



17th February, 2015

Shri Arvind Kejriwal
Chief Minister Office, Government of Delhi
3rd Level A-Wing, Delhi Secretariat, I.P. Estate, New Delhi -110002

Subject: Request to take cognizance of the findings of the ADR-Daksh Survey that captured the top 10 Governance Issues as perceived by the Delhi voters.

Dear Shri Kejriwal,

- 1) We the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) along with Daksh conducted perhaps the largest ever survey in any one country. The survey was conducted across 525 Lok Sabha constituencies and over 2, 50,000 voters participated in this exercise spread among various demographics. The main objective of this survey was to find out voter perception on specific governance issues and the rated performance of our Government on those issues.
- 2) The survey was conducted during December 2013 to February 2014, prior to the Lok Sabha elections. While conducting this survey voters were asked to rate the 30 most important issues in their particular region in terms of their capacity, governance and specific roles in improving the living conditions of the voters. These aspects are analyzed in relation to the performance of the Government on those issues as perceived by the respondents.
- 3) To identify what are **voter priorities** in terms of governance issues like water, electricity, roads, food, education and health, a list of 30 items was given to voters and they were asked to rate whether a particular issue was High, Medium, or Low. This list was comprehensive as less than 5% said that there were "other issues" beyond the list.





- 4) The results of the **Perception Assessment** shows the striking difference between the **priorities of the voters** and the **performance of the Government** on those issues. Voter priorities have changed and expectations have gone up. There is a need to re-set some of the priorities to reflect what the voters really need and to improve governance.
- 5) The **key objective of this perception assessment** is to provide an improved understanding of the important **expectations of voters from the Government** and how they assess its performance. In addition, it seeks to fill a vital gap in contemporary times, namely, evidence based research and action on governance. For far too long we have depended entirely on ideology or the opinions or various experts. Though that is important, we also need to reflect the priorities of citizens. These priorities and assessments will change over time, and hence there is a need to repeat this survey periodically.
- 6) The **overall score in Delhi**, on a scale of 10, for Importance of Issues was **8.88**. This meant that the 30 issues presented to voters were rated as between Medium and High Priority. In other words, expectation from the Government across Delhi state was high. The voters gave an overall Government's performance rating of 5.86 on a scale of 10, to these 30 issues, which meant Below Average performance.

The **all India score of Importance of all 30 Issues is 7.51** (out of 10), which means that **voters of Delhi (with importance score of 8.88/10) expect more from the Delhi Government** and the gap between performance score (5.86/10) of the Delhi Government, as perceived by the voters, and the importance score of issues as felt by them underscores their disappointment.

| S. No. | Score (on a scale of 10) | Delhi | India |
|--------|---|-------|-------|
| 1 | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by voters | 8.88 | 7.51 |
| 2 | Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by voters | 5.86 | 5.68 |

Importance Scores of all 30 Governance Issues as perceived by Delhi and all-India Voters and Governments' Performance Scores as perceived by the voters





7) In Delhi, **Drinking Water** was rated as the highest priority, getting a score of 9.24, followed by **Better Hospitals**, **Better Electricity Supply**, **Better Law and Order**, **Better Roads**, **Better Public Transport**, **Better Schools**, **Better Employment Opportunities**, **Security for Women** and **Subsidized Food Distribution** as the Top 10 issues with scores between 9.05 and 9.24 about which people are most concerned.

The table below shows the Delhi's top 10 Governance Issues with their importance scores as felt by the Delhi voters and the Delhi Government's performance scores on each issue as perceived by the voters. The table also provides the corresponding figures, for the top-10 Delhi Issues, as reported by all India voters. It can be seen that Delhi voters' expectations are significantly higher.

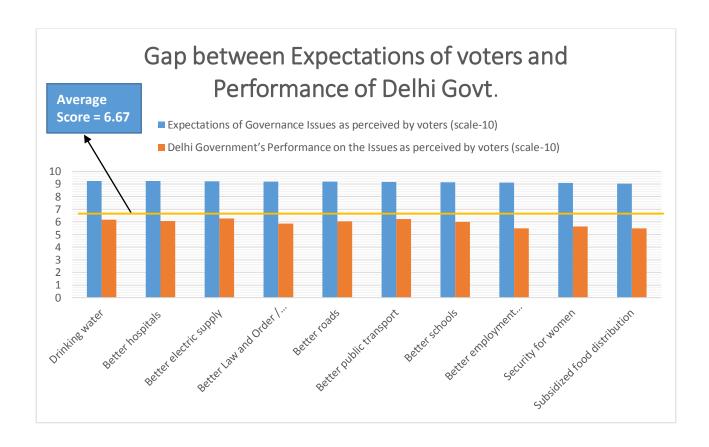
| S. N o. | Top 10 Governance Issues as perceived by Delhi Voters | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by Delhi voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by Delhi voters (scale-10) | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by all-India voters (scale-10) | Respective Governments' Performances on the Issues as perceived by all- India voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance- Below Average or Above Average? (Average Score = 6.67) |
|---------------|---|---|--|---|---|--|
| 1 | Drinking water | 9.24 | 6.17 | 7.80 | 5.83 | Below Average |
| 2 | Better hospitals / Primary Healthcare Centers | 9.24 | 6.07 | 7.69 | 5.72 | Below Average |
| 3 | Better electric supply | 9.22 | 6.27 | 7.69 | 5.87 | Below Average |
| 4 | Better Law and Order / Policing | 9.20 | 5.88 | 7.64 | 5.80 | Below Average |
| 5 | Better roads | 9.19 | 6.04 | 7.79 | 5.94 | Below Average |
| 6 | Better public transport | 9.17 | 6.23 | 7.75 | 5.95 | Below Average |
| 7 | Better schools | 9.15 | 6.00 | 7.66 | 5.88 | Below Average |
| 8 | Better employment opportunities | 9.11 | 5.50 | 7.94 | 5.64 | Below Average |
| 9 | Security for women | 9.10 | 5.63 | 7.58 | 5.66 | Below Average |





| S. N o. | Top 10 Governance Issues as perceived by Delhi Voters | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by Delhi voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by Delhi voters (scale-10) | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by all- India voters (scale-10) | Respective Governments' Performances on the Issues as perceived by all- India voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance- Below Average or Above Average? (Average Score = 6.67) |
|---------------|---|---|--|--|---|--|
| 10 | Subsidized food distribution | 9.05 | 5.49 | 7.61 | 5.66 | Below Average |

Perceived Importance Scores of Delhi's top 10 Governance Issues and Delhi Government's Performance
Scores on the Issues as perceived by the Delhi voters (Scores capturing the perceptions of all-India
voters on the Delhi's top 10 Governance Issues also provided)







We earnestly request that your Government take a serious note of the findings of the ADR-Daksh Survey and prepare a blueprint at earliest so that the most pressing Governance Issues as reported by the Delhi voters may be catered and resolved sooner rather than later.

We wish you all the best in your Government's endeavors to put Delhi on the path of development.

Maj. Gen. Anil Verma (Retd.)

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Enclosures:

- 1. **Appendix A:** Top 10 Governance Issues as reported by Delhi voters and the Delhi Government's Performance on these issues.
- 2. **Appendix B:** Methodology of the Survey
- 3. **Appendix C:** Sample Questionnaire of the Survey





Appendix A

1. Drinking Water

An April 2013 CAG report, of performance audit, thematic audit and compliance audit of the social sector of the Government of Delhi (http://goo.gl/thF5FN), has stated that "24.8% of Delhi households receive water through tankers in absence of pipe lines where the average per capita supply was 3.42 liters per day against a prescribed norm of 172 liters. Metering of water at consumer end was not comprehensive due to which, less than 40% of water produced was billed during last three years".

It should be noted this 3.42 liters per day is significantly less than WHO recommended (http://goo.gl/y65ZJx) 50-100 liters of water per person per day that is needed to ensure that most basic needs of a human being.

ADR-Daksh Survey Findings: Out of 30 governance issues for which responses were sought from the voters of Delhi, Drinking Water issue was rated as the topmost important issue with the importance of the issue score as 9.24 out of 10. Delhi voters also rated the performance of the Government on the issue of water as low 6.17 [Please note the average of the performance score is 6.67 because the performance rating was recorded only as Bad (1), Average (2), Good (3) and when its scaled on scale of 10 the average is only 6.67 (2*10/3)]

| Governance Issue | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) |
|---------------------|---|--|
| Drinking Water | 9.24 | 6.17 |





Gap between Expectations of voters and Performance of Delhi Government: Drinking Water 9.24 6.17 Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10)



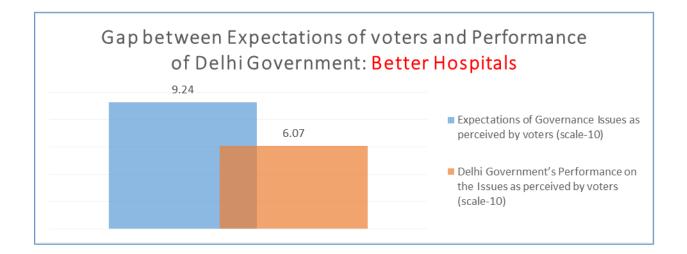


2. Better Hospitals

According to 2011-12 NSSO report (http://goo.gl/BDVaGk), 60% of the Delhi's population lives under Rs. 13,500 per month and 21% of the Delhi's population lives under Rs. 7,000 per month. These citizens of Delhi can't afford private hospitals. Official data reveal that the number of available beds in Delhi government and central government hospitals has declined by 8% and 47%, respectively, over three years. On the other hand, availability of beds in private hospitals has increased by 36% in the past five years.

ADR-Daksh Survey Findings: Our survey found out that the issue of better hospitals was rated as second most important governance issue as felt by Delhi voters. The Delhi voters also felt that the delivery (6.07/10) of the Delhi Government was significantly less than importance score (9.24/10) of the issue of Better Hospitals.

| Governance Issue | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) |
|------------------|--|--|
| Better Hospitals | 9.24 | 6.07 |





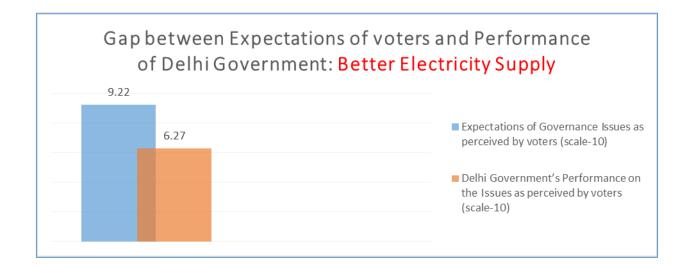


3. Better Electricity Supply

Delhi demand for power fluctuates according to weather conditions and the demand peak reaches during summer season. Delhi's power companies purchase (http://goo.gl/idASQg) 86% (30 billion units out of a total 35 billion units) of their electricity from other states which is considered a major reason for inflated electricity costs. The prevailing electricity rates in Delhi are among highest in the country.

ADR-Daksh Survey Findings: The Survey found out that Delhi voters rated better electricity supply as third most important governance issue affecting their lives. Delhi voters also felt a below average performance of the Government on this issue.

| Governance Issue | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| Better Electricity Supply | 9.22 | 6.27 |





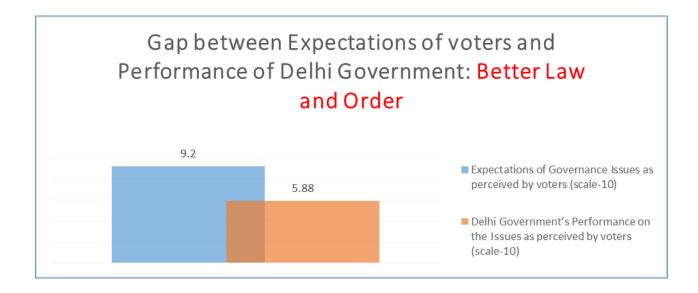


4. Better Law and Order

The Police, Crime and Accidents data from the Statistical Abstract of Delhi 2014 (http://goo.gl/lSzCMi) divulges that number of robbery cases have increased from 599 in 2010 to 1245 in 2013 while burglary cases have risen from 1502 to 2835, attempt to murder from 311 to 585, theft cases from 23,088 to 30,124 during the same duration. While the population of Delhi has increased by 21% during 2001-2011 the number of Police Posts have declined from 26 in 2001 to 23 in 2013.

ADR-Daksh Survey Findings: Our survey has found out that Delhi voters perceived the issue of better law and order as the fourth most important issue. Voters also felt that the performance of the Delhi Government was abysmally low as captured by the performance score of 5.88 out of 10.

| Governance Issue | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) |
|----------------------|--|--|
| Better Law and Order | 9.20 | 5.88 |







5. Better Roads

Delhi is the capital city of the country and receives visitors and tourists from across the globe and the shabby states of roads in the city definitely dents the reputation of the country. A multitude of reasons are responsible for poor state of roads in the city such as poor drainage facilities, usage of poor technology for road building (http://goo.gl/ZesSZH) and unspent budgets that were mandated for maintenance, relaying and building of new roads (http://goo.gl/ftUZSr)

ADR-Daksh Survey Findings: Need for better roads was rated as fifth most important governance issue by the Delhi Voters. The gap between the importance of the issue of the better roads and the performance of the Government regarding the same can be noticed from the following graph.

| Governance Issue | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) |
|------------------|--|--|
| Better Roads | 9.19 | 6.04 |





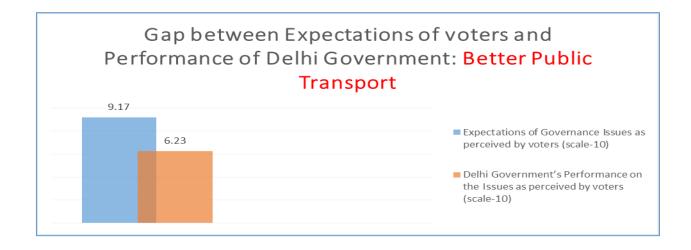


6. Better Public Transport

If the Delhi transport policy follows a more pro-poor and people-centric approach then the city can avoid both looming population and traffic congestion disaster. Although recently certain measures have been taken such as increasing the number of 8-coach metro trains from 58 to 130 by 2016, raising the number of minibuses and feeder-buses, introducing 5500 more DTC buses but Delhi can't afford to lose time as the daily travel trips are expected to explode from 15million in 2010 to 25.3 million in 2020. (http://goo.gl/Ynopmq)

ADR-Daksh Survey Findings: Need for better transport was reported as one of the most important pressing issue as felt by the Delhi voters. Delhi voters also felt that the Government should have done more regarding the state of public transport as its evident from the low performance score of 6.23 out of 10.

| Governance Issue | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Better Public Transport | 9.17 | 6.23 |





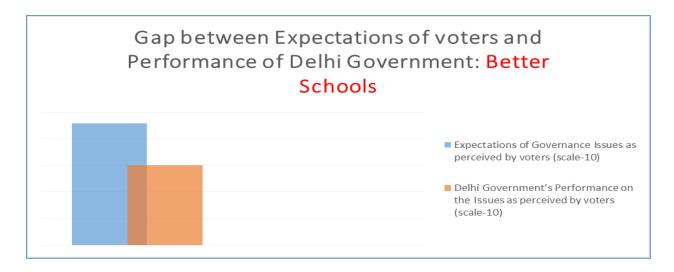


7. Better Schools

Number of government schools have increased by 8% in five years, from 4993 in 2009 to 5401 in 2014. The elementary school enrollment has also increased to 97%. But the **learning outcome and quality of learning** remains a concern. The Annual Status of Education Report, the largest independent survey that measures learning outcomes in the country, does not maintain data for Delhi as it covers only rural districts. If a particular department of Delhi Government is directed to begin maintaining this data that will definitely help in **tracking and monitoring the process of imparting quality education** in government schools. http://goo.gl/jaCzas

ADR-Daksh Survey Findings: Delhi voters have felt the need for better schools as one of the most important governance issue affecting their lives. The wide gap between the expectation score of 9.15 and the performance score of 6.00 shows that the Delhi voters were not happy with the performance of the Delhi Government on this issue.

| Governance Issue | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) |
|------------------|--|--|
| Better Schools | 9.15 | 6.00 |







8. Better Employment Opportunities

The employment and unemployment data from the Statistical Abstract of Delhi 2014 (http://goo.gl/lSzCMi) reveals the following staggering figures about state of employment in Delhi

- Employment and unemployment data suggests that during the duration 2004 to 2012 the employment has increased from 325 per thousand to only 334 per thousand whereas unemployment has increased from 32 per thousand to 45 per thousand with **female unemployment** nearly doubling from 46 per thousand to 90 per thousand.
- Since 2008 in Delhi, the Employment Exchange Statistics show that the Applicants on Live Register have increased by more than double from 507,000 in 2008 to 1,050,000 in 2013
- Data of Fifth Economic Census 2005 in Delhi reveals that average annual growth in number of workers involved (employed) by major economic activity groups, such as Agricultural, Manufacturing, Wholesale and retail trade etc., has increased by merely .23% in years 1998-05 as compared to 8.49% during 1990-98.

ADR-Daksh Survey Findings: Delhi voters have felt the performance of the Delhi's government in creating employment opportunities as very inadequate as is apparent from a low performance score of 5.50 out of 10.

| Governance Issue | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) |
|-------------------|--|--|
| Better Employment | 9.11 | 5.50 |





Gap between Expectations of voters and Performance of Delhi Government: Better Employment Opportunities 9.11 Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10)



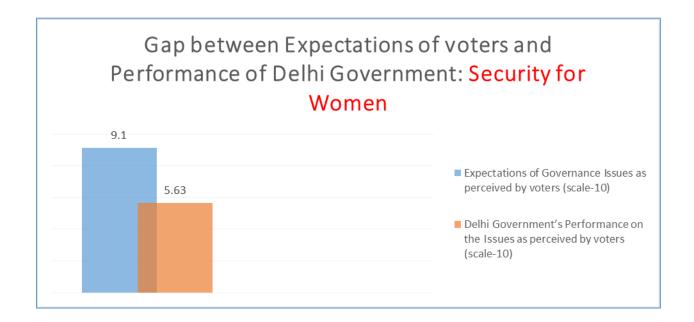


9. Security for Women

The Crime in Delhi data from the Statistical Abstract of Delhi 2014 (http://goo.gl/lSzCMi) portrays a shocking picture about the state of women security in the capital city. The number of cases of rape has increased by more than threefold from **551 in 2004** to **1636** in **2013** and during the same duration the number of cases of molestation of women has increased nearly six times from 601 to 3515.

ADR-Daksh Survey Findings: Security for women is one of most pressing issues as rated by the Delhi voters whereas they have reported a very low performance of the Delhi Government as captured by the low score of 5.63.

| Governance Issue | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) |
|--------------------|--|--|
| Security for Women | 9.10 | 5.63 |







10. Subsidized food distribution

The Price and Price Indices data from the Statistical Abstract of Delhi 2014 (http://goo.gl/lSzCMi) has disclosed the following facts regarding prices of food items in Delhi

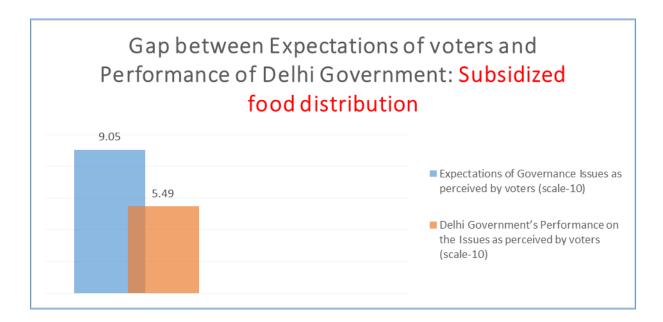
- Sharp increase in average wholesale prices of essential commodities such as Wheat (Rs. 1109 per quintal in 2007 to 1745 per quintal in 2013), Rice (Rs. 4184 per quintal in 2007 to Rs. 5800 per quintal in 2013), Dal Arhar (Rs. 3364 per quintal in 2007 to Rs. 6500 per quintal in 2013), Dal Moong (Rs. 3784 per quintal in 2007 to Rs. 6300 per quintal in 2013), Sugar (Rs. 1605 per quintal in 2007 to Rs. 3250 per quintal in 2013), Mustard Oil (Rs. 840 per quintal in 2007 to Rs. 1250 per quintal in 2013)
- Consumer Price Index for Industrial Workers in Delhi for Food Groups has increased from **129** in 2007 to **231** in 2013 (with base 2001 taken as 100)

ADR-Daksh Survey Findings: Delhi voters reported a very low performance of the Government on the issue of subsidized food distribution especially in wake of sharply increasing food prices. The staggering gap between importance of the issue of subsidized food distribution as displayed by the score of 9.05 and the Government's performance of 5.49 is shocking.

| Governance Issue | Expectations of Governance Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) | Delhi Government's Performance on the Issues as perceived by voters (scale-10) |
|------------------------------|--|--|
| Subsidized food distribution | 9.05 | 5.49 |











Appendix B

METHODOLOGY

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

The survey was done in the months of December, '13, January and February, '14. While a professional agency was hired to do it, ADR-Daksh designed the questionnaire, and also made random checks to ensure that the survey was proceeding smoothly. Given the size of the survey, the time and budget limitations, we wanted to keep the questionnaire short and simple. It collected the following information:

- **Demographic data.** Name, gender, caste/religion, age, type of assets owned (to get wealth ranking information
- What are the important factors for voting: Candidate, Political Party, Candidate caste/religion, Party's PM Candidate, Distribution of 'gifts'
- 'Knowledge' of voter regarding crime and money in elections.

 Specifically whether they know of distribution of such gifts and whether they know of criminal record of candidates.
- The 30 Issues on Governance and rating of local governance on each issue. These included agriculture, electricity for agriculture and domestic use, farm prices, consumer prices, irrigation, subsidy for seed and fertilizers, Accessibility and Trustworthiness of MP, terrorism, employment, health care,





Law and Order, public transport, roads, education, drinking water, empowerment and security of Women, eradication of Corruption, reservation, Strong Defence/Military, subsidized food distribution (PDS), training for jobs, garbage clearance, encroachment of public land / lakes, facility for pedestrians and cyclists on roads, Traffic congestion, environment and "others". As mentioned earlier, "others" was included in case something important was missed in the list. Less than 5% respondents came up with any other issue.

Other opinion poll surveys do less than 25,000 responses. From a sample size point of view, this survey is 10 times larger than any survey ever done. The primary reason to conduct such an exercise on such a magnitude was to collect the performance data of the governance as perceived by the voters of their constituencies. Due to limitations of time, budget and logistics, we were able to do around 525 of the 543 Lok Sabha constituencies. We did around 500 respondents in each constituency. The respondents were randomly selected to represent various segments of the population like rural-urban, gender, caste, religion, and income classes. Every care was taken to make the samples fully representative of the population. The accuracy of the survey is 95%, i.e., the true values are within 5% of the survey predictions.

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

Scale

To keep things simple for ordinary voters, we used a three level scale of High, Medium and Low for importance or priority of each issue, and Good, Average and Bad for performance on each issue. This was converted to a 3 point scale, with scores of 3, 2, and 1 respectively. This in turn was scaled to 10 for ease of comprehension. So a voter may





rate garbage clearance as Medium Importance or Priority (score 2 on a 3 point scale or 6.67 on a 10 point scale) and Performance as Bad (score 1 on a 3 point scale or 3.33 on a 10 point scale). The score on each issue was averaged for all voters. Thus any score between 3.33 and 6.67 on any issue like garbage clearance meant priority for all voters was between Low and Medium, or that performance was between Bad and Average (or Below Average), scores between 6.67 and 10 meant Medium to High priority or between Average and Good performance (or Above Average).





Appendix C

Sample Questionnaire used during the Survey

| SI | Issue | Importance | | | Performance | | |
|-----------|--|------------|---------|---------|-------------|---------|---------|
| For Rural | Resident ONLY | Low | Med | High | Bad | Avg | Good |
| 1 | Agricultural loan availability | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 | Electricity for Agriculture | | 0 | 0 | 0 | \circ | \circ |
| 3 | Higher price-realization for farm products | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 0 | |
| 4 | Irrigation Programmes | Ŏ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | Subsidy for seeds and fertilizers | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| For Rural | AND Urban Resident | | | | | | |
| 1 | Accessibility of MP | | | | | | |
| 2 | Anti-terrorism | 0 | \circ | \circ | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 | Better employment opportunities | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 | Better electric supply | | 0 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | Better hospitals / Primary Healthcare Centres | | 0 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 6 | Better Law and Order / Policing | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | Better public transport | Ŏ | 0 | Ö | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 8 | Better roads | 0 | 0 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 10 | Better schools | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 11 | Drinking water | | 0 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 12 | Empowerment of Women | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 13 | Environmental issues | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 14 | Eradication of Corruption | 0 | 0 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 15 | Reservation for jobs and education | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 16 | Security for women | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 17 | Strong Defence/Military | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 18 | Subsidized food distribution | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | \circ | 0 |
| 19 | Training for jobs | 0 | 0 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 20 | Trustworthiness of MP | | 0 | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 21 | Other | Ō | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| For Urba | n Resident ONLY | | | | | | |
| 1 | Better garbage clearance | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 0 |
| 2 | Encroachment of public land, lakes etc. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 | Facility for pedestrians and cyclists on roads | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 | Lower food prices for Consumers | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | Traffic congestion | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |