample across open and reserved category voters. Open category voters are 36.8% and reserved category voters are 63.2% of the sample.

**Table 2.3: Category-wise Distribution within Sample**

Category	Caste category-wise distribution within sample	Percent
Open	1535	36.8
SC	855	20.5
ST	477	11.4
BCC	1302	31.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 2.3: Category-wise distribution within sample**



Following is the distribution of the sample across number of years for which voters have been residing in the respective areas. It is seen that more than 90% of the voters surveyed have been staying in the area for more than 10 years.

**Table 2.4: Distribution within Sample as per Number of Years of Residency within the Area**

Residency	No. of years of residency of voters within sample	Percent
Less than 5 years	68	1.6
5 -10 years	278	6.7
More than 10 years	3823	91.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 2.4: Distribution within sample as per number of years of residency within the area**

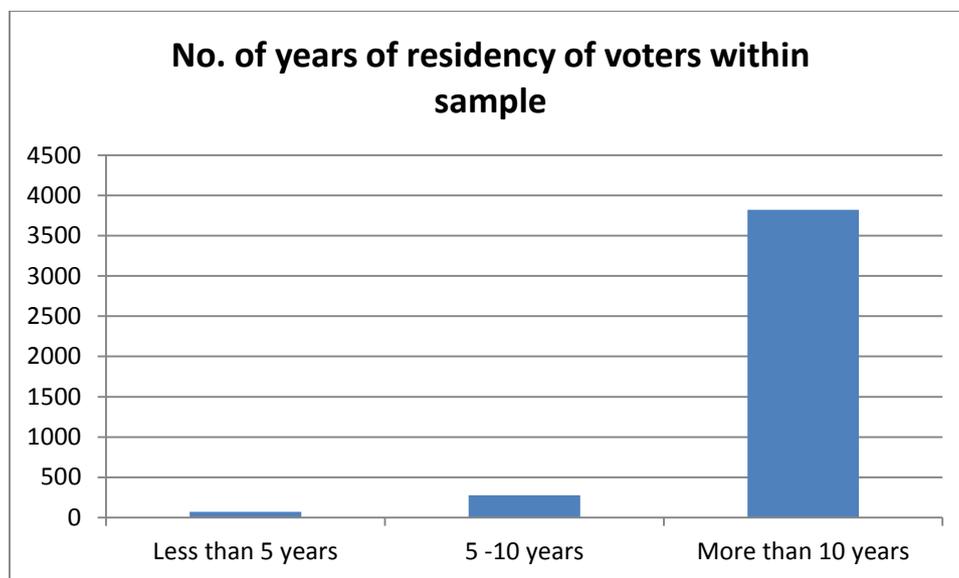
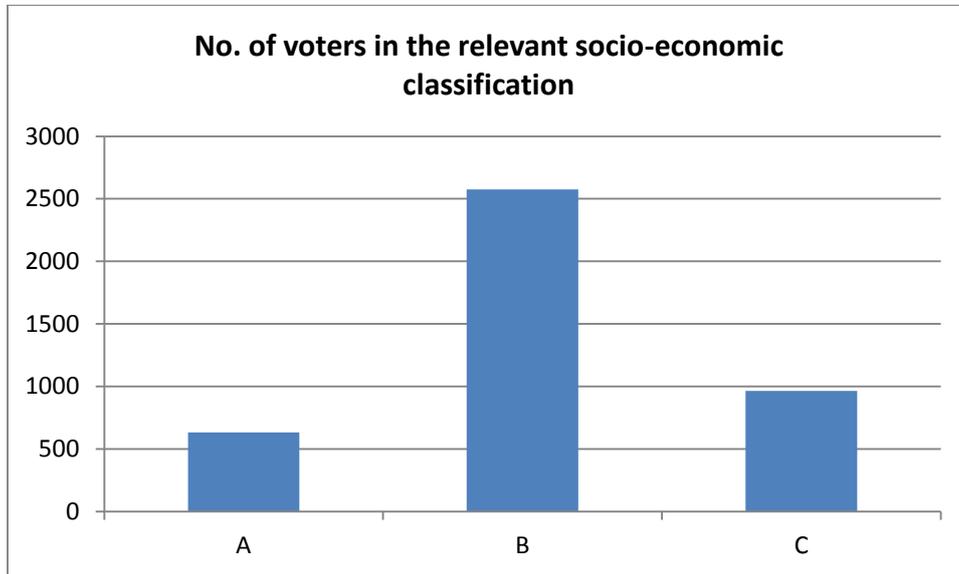


Table 2.7 indicates the proportion of voters in the sample having different socio-economic classifications. The socio-economic classification of voters was arrived at as per the IRS grid, in which the education of the main earner of the family as well as the assets owned by the family are used in deciding the SEC category of the respondent.

**Table 2.5: Distribution within sample as SEC classification**

Class	No. of voters in the relevant socio-economic classification	Percent
A	631	15.1
B	2575	61.8
C	963	23.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100</b>

Graph 2.5: Distribution within sample as per SEC classification

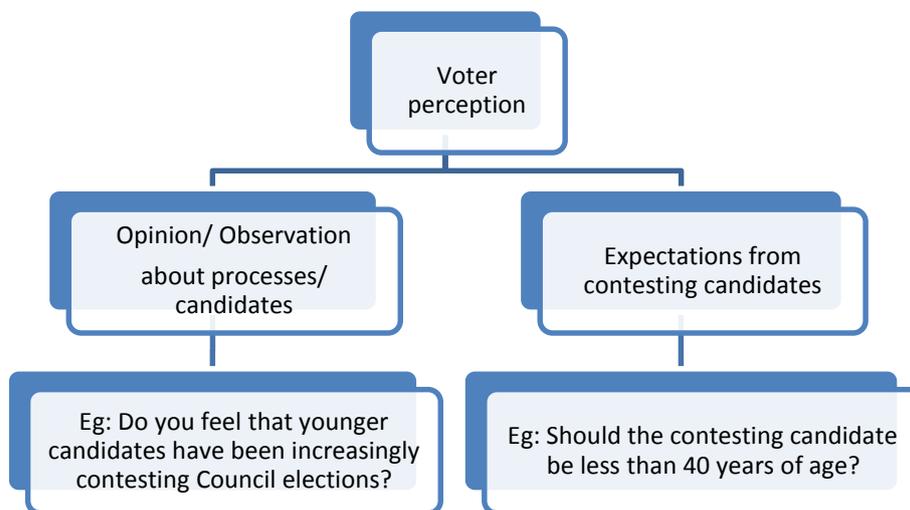


## CHAPTER III

## VOTER PERCEPTION SURVEY: MAIN FINDINGS

In this chapter, the main findings of the survey have been outlined. "Voter perceptions" about electoral processes have been segregated into two dimensions:

1. Opinions or observations about processes/ candidates
2. Expectations from contesting candidates



First, opinion of the voters was sought on certain issues. For example, voters were asked whether, in their opinion, the extent of criminalization has reduced in Municipal Council elections in Maharashtra. The voters were expected to respond with 'Agree', 'Disagree' or 'Can't Say', to such questions seeking their opinion.

Second, the voters were asked about their expectations regarding the candidates. For example, a typical statement posed to the voter was "I feel that no candidate with a criminal background should be allowed to contest elections." The voter was expected to respond with 'Agree', 'Disagree' or 'Can't Say.'

In each of the sections below, the characteristics of candidates such as age, background, criminal record, image, education, efficiency etc. will be discussed. The findings bring out voter's opinion or observations about the characteristic as well as voter's expectation about the candidate concerning that characteristic.

**1. AGE PROFILE: DO VOTERS WANT YOUNG CANDIDATES?**

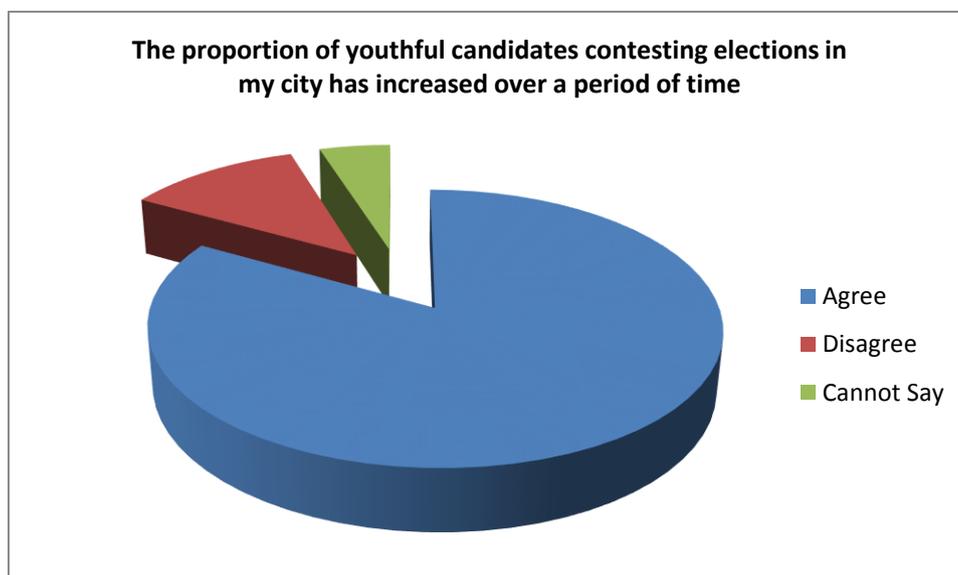
**1.1 OPINION**

The youth wave has clearly gripped the voters in the Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats. And this change has been happening over the past few years very softly. 85.1 per cent of the voters feel that the proportion of young candidates contesting elections has been increasing over a period of time.

**Table 3.1: The proportion of youthful candidates contesting elections in my city has increased over a period of time**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	5530	85.1
Disagree	741	11.4
Cannot Say	229	3.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>6500</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.1: The proportion of youthful candidates contesting elections in my city has increased over a period of time**



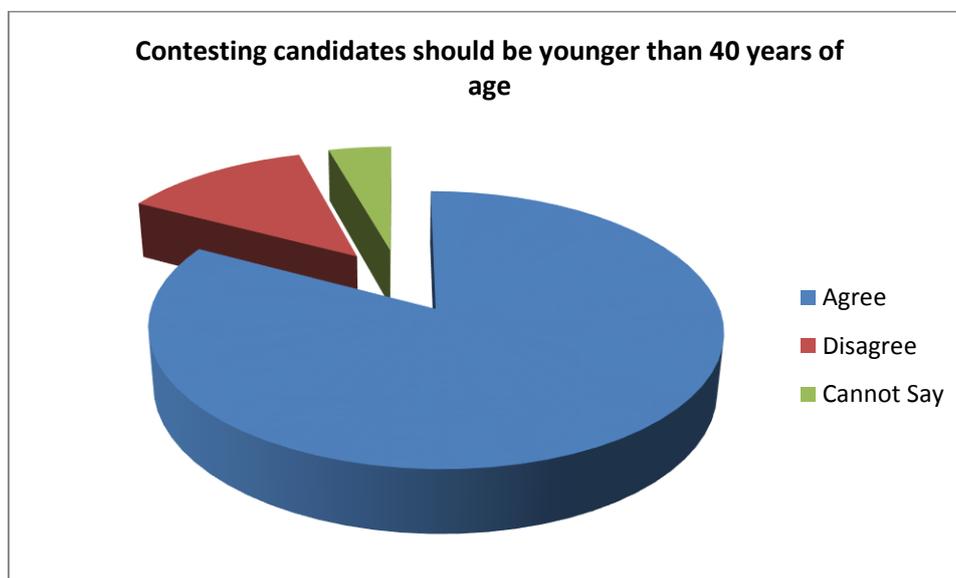
**1.2 EXPECTATION ABOUT THE CANDIDATE**

An overwhelming 84 per cent of the voters agree that the contesting candidates should be less than 40 years of age. Informally, voters shared their thoughts that younger candidates are likely to have a higher zest for change and would be more willing to accept new ideas and technologies in order to drive that change.

**Table 3.2: Contesting candidates should be younger than 40 years of age**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3453	82.8
Disagree	536	12.9
Cannot Say	180	4.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.2: Contesting candidates should be younger than 40 years of age**



We further check whether the younger category of voters feels more strongly about having youthful candidates as their elected representatives. It is interesting to note the data trends within age-groups as shown below.

The proportion of voters between age 18 and 35 years have a higher proportion of agreeing with the statement that contesting candidates should be younger than 40 years of age. Further, voters in this age category have a lower proportion of disagreeing with the statement.

**Table 3.3: Contesting candidates should be younger than 40 years of age**

	18 yrs- 35 yrs	36 yrs - 50 yrs	51 yrs - 60 yrs	60 yrs and Above	Total
Agree	84.9% <sub>a</sub>	81.9% <sub>b</sub>	81.2% <sub>b</sub>	81.7% <sub>a, b</sub>	82.8%
Disagree	10.7% <sub>a</sub>	14.0% <sub>b</sub>	13.6% <sub>a, b</sub>	14.4% <sub>b</sub>	12.9%
Cannot say	4.3% <sub>a</sub>	4.1% <sub>a</sub>	5.1% <sub>a</sub>	3.9% <sub>a</sub>	4.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

There is another interesting dimension to this issue, which is given in the table below.

**Table 3.4: Proportion of youthful candidates in my constituency has been rising over the past few years**

	18 yrs- 35 yrs	36 yrs - 50 yrs	51 yrs - 60 yrs	60 yrs and Above	Total
Agree	81.6% <sub>a</sub>	83.0% <sub>a, b</sub>	84.7% <sub>a, b</sub>	86.0% <sub>b</sub>	83.2%
Disagree	13.9% <sub>a</sub>	11.8% <sub>a, b</sub>	9.9% <sub>b</sub>	9.7% <sub>b</sub>	11.9%
Cannot say	4.5% <sub>a</sub>	5.2% <sub>a</sub>	5.4% <sub>a</sub>	4.3% <sub>a</sub>	4.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

The proportion of senior voters in the age bracket of more than 60 years of age who agree that the proportion of youthful candidates contesting elections has been rising over the past few years is higher. Whereas the proportion of senior voters supporting the statement is the highest, the proportion of young voters in the 18-35 age category disagreeing with the statement is the highest. These trends could indicate two dynamics.

One is the straightforward analysis that the younger voters are impatient to see more youthful candidates in power and clearly feel that the proportion of such candidates is not rising quickly enough.

Second, the difference in the proportions may simply be a function of the number of years of observation associated with the younger and the senior voters. With a higher number of past observations and a higher number of years of participation in the voting process, the older voters have a longer observation horizon over which they observe this change coming in. With a shorter observation and participation horizon, the younger voters are unable to discern this trend.

**2. EDUCATION PROFILE: DO VOTERS WANT EDUCATED CANDIDATES?**

Interestingly, education of the contestant matters to the voter! Voters within Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats spoke informally about how education enhances vision and hence could be relevant for the development of their constituency.

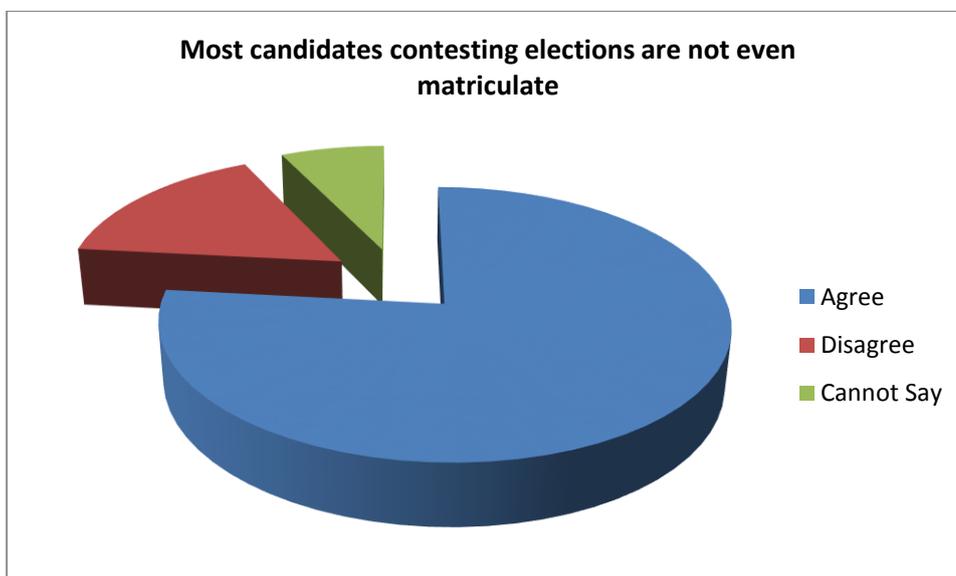
**2.1 OPINION/ OBSERVATION**

“Most candidates contesting elections are not even matriculate”. 77 per cent voters feel that this does seem to be the case. Thus, most voters feel that the existing candidates are not well-educated. Going ahead, do they really want a change to happen within the education profile? Does it really matter? Do they want the contesting candidates to be well-educated? The following table elucidates.

**Table 3.5: Most candidates contesting elections are not even matriculate**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3197	76.7
Disagree	675	16.2
Cannot Say	297	7.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.3: Most candidates contesting elections are not even matriculate**



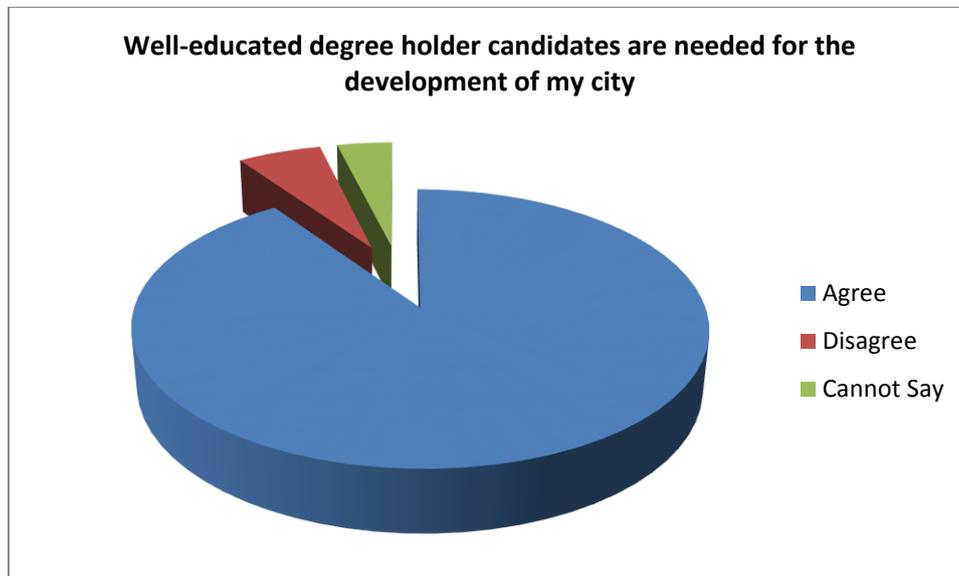
**2.2 EXPECTATION ABOUT THE CANDIDATE**

“Well-educated degree holder candidates are required for the development of my city”. This statement elicits an extraordinary 90 per cent response. In the informal talks with our enumerators, voters remarked that even in order to have a vision of what a good road or sewage system looks like, it is important to be at least a degree holder. Many expressed their skepticism about the kind of vision and hence the kind of developmental work that a less educated person could possibly undertake in the city.

**Table 3.6: Well-educated degree holder candidates are needed for the development of my city**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3771	90.5
Disagree	240	5.8
Cannot Say	158	3.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.4: Well-educated degree holder candidates are needed for the development of my city**



**3. WORK PROFILE: DO VOTERS WANT PEOPLE WITH COMMUNITY BUILDING EXPERIENCE TO CONTEST ELECTIONS?**

A recent survey done by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics on ZillaParishads and PanchayatSamitis shows that candidates contesting elections for those two local bodies do not seem to have the requisite community building experience to efficiently carry on the work of the local bodies. Can it be the case that this holds true for the Municipal Councils and Nagar Panchayats as well?

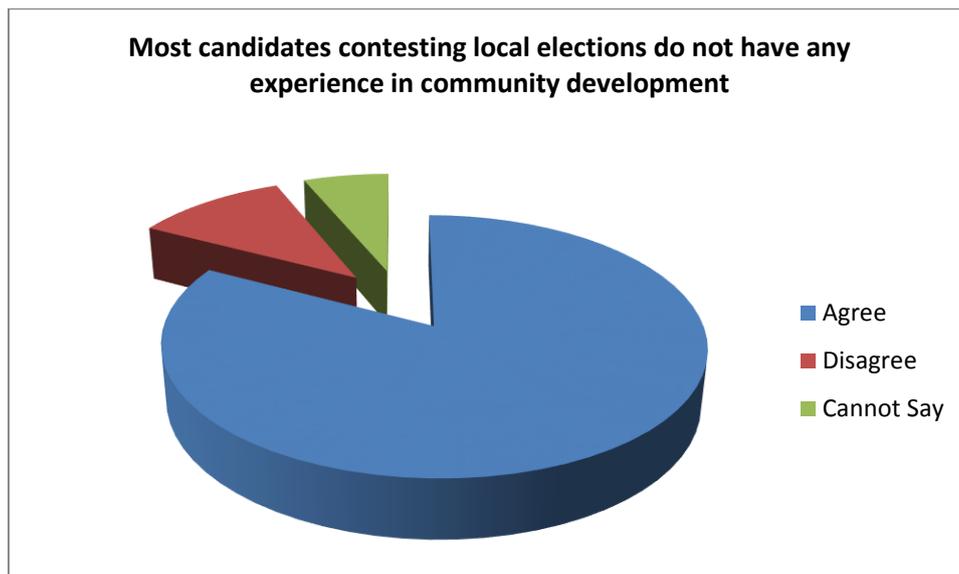
**3.1 OBSERVATION**

When asked “Most candidates contesting local elections do not have any experience in community development,” 83 per cent of the voters agree with the statement.

**Table 3.7: Most candidates contesting local elections do not have any experience in community development**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3450	82.8
Disagree	460	11.0
Cannot Say	259	6.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.5: Most candidates contesting local elections do not have any experience in community development**

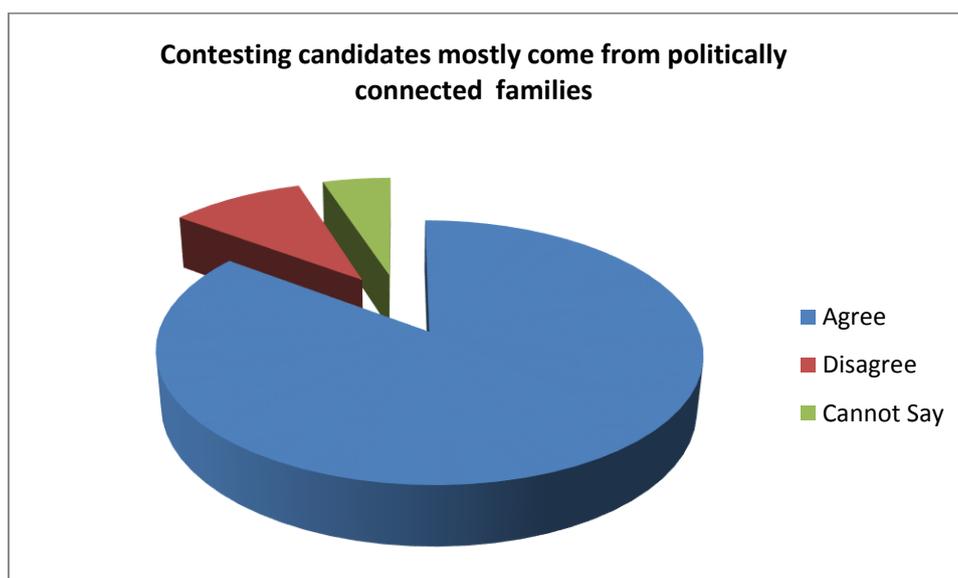


If they do not really have a work experience relevant to community development, how do such candidates enter the political system? 85.3 per cent of the voters believe that “Contesting candidates mostly come from politically connected families”.

**Table 3.8: Contesting candidates mostly come from politically connected Families**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3555	85.3
Disagree	407	9.8
Cannot Say	207	5.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.6: Contesting candidates mostly come from politically connected Families**



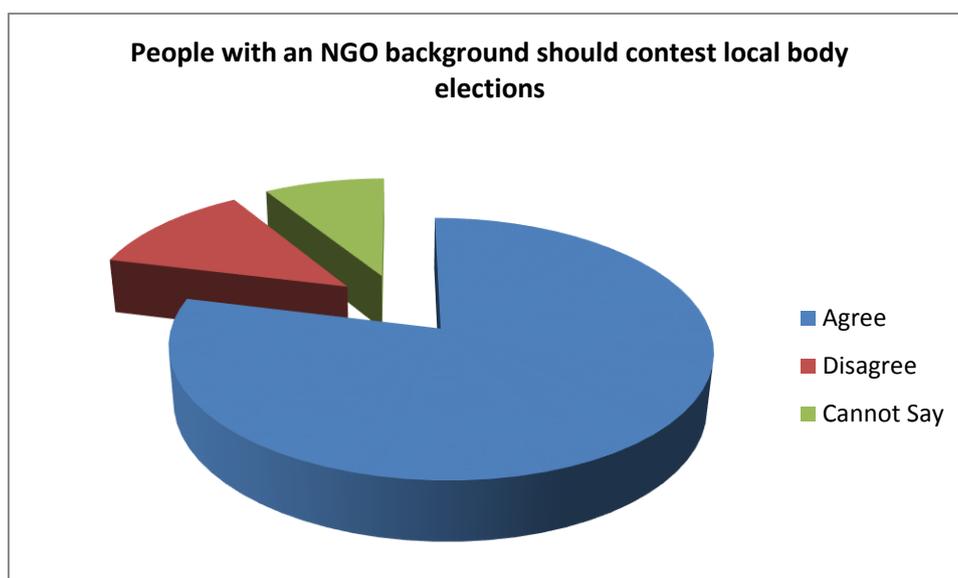
### 3.2 EXPECTATION ABOUT THE CANDIDATE

As the table below shows, 79 per cent of the voters feel that “People with an NGO background should contest local body elections.” This is a clear signal that the electorate wishes to vote into power those candidates who have some earlier experience in development or community building programs. Only being from a politically influential family is clearly not enough for today’s voter.

**Table 3.9: People with an NGO background should contest local body Elections**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3288	78.9
Disagree	514	12.3
Cannot Say	367	8.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.7: People with an NGO background should contest local body elections**



#### 4. CORRUPTION AND VOTER PERCEPTION

This section comes out with some very interesting observations. When voters were quizzed about the larger issue of corruption, most reacted by saying that candidates contesting elections are mostly corrupt. However, there is almost a tie between voters who feel that the level of corruption is falling and those who feel it isn't.

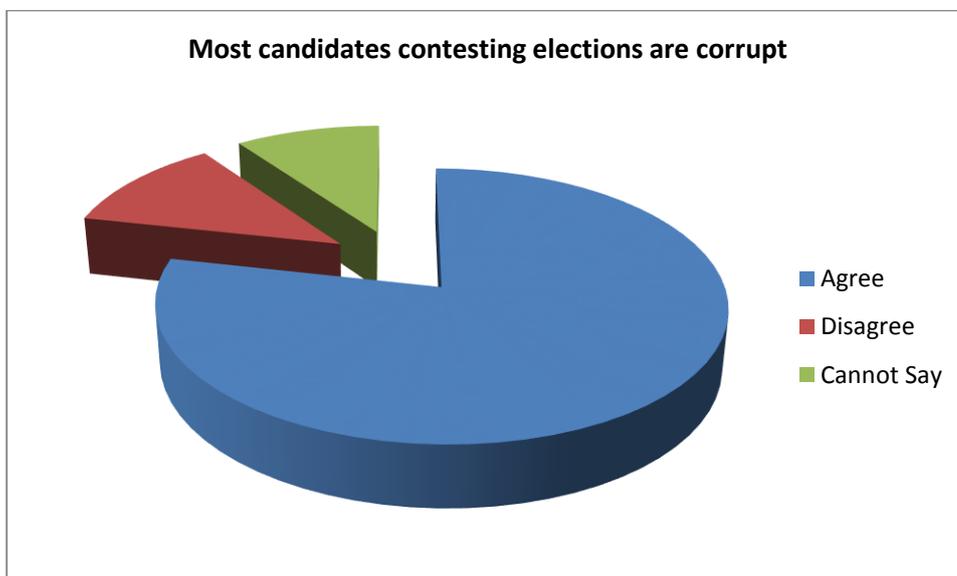
**4.1 OPINIONS**

78 per cent voters believe that most of the candidates are corrupt; at the same time, 42 per cent of the voters don't support the observation that the proportion of corrupt candidates contesting elections has been falling over the past 20 years.

**Table 3.10: Most candidates contesting elections are corrupt**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3271	78.5
Disagree	489	11.7
Cannot Say	409	9.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

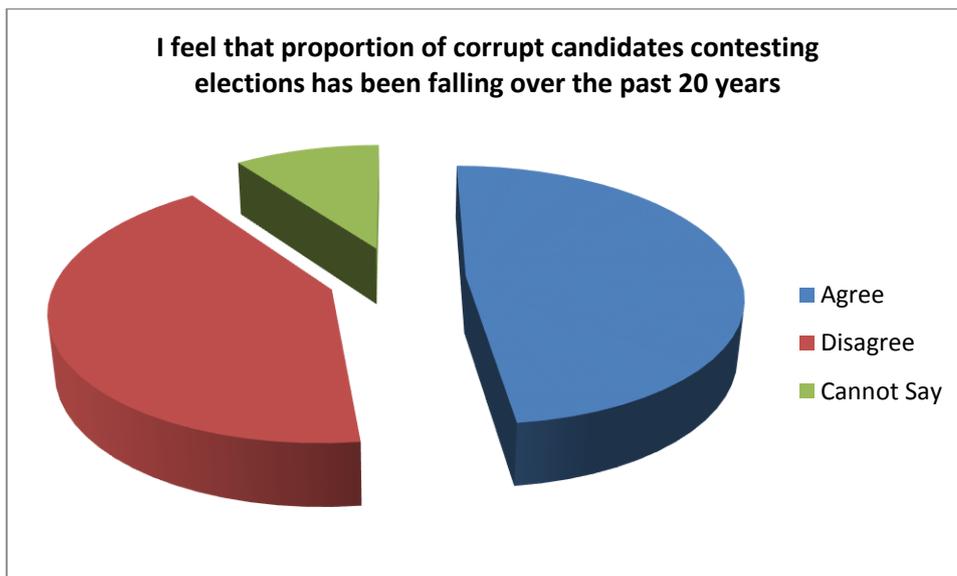
**Graph 3.8: Most candidates contesting elections are corrupt**



**Table 3.11: I feel that proportion of corrupt candidates contesting elections has been falling over the past 20 years**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	2003	48.0
Disagree	1749	42.0
Cannot Say	417	10.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.9: I feel that proportion of corrupt candidates contesting elections has been falling over the past 20 years**

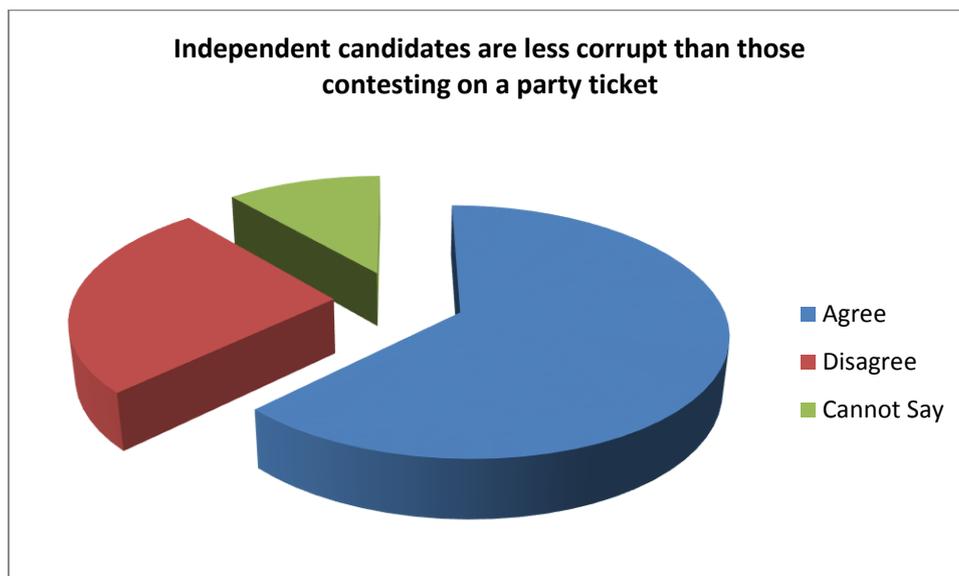


62.3 per cent voters also believe that independent candidates are less corrupt than those contesting on a party ticket.

**Table 3.12: Independent candidates are less corrupt than those contesting on a party ticket**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	4050	62.3
Disagree	1789	27.5
Cannot Say	661	10.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>6500</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.10: Independent candidates are less corrupt than those contesting on a party ticket**

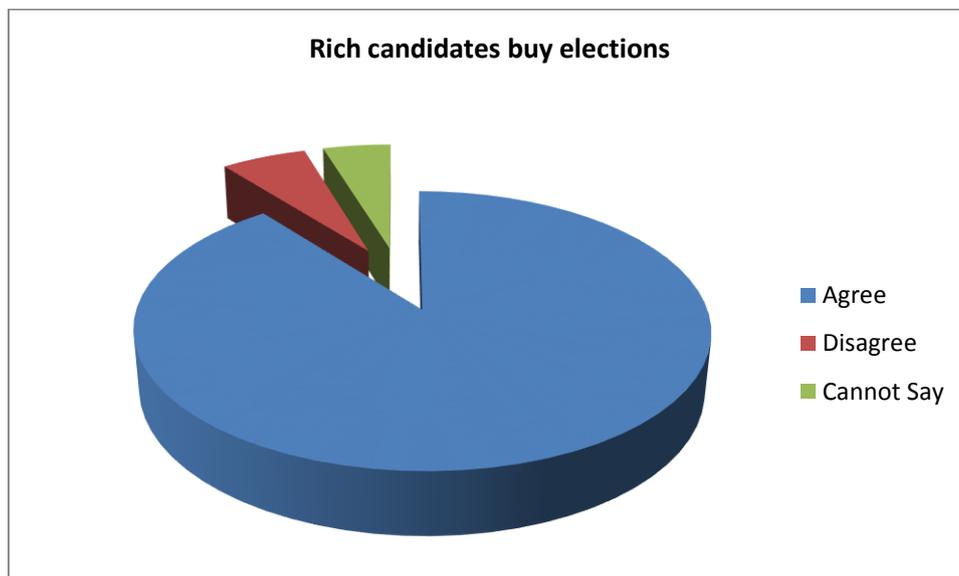


It is further interesting to note that 90 per cent of voters believe simply that “Rich candidates buy elections.”

**Table 3.13: Rich candidates buy elections**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3731	89.5
Disagree	244	5.9
Cannot Say	194	4.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.11: Rich candidates buy elections**



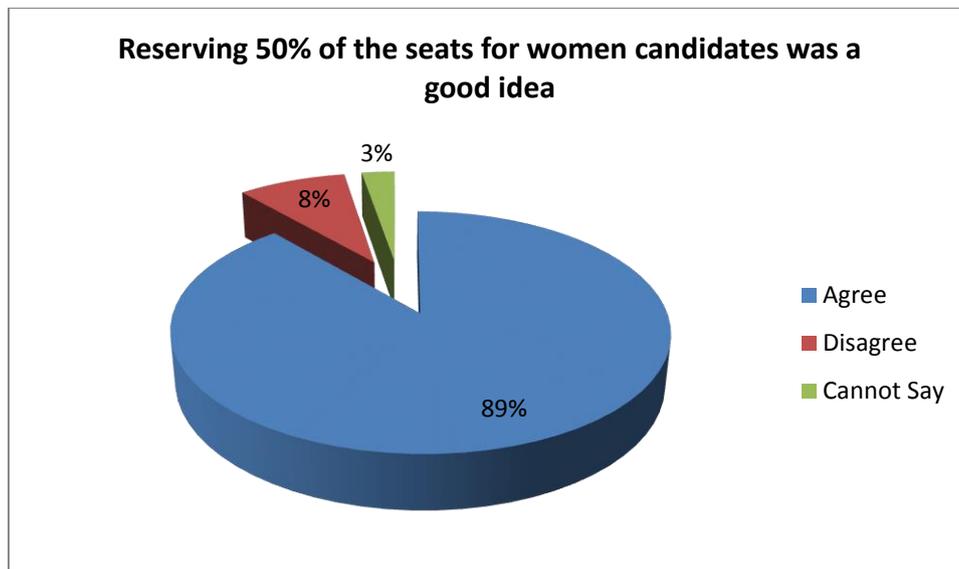
**5. RESERVATION FOR WOMEN: IS IT A GOOD IDEA TO RESERVE 50% SEATS FOR WOMEN?**

This section too has some rather startling observations. Firstly, 89% of voters believe that reserving 50% of seats for women was a good idea.

**Table 3.14: Reservation of 50 per cent seats for women was a good idea**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3711	89.0
Disagree	325	7.8
Cannot Say	133	3.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.12: Reservation of seats for women was a good idea**



Further, the proportion of women voters agreeing with the statement is a bit higher than that of men agreeing with it, as shown in the table below. Similarly, the proportion of women voters disagreeing with the statement is lower as compared to that of male voters. Clearly, women voters feel more comfortable with the idea of a woman candidate representing them in a constituency.

**Table 3.15: Proportion of male and female voters and opinion on “It is a good idea to reserve 50% seats for women candidates”**

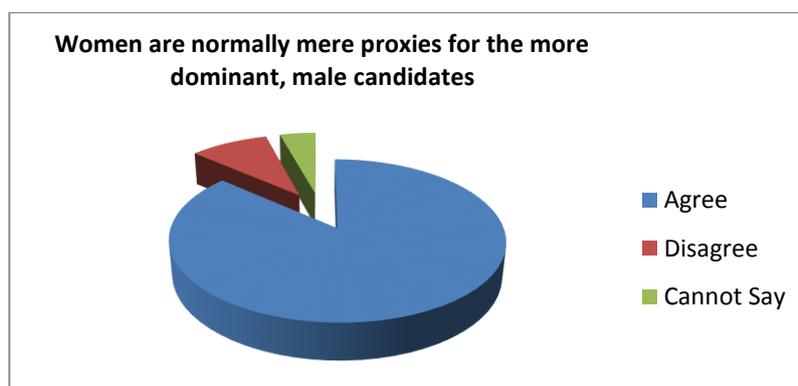
	Male	Female	Total
Agree	86.5% <sub>a</sub>	92.1% <sub>b</sub>	89.0%
Disagree	10.2% <sub>a</sub>	4.8% <sub>b</sub>	7.8%
Cannot Say	3.3% <sub>a</sub>	3.1% <sub>a</sub>	3.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

According to the voters, most women in politics have but a proxy presence and contest elections in lieu of a more dominant male presence in their family. 86.5% of the voters agree that women are “normally mere proxies for the more dominant, male candidates”.

**Table 3.16: Women are normally mere proxies for the more dominant, male candidates**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3605	86.5
Disagree	387	9.3
Cannot Say	177	4.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.13: Women are normally mere proxies for the more dominant, male candidates**



Again, it is interesting to note that the proportion of male voters who believe that women candidates are mere proxies is higher than the proportion of female voters agreeing to the statement.

**Table 3.17: Gender wise classification on whether women candidates are mere proxies**

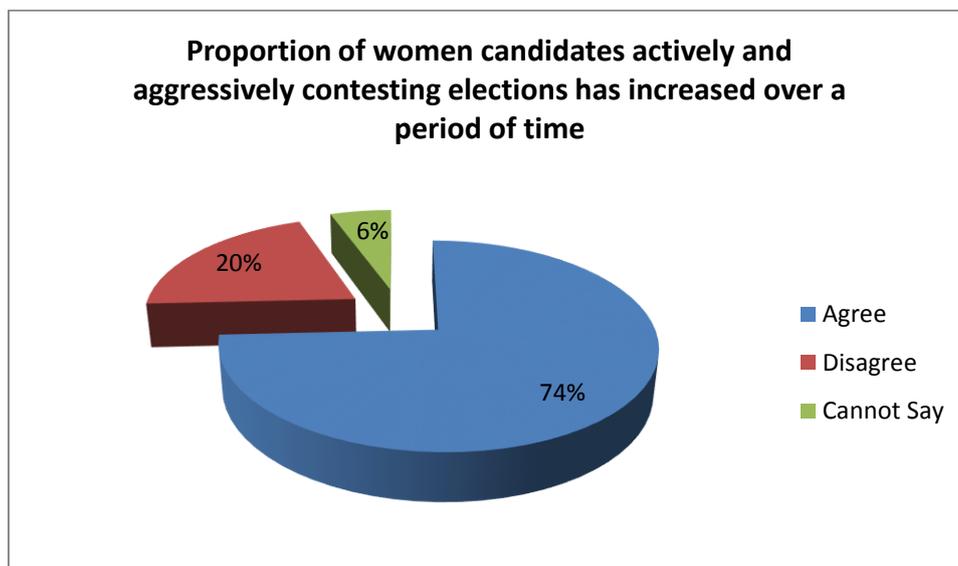
	Male	Female	Total
Agree	88.9% <sub>a</sub>	83.5% <sub>b</sub>	86.5%
Disagree	7.3% <sub>a</sub>	11.7% <sub>b</sub>	9.3%
Cannot Say	3.8% <sub>a</sub>	4.8% <sub>a</sub>	4.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

However, there is again the proverbial silver lining. 74 per cent of voters agree to the statement that the proportion of women actively and aggressively contesting elections has increased over a period of time. 75 per cent of voters also agree to the fact that women candidates are less corrupt than their male counterparts.

**Table 3.18: Proportion of women actively and aggressively contesting elections has increased over a period of time**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3071	73.7
Disagree	816	19.6
Cannot Say	282	6.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.14: Proportion of women actively and aggressively contesting elections has increased over a period of time**



Again, the proportion of male voters agreeing to the statement that the number of women aggressively contesting elections has increased is lower than the number of female voters supporting it. Similarly, the proportion of male voters disagreeing with the statement is higher than the proportion of female voters disagreeing to it.

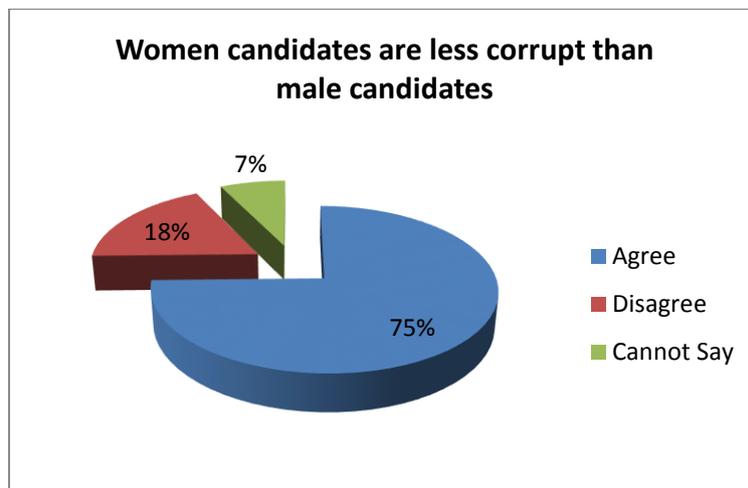
**Table 3.19: Gender wise classification on whether the proportion of women aggressively contesting elections has increased over a period of time**

	Male	Female	Total
Agree	70.5% <sub>a</sub>	77.6% <sub>b</sub>	73.7%
Disagree	22.7% <sub>a</sub>	15.6% <sub>b</sub>	19.6%
Cannot Say	6.7% <sub>a</sub>	6.8% <sub>a</sub>	6.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Table 3.20: Women candidates are less corrupt than their male counterparts**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3127	75.0
Disagree	707	17.0
Cannot Say	335	8.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.15: Women candidates are less corrupt than male counterparts**



**6. CRIMINALIZATION: HAS CRIMINALIZATION OF POLITICS KEPT “GOOD” CANDIDATES AWAY FROM ELECTIONS?**

Criminalization of politics again seemed to be a topic that struck a chord with the voters. Is it perhaps the criminalization aspect that makes good people shy away from elections?

**6.1 OPINION**

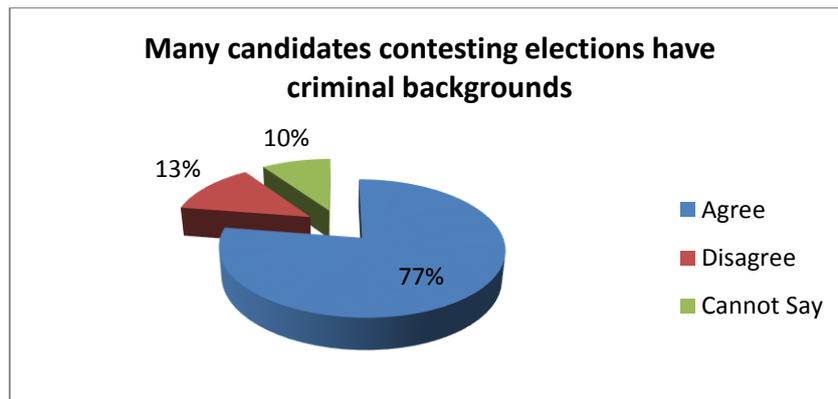
77 per cent of the voters agree to the fact that “Many contestants have a criminal background.” Thus, the popular perception is that most candidates are those with muscle power.

Even more overwhelmingly, 90 per cent of the voters believe that it is mainly this aspect of criminalization that keeps candidates with a “vision” for the city away from elections.

**Table 3.21: Many contestants have criminal background**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	5036	77.5
Disagree	841	12.9
Cannot Say	623	9.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>6500</b>	<b>100.0</b>

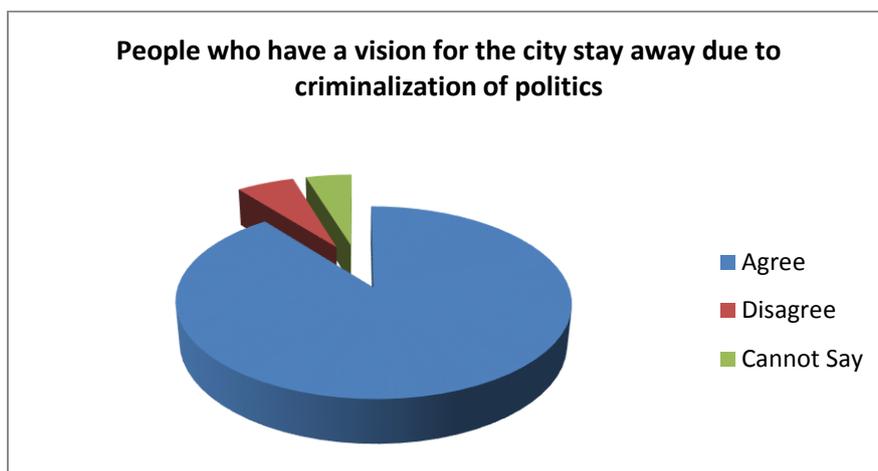
**Graph 3.16: Many contestants have criminal background**



**Table 3.22: People who have a vision for the city stay away due to criminalization of politics**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3731	89.5
Disagree	244	5.9
Cannot Say	194	4.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.17: People who have a vision for the city stay away due to criminalization of politics**



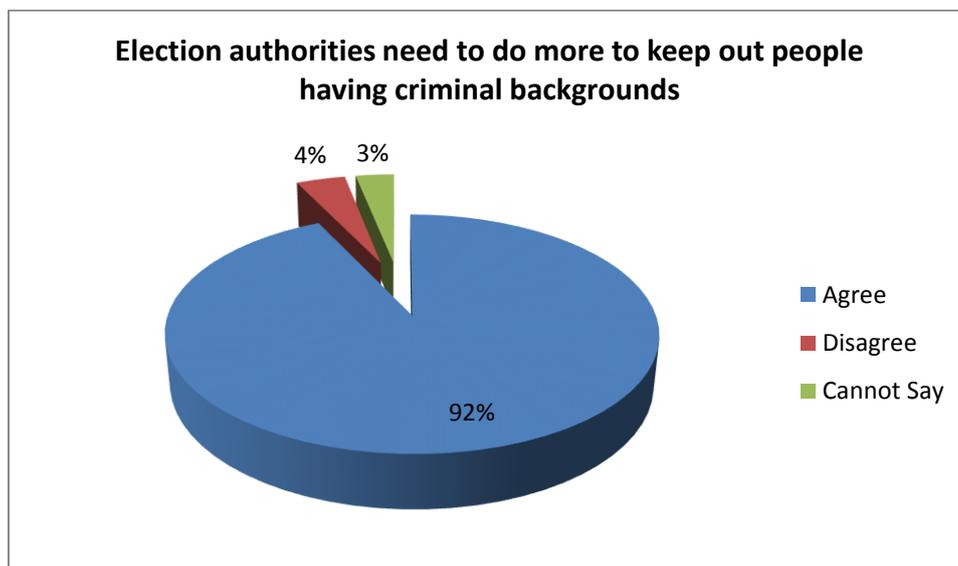
**6.2 EXPECTATIONS FROM SECM**

The voters believe that there is more that “election authorities” can do to keep candidates with a criminal record away from elections. Nearly 92 per cent of the voters have asked for more action from the SECM on this problem.

**Table 3.23: Election authorities need to do more to keep candidates with a criminal background away from politics**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3829	91.8
Disagree	172	4.1
Cannot Say	168	4.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.18: Election authorities need to do more to keep candidates with a criminal background away from politics**

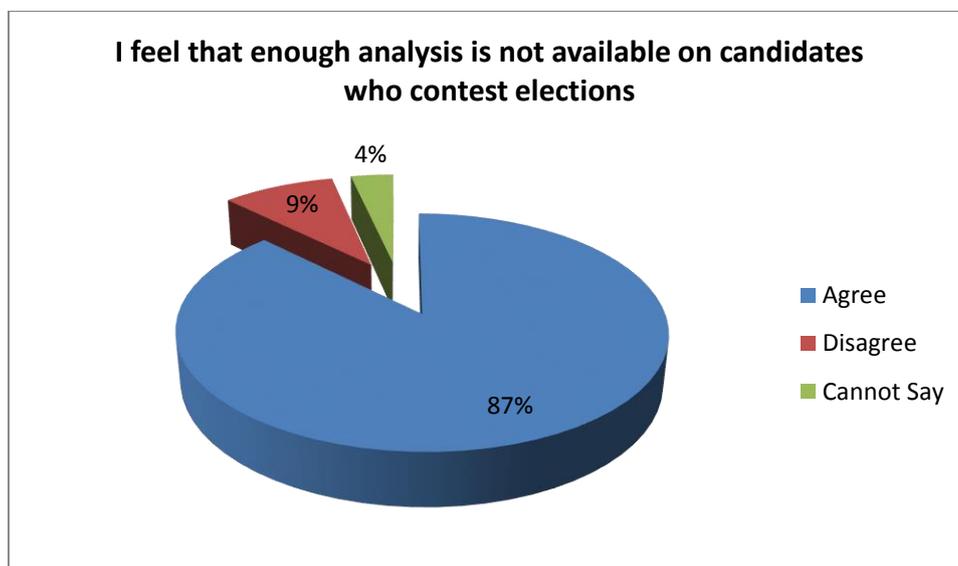


There seem to be other expectations too. Nearly 87 per cent of the voters feel that not enough analysis is done on candidate quality at the local election level. This could be a spin-off of the fact that many people subconsciously compare the analysis of LS elections which is done on a big scale through media to analysis of local elections, which does not receive similar kind of coverage. Thus, there is need to do more, and there is a definite need to put it across to the voter through extensive media coverage.

**Table 3.24: I feel that enough analysis is not available on candidates who contest local elections**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3615	86.7
Disagree	371	8.9
Cannot Say	183	4.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.19: I feel that enough analysis is not available on candidates who contest local elections**

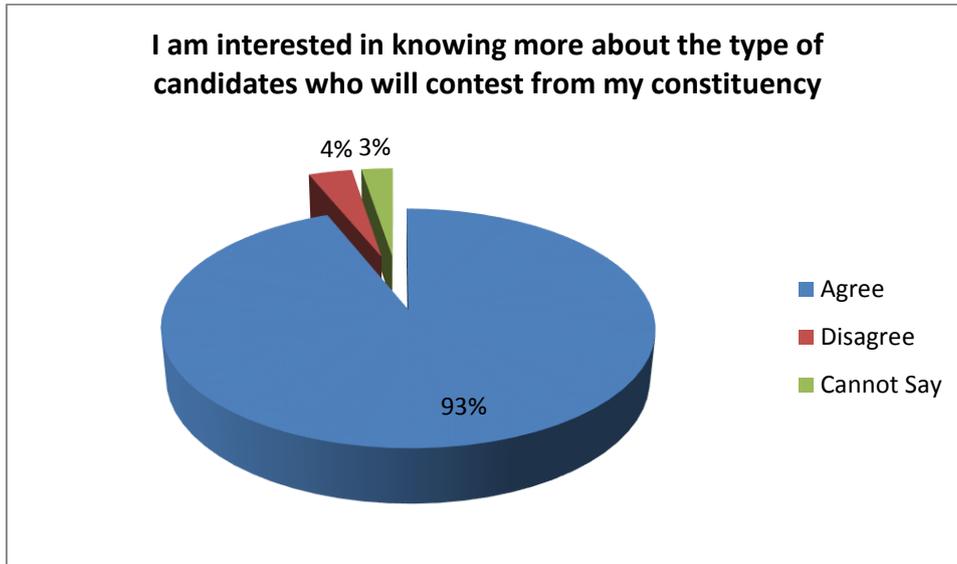


Are people interested in knowing local election analysis? The answer is that 94 per cent of the voters agree that “I would like to know more about the type of candidates who will contest from my constituency.” Thus, the voter seems to want deeper analysis that will aid her to take a proper decision. Again, the conclusion is that not only more real-time constituency wise analysis is required on the contesting candidates, but it has to be taken through extensive media coverage to the common man, who wants to know more about the candidates so as to build an informed opinion about the candidate before casting his vote.

**Table 3.25: I would like to know more about the candidates contesting elections from my constituency**

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	3881	93.1
Disagree	155	3.7
Cannot Say	133	3.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>4169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Graph 3.20: I would like to know more about the candidates contesting elections from my constituency**



CHAPTER IV

MEASURING VOTER SATISFACTION REGARDING CANDIDATE QUALITY: THE VSCQ INDEX

1. ARE VOTER PERCEPTIONS DIFFERENT IN THE DIFFERENT DIVISIONS OF MAHARASHTRA?

Maharashtra is divided into 6 administrative divisions, namely, Konkan, Pune, Aurangabad, Nashik, Amravati and Nagpur. Each of the divisions has unique socio-economic and geographical characteristics, which also create unique political dynamics within the divisions. In fact, it was this very thought that was used while creating a sampling plan, which was designed so as to include Councils and Nagar Panchayats in every division.

Now, it is pertinent to check whether voter perceptions and voter expectations are different in different divisions.

The following table shows groups of divisions which exhibit statistically different voter perceptions about existing candidates. Group A consists of Councils in which voters have lower proportions of agreeing with the given statement. Group D consists of Councils in which voters have highest proportions of agreeing with the given statement. Since most of the statements are negative in their orientation, Councils occurring frequently in the C and D group are those Councils wherein the voter perceptions regarding candidates are mostly negative.

Table 4.1: Voter satisfaction/ dissatisfaction with existing candidates as per divisions

	A	B	C	D
Most candidates contesting elections have no experience in community development	Amravati, Konkan	Aurangabad, Nashik, Pune	Nagpur	
Contesting candidates mostly come from politically connected families	Amravati	Konkan	Nagpur	Nashik, Aurangabad, Pune
Party tickets are handed out on political criteria rather than on merit	Amravati	Konkan	Nashik, Nagpur, Aurangabad	Pune
Most candidates contesting elections are corrupt	Konkan	Amravati		Nashik, Aurangabad, Pune, Nagpur

	A	B	C	D
Many candidates contesting elections have criminal backgrounds	Konkan	Amravati, Nashik, Aurangabad		Nagpur, Pune
Good contestants who have a vision for the city stay away from the system due to criminalization of politics	Amravati	Konkan, Nagpur	Aurangabad	Nashik, Pune
Rich candidates buy elections	Amravati	Konkan	Nashik, Nagpur, Aurangabad	Pune

- Voters in Pune, Nashik, Nagpur and Aurangabad have mostly shown negative perceptions about existing candidates.
- The voter in Pune division agrees maximally on the extent of influence of political dynasties, corruption, money power and criminalization.
- As the next section shows, it is also in Pune division that the voters have been emphatic about wanting a change
- The voters in Nashik and Pune divisions are seen to be similar to each other, in that they enjoy a common grouping in terms of multiple perceptions.
- The voters in Nagpur division have a significantly higher level of dissatisfaction about their candidates not being from a community building backgrounds as compared to other divisions
- The Konkan division records a high level of satisfaction with existing candidates
- Interestingly, it is in Amravati that the satisfaction levels with existing candidates are the highest.

## 2. MEASURING VOTER SATISFACTION REGARDING CANDIDATE QUALITY (VSCQ)

We create a simple index of voter satisfaction regarding candidate quality (VSCQ) in this section. The table above clusters divisions as per voter responses given to 7 different perceptions. A Council which shows the lowest proportion of agreement with a statement is classified under category A, and that

with the highest proportion of agreement is classified under category D. Since the statements created to understand voter perception have a negative orientation, a larger proportion of voters agreeing to the statement indicates a larger level of dissatisfaction with existing candidates. Thus, classification of the division in Column A indicates highest satisfaction and classification in Column D indicates lowest satisfaction.

If a division lies in Column A for a perception, it is given a score "4" to indicate maximum satisfaction, a place in columns B and C gets a score of 3 and 2 respectively; if it lies in Column D, it is given a score "1" to indicate minimum satisfaction. Thus, since Pune lies in Column D for 6 perceptions and in Column B for 1 perception, its total score is  $(6 \times 1) + (1 \times 3) = 9$ .

Once the scores for all the divisions are calculated in this manner, it is seen that Pune has the lowest satisfaction score whereas Amravati and Konkan have maximum satisfaction scores.

A division gets the highest possible VSCQ score if it gets ranked in Column A for all 7 perceptions. Thus, the highest score possible is  $7 \times 4 = 28$ . In other words, a division with score 28 indicates highest level of satisfaction and a division with a score 7 indicates the lowest level of satisfaction.

Next, the individual scores are divided by 28, which is the highest satisfaction score, so as to create an index of voter satisfaction.

The following table shows the working of the scores as well as of the voter satisfaction index.

**Table No. 4.2: VSCQ Index**

Division	Satisfaction Score	VSCQ Index = (Individual Score) / (Max possible score) * 100
Pune	9	32.14
Aurangabad	14	50.00
Nagpur	13	46.42
Nashik	13	46.42
Konkan	24	85.71
Amravati	26	92.85

Thus, the VSCQ Index in Pune division stands at only 32.14, whereas that in Amravati stands at 92.85. This indicates that the voters in Pune division show maximum dissatisfaction with candidate quality, whereas those in Amravati division show maximum satisfaction with candidate quality.

It follows logically that if the level of dissatisfaction is the highest, the level of expectations regarding change will also be higher. The following table helps to understand whether expectations about potential candidates also show patterns across divisions.

**Table 4.3: Voter expectations from candidates and the election authorities as per division**

	A	B	C	D
Well educated degree holders are needed for the development of my city	Amravati	Aurangabad, Konkan, Nagpur	Nashik	Pune
People with a community development background should contest elections	Amravati	Aurangabad	Nagpur, Nashik, Konkan	Pune
Election authorities need to do more to keep out people having criminal backgrounds	Amravati	Aurangabad, Konkan, Nagpur	Pune, Nashik	

- It is again observed that the expectations regarding potential candidates are significantly different in Pune division, as compared to the other divisions.
- It is in the Pune division that voters have most strongly argued for candidates who should be degree holding and should have a community development background
- It is again observed that the voter in Pune shares similar expectations with the voter in Nashik
- Pune and Nashik division voters have been the most emphatic in arguing that election authorities need to do more to keep criminal elements out of the election process. This is in line with their perception that criminalization of politics is responsible for keeping good candidates out of the election process
- The proportion of voters who feel that they need candidates with a community building background or with a degree is significant and lowest in Amravati
- This is in line with the earlier findings that level of dissatisfaction as perceived in Amravati is amongst the lowest in all divisions

**CHAPTER V****THUS SPAKE THE VOTERS  
HOW VOTERS RANK CHARACTERISTICS OF CANDIDATES**

Chapter 3 discusses “voter perceptions” i.e. their observations about the current state of affairs as well as what they expect from the contesting candidates. This chapter takes the discussion to its logical conclusion by presenting which characteristics get the highest ranks from the voters.

Q B26 in the questionnaire was especially designed so as to enable us to arrive at these rankings. In the question, voters were given a ready menu of 8 candidate characteristics, of which they were asked to rank top 3 characteristics, necessarily in the descending order. It is interesting to note that the characteristics which were maximally marked as being either first, second or third are

1. The candidate should be accessible to me
2. The candidates should be well-educated
3. The candidate should be able to take up ward level development efficiently

Despite the massive coverage that corruption and criminalization receives in the media, and despite the obvious angst that the electorate feels vis-a-vis these two issues, neither of the issues have been given priority by the voters whilst ranking the most important characteristics of candidates.

We are tempted to conclude that this indicates the fact that corruption and criminalization are issues that have been “factored in” by the voters. Thus, voters simply assume corruption and criminalization to be regular qualities in the candidates and simply look for other virtues in the candidates that may manage to nullify these impacts and get a better standard of living for their constituency. What really matters to the electorate is that the candidate remains “accessible” throughout the 5-year term so that the voters could approach him/her with their issues, should have a “vision” of development that most voters associate closely with education and should have the “efficiency” to get the vision executed.



A10) What is your marital status?

1. Married
2. Unmarried
3. Living with someone, but unmarried
4. Divorced / Separated
5. Widowed

A11) No. of years of stay in the survey area

1. Less than 5 years
2. 5 - 10 years
3. More than 10 years

A12) Who is the main earner of the family?

- |                |                |                     |
|----------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Myself      | 2. Father      | 3. Mother           |
| 4. Grandfather | 5. Grandmother | 6. Uncle            |
| 7. Aunt        | 8. Brother     | 9. Sister           |
| 10. Cousin     | 11. Husband    | 12. Other (specify) |

A13) Upto what level has the main earner of the family studied?

1. Illiterate
2. Schooling upto Std. IV
3. Std. V to Std. IX
4. SSC to HSC
5. College including diploma, but not graduate
6. Graduate / Post Graduate, general
7. Graduate / Post Graduate, professional

A14) Education of the respondent

1. Illiterate
2. Schooling upto Std. IV
3. Std. V to Std. IX
4. SSC to HSC
5. College including diploma, but not graduate
6. Graduate / Post Graduate, general
7. Graduate / Post Graduate, professional

A15) What is your main occupation?

1. Student
2. Housewife

3. Retired
4. Unemployed
5. Daily wage earner / Labour
6. Salaried job
7. Business
8. Trader / Trading agency
9. Self employed professional
10. Other (pl specify)

A19) In which year did you attempt the Std X exam?.

A16) Items owned/ have access to at home

1. Electricity connection
2. Ceiling fan
3. LPG stove
4. Two wheeler
5. Colour TV
6. Refrigerator
7. Washing Machine
8. Personal Computer/ Laptop
9. Car/ Jeep/ Van
10. Air Conditioner
11. Agricultural land owned

**Module B: Opinions and Expectations from Candidates**

**Please tick the correct option (Agree/ Disagree/ Cannot Say)**

1. Contesting candidates should be younger than 40 years of age.
2. The proportion of youthful candidates contesting elections in my city has increased over a period of time.
3. Well-educated degree holder candidates are needed for the development of my city.
4. Most candidates contesting elections are not even matriculate.
5. People with a community building background should contest local body elections. (Enumerators to assist in understanding what is a community building organization)
6. Most candidates contesting local elections do not have any experience in community development.
7. Contesting candidates mostly come from politically connected families.
8. Most candidates contesting elections are corrupt.
9. I feel that proportion of corrupt candidates contesting elections has been falling over the past 20 years.
10. I feel that independent candidates are less corrupt than those contesting on a party ticket.
11. Party tickets are handed out on political criteria rather than on merit.
12. Many candidates contesting elections have criminal backgrounds.
13. Election authorities need to do more to keep out people having criminal backgrounds.
14. Good contestants who have a vision for the city stay away from the system due to criminalization of politics.
15. Reserving 50% of the seats for women candidates was a good idea.
16. Proportion of women candidates actively and aggressively contesting elections has increased over a period of time.
17. Women candidates are less corrupt than male candidates.
18. Women candidates are normally mere proxies for the more dominant, male candidates.
19. Rich candidates buy elections.
20. I feel that enough analysis is not available on candidates who contest elections.
21. I am interested in knowing more about the type of candidates who will contest from my constituency.
22. Which of the following attributes would you like to see in the candidate representing you? Choose only three attributes.
  - a. Should be accessible to the voters
  - b. Should be able to efficiently drive ward-level developmental projects
  - c. Should be non-corrupt

- d. Should not have criminal history
- e. Should be a degree holder candidate
- f. Should have good leadership skills
- g. Should be less than 40 years of age
- h. Should pro-actively meet people in the ward regularly to understand ward-level issues