ADR and Daksh's 2018 Karnataka Survey Report - (Dec '17 – Feb '18)

Brief Analysis of Voters' Priorities in Karnataka: Importance of Issues and Performance of the Government

Association for Democratic Reforms

T-95, C.L. House, 2nd Floor, Gulmohar Commercial Complex Gautam Nagar, New Delhi-110 049 Phone: +91-011-4165-4200

Fax: +91-11-46094248

ABOUT ADR

The Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) was established in 1999 by a group of professors from the Indian Institute of Management (IIM) Ahmedabad. In 1999, Public Interest Litigation (PIL) was filed by them with Delhi High Court asking for [or requesting] the disclosure of the criminal, financial and educational background of the candidates contesting elections. Based on this, the Supreme Court in 2002, and subsequently in 2003, made it mandatory for all candidates contesting elections to disclose criminal, financial and educational background prior to the polls by filing an affidavit with the Election Commission.

ADR's goal is to improve governance and strengthen democracy by continuous work in the area of Electoral and Political Reforms. The ambit and scope of work in this field is enormous, Hence, ADR has chosen to concentrate its efforts in the following areas pertaining to the political system of the country:

- Corruption and criminalization in the political process.
- Empowerment of the electorate through greater dissemination of information relating to the candidates and the parties, for a better and informed choice.
- Need for greater accountability of Political Parties.
- Need for inner-party democracy and transparency in party functioning.

ABOUT DAKSH

DAKSH is a civil society organization that undertakes research and activities to promote accountability and better governance in India. It was founded in 2008 by people from diverse backgrounds, including academicians, entrepreneurs, lawyers, teachers, social and political activists, and ordinary citizens. Over the last seven years, DAKSH has been working to create inclusive, transparent, self-correcting mechanisms that encourage accountability in all branches of the government.

Our two main activities are measuring <u>political</u> and <u>judicial</u> performance. We have designed, developed, and deployed a variety of measures to assess and analyze performance in the political space, such as conducting physical surveys to gather data on people's perceptions of their elected representatives. The most significant one was a national, physical survey of over 2,65,000 people in 2014, assessing their perceptions of their Members of Parliament (MPs).

We embarked on the Rule of Law Project in 2014 in order to evaluate judicial performance and in particular, to study the problem of pendency of cases in the Indian legal system. This project is based on quantitative research that will map the administration of justice in India.

Foreword Karnataka Survey 2018

Professor Trilochan Sastry, IIM Bangalore and Founder-Chairman Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR)

ADR has periodically done such surveys for various State Assembly and Lok Sabha elections in partnership with various organizations. This survey, done in collaboration with Daksh has been completed in time for the coming Assembly elections in Karnataka. The purpose is to find out what voters want from the Government.

There are two aspects to the work on electoral and political reforms done by civil society. One is to help clean the system for which ADR and its partners have worked hard for more than 15 years. The other equally important aspect is to help and assist in good governance. After the heat and dust of an election settles down, we recall the real purpose of elections: to bring in a Government that governs well. However, who defines what this good governance is? In the spirit of democracy, this survey and all previous surveys ask the voters and the people themselves what they expect of the Government. As the results of such surveys gain traction with the media, political parties and Governments we expect that priorities will shift towards what the people want rather than the often populist election campaigns that we see of late. To give just one instance, survey after survey (we have done more than half a dozen of them) shows one thing: people want jobs, employment and livelihoods. It is difficult to establish cause and effect, but today we sometimes see Governments trying to create jobs.

As mentioned in earlier survey reports, there is a philosophical basis for this. After all, the money spent by the Government for delivering good governance belongs to the voters. So the voice of the people must be reflected in the priorities, programs and policies made by elected Governments. A related purpose of these surveys is to see that elections are fought on voter issues. As of now, employment is not a major election issue because political parties using big money and the media frame the campaigns. However, political parties would do much better if they promised and delivered on people's priorities.

Why do we need periodic surveys? A survey done in the aftermath of drought may show water as a top priority and another after a good monsoon may show harvest prices as a priority. However, in nearly all surveys, employment came out as one of the top priorities. We would get a better understanding of short term and long term priorities at local, regional and national levels by periodic surveys.

When the voter understands that the Government's money is her money, then the foundation for democracy would perhaps become a bit stronger. When the voter understands his/her, own power – not only to change Governments, but also to influence governance, then democracy would have moved another step forward. This understanding will not come through the election campaigns of political parties. Civil society, the media and perhaps the Election Commission need to play a bigger role. ADR expects that this is a long term effort and such surveys will play a part. We hope the next elected Government in Karnataka will heed the voice of the people – not merely in terms of who wins, but also in day to day governance.

Harish Narasappa Lawyer and Co-Founder, DAKSH

For a democracy to be meaningful, a regular discourse between the people and their elected representatives is a necessity. Unfortunately, this feature is missing in our country. Dialogue between the citizens and their representatives takes place primarily during elections. Moreover, elections do not always focus on issues that are relevant to the citizens. To bridge this gap between the citizens and their representatives and to ensure that citizens' concerns occupy the prime place in the functioning of elected bodies, voter surveys are important.

The Karnataka Voter Survey carried out by ADR and DAKSH is an attempt to understand, and bring to the forefront, the perceptions of voters regarding issues of importance in their constituency. The survey was conducted ahead of the Karnataka assembly elections with the hope that the political parties, candidates and citizens can reflect on the issues that are important in their constituency. If citizens' issues dominate the discourse during elections, plans to tackle such issues will also develop.

Voter perception surveys have been periodically carried out by ADR and DAKSH prior to assembly and parliamentary elections in the past, and have been well received by the citizens, elected representatives and political parties. While it may take time for electoral discourse to focus purely on issues related to governance, we hope that such surveys continue to create a dialogue for further discussion. Over the years, we have come to note that there has been a change in the needs of people, and the results of this survey show a demand for better schools.

We hope that the results of this survey nudge us one-step further on the road to a meaningful democracy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) and DAKSH would like to thank the people and organizations who contributed to the conduct of this pan-Karnataka survey of governance issues. This survey would not have been a success without the cooperation of the following-

- Interviewees: 13244 interviewees across 225 assembly constituencies gave their time to participate in the survey. We express our deep gratitude to each one of the interviewees.
- 2. **Interviewers and supervisors:** Vijayamma B.N. for the field survey and training the field force particularly in issues related to governance and voters' behaviour.
- **3. Mentor:** Professor Trilochan Sastry who conceptualised the need for this survey, supervised the administration of the survey and mentored the research group.
- **4. Research Group:** Nilesh Ekka and Anirudh Dutta Gupta who developed an analytical framework to accomplish the research and analysis for evaluating the findings of the survey.

Major General Anil Verma (Retd.) Head, ADR

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REPORT ABSTRACT

Purpose: The Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) and DAKSH commissioned a survey of members of the eligible electorate in Karnataka—citizens over the age of 18—during December 2017 to February 2018 in order to identify the level of citizen awareness of the electoral process. Moreover, to ascertain voter perception on specific governance issues and the rated performance of our elected representatives on those issues. The primary purpose of the survey was to assess eligible voters' access to information about the political process, exposure to inducements for vote, awareness of candidates with criminal cases in elections, general attitudes about electoral process in democracy and expectations from the government.

Research Design: A cross-sectional, representative sample of the population over eighteen was selected using a partially purposive sample selection procedure, which produced a sample of 13,244 respondents.

Survey: The responses of the Respondent Voters were obtained with the help of the Questionnaire designed by DAKSH for this survey. Android based mobile smart phones were used for conducting the survey. The surveyors directly recorded the data on these smart phones with the help of android based software. Direct Interviews were carried out between December 2017 and February 2018. Locally trained men and women conducted all the in-person interviews. After pilot-testing, master trainers and enumerator teams received survey-specific training in different districts of the state. The surveyors were thereafter, overseen and controlled through the trained and experienced supervisors.

Respondents: Of the 13,244 respondents selected for the sample, 67 percent were men and 33 percent were women and 74 percent of respondents were between 18 and 45 years of age. 53 percent respondents were from rural locations and 47 percent from urban.

INTRODUCTION

This report presents the key findings of the 2018 Survey on the Expectations of the Voter from Karnataka and their perception on the Performance of the Government conducted by the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) and DAKSH.

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. ADR believes that one of the means to establish accountability in politics is to evaluate the effectiveness of legislators by measuring the public's perception of the legislator's performance in addressing issues that the people consider important.

The 2018 Karnataka Survey was administered exclusively with the help of android based hand-held devices against the more traditional methods of paper-based surveys. The survey sought to identify the issues considered most important by the voters and obtained their opinion on the performance of the government in relation to such issues. This survey was conducted during December 2017 to February 2018 across 225 assembly constituencies and the total sample size was 13,244.

This report outlines the findings of a survey of voters' expectations, perceptions and their evaluation of the 25 most important issues for the voters 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.

To identify what are voter priorities in terms of governance issues like water, electricity, roads, food, education and health, a list of 25 items was given to voters and they were asked to rate the issues as low, medium, high and not applicable for them. This list was comprehensive as less than 5% said that the given issues were "not applicable" to them.

The results of the Perception Assessment shows the striking difference between the priorities of the voters and the performance on those issues and highlights the overall weak efforts of all institutions in fulfilling their role in providing what the voters really need.

ADR believes that the assessment report can be an important tool in engendering improvements within all institutions in refining their own institutional practices or developing better oversight of other bodies. We hope the report will be instrumental in starting a coordinated effort to work together to ensure the most efficient use of resources to serve the nation as a whole.

The key objectives of this perception assessment are to generate:

- a) An improved understanding of the important needs of the voters.
- b) Momentum among key stake holders for addressing priority areas.

The primary aim of the assessment is therefore to evaluate the effectiveness of the government, government institutions, mechanisms etc. in terms of planning and providing for the needs of the country and fostering transparency and integrity. In addition, it seeks to promote the assessment process as a springboard for action among the government and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in terms of policy reforms, evidence based advocacy, or further in-depth evaluations of specific governance issues. This assessment should serve as a basis for key stakeholders to advocate for sustainable and effective reforms.

We hope that this report will bring out the gap between expectations from the voters and the disappointments from the government and that this gap can be minimized.

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 was 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 '17 and February '18. While a professional agency was hired to do it, 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, educational qualification, Occupation, Annual Family Income.

What are the important factors for voting: Candidate, Political Party, Candidate caste/religion, Party's CM Candidate.

The 25 Issues on Governance and rating of the government on each issue. These included agriculture, electricity for agriculture and domestic use, higher price realization for farm products, irrigation, subsidy for seed and fertilizers, Accessibility and Trustworthiness of MLA, terrorism, employment, health care, Law and Order, public transport, roads, education, drinking water, empowerment and security of Women, eradication of Corruption, reservation for jobs and education, subsidized food distribution (PDS), training for jobs, garbage clearance, encroachment of public land / lakes, Traffic management, environment protection etc.

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.

Along with the importance of these 25 issues, voters were also asked to rate the performance of their government on these particular issues and whether the performance was GOOD, AVERAGE or BAD.

For calculating the performance score, separate weightages were given to GOOD, AVERAGE and BAD where, GOOD was given weightage equal to 3, Average was weighted 2 and BAD was weighted as 1. The weighted average was taken and the scores were between 1 to 3, where 1 was the lowest and 3 was the highest.

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

- The data suggest that, as of February 2018, the majority of the eligible electorate intended to vote. 95 percent of the respondents said that they voted in the last elections.
- In addition, the survey measured voters' experience with electoral process and asked them the reasons for which they vote for a candidate in elections. 86 percent respondents said that the candidate was the most important reason for them to vote in an election.
- Although 67 percent respondents considered the candidate's party to be a voting factor, 42 percent said they would vote based on the CM candidate.
- Candidate's religion and caste were important for 37 percent and 36 percent voters respectively.
- 31 percent respondents said that they were happy with the Indira Canteen Scheme, whereas 36 percent were not happy with the scheme. 33 percent of the respondents said they do not avail this scheme.
- A vast majority of respondents, 79 percent, said that they were happy with the Anna Bhagya Scheme. 6 percent respondents said that they do not use the scheme and 14 percent respondents were not happy with the scheme.
- 63 percent respondents who used the Cycle Bhagya Scheme said that they were happy with the scheme. While 25 percent responded in the negative, 13 percent respondents did not use the scheme.
- 58 percent respondents were happy with the Krishi Bhagya scheme, whereas 25 percent were not. 17 percent respondents said that they do not use the scheme.
- Anila/Gas Bhagya Scheme had 64 respondents who said that they were happy with the scheme. 23 percent said no and 14 percent said that they do not use the scheme.
- Shaadi Bhagya Scheme had 45 percent respondents who were not happy with it.
 Only 16 percent respondents were happy with it and 40 percent said they do not use the scheme.
- Improving water supply and quality in Karnataka is by far the most important issue on Democratic voters' minds, according to the survey conducted. It had a

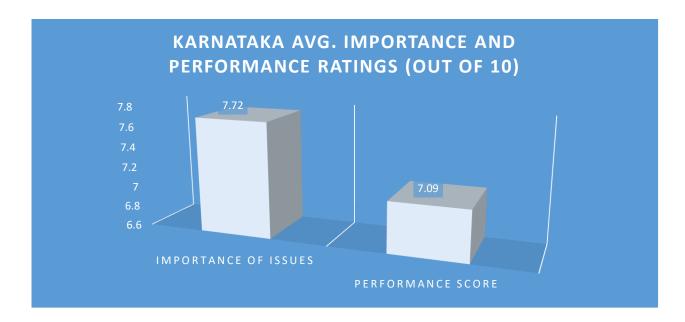
significant score of 8.06 out of a scale of 10 in rural areas and 8.02 out of 10 in urban areas.

- Next most important issues in urban areas were Better Electricity Supply and Better Schools with 7.97 and 7.94 out of 10.
- They were followed by Better Roads and Environment protection with 7.81 and 7.80 out of 10.
- In rural areas, the next most important issues were Better Schools and Better Roads with significance scores of 8.03 and 7.99 out of 10.
- Better Electricity Supply and More Hospitals and Public Health Centres followed them with a score of 7.96 and 7.92 out of 10.
- Anti-Terrorism in urban areas had the least significance with a score of 7.20.
- In rural areas, Job Trainings with a score of 7.51 out of 10 had the least significance according to the survey respondents.
- The respondents also rated the government for their performance on the issues which they considered very important. The top most issue, Better Water Supply and Quality scored 7.48 out of 10 in urban and 7.33 in rural areas.
- The respondents ranked Better Schools, the highest among the 25 top issues in urban areas with a score of 7.85 out of 10.
- The worst performances were on the issues of Public Facilities (6.79), Corruption Eradication (6.77) and Job Trainings (6.40) in urban areas.
- In rural areas, the highest performance score was given to Better Schools with 7.58 out of 10.
- The worst performance score was given to Better Employment Opportunities (6.70), Corruption Eradication (6.67) and Job Trainings (6.60) in rural areas.

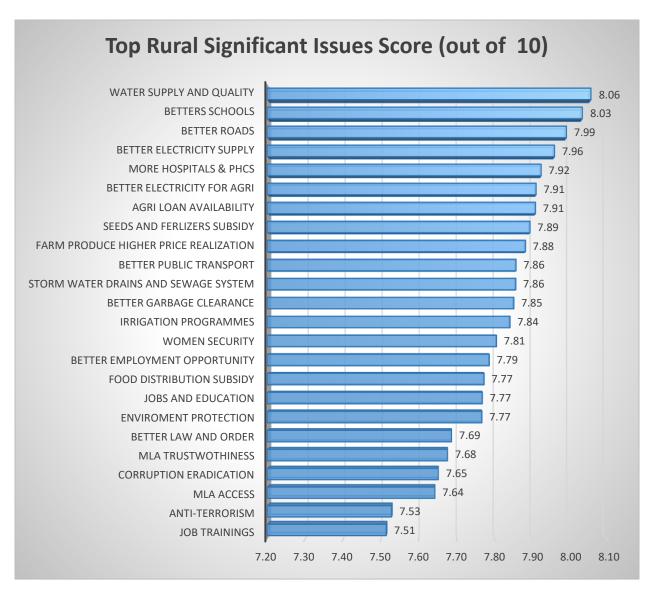
This measure of voters' perceptions highlight the need for awareness on the criminal, financial and other background of the candidates as well the transparency and accountability of the political parties. Only then can a voter make an informed choice and contribute to electoral reform efforts.

The overall average importance of issues was rated as 7.72 on a scale of 10 and the overall average rating for Karnataka as perceived by the survey respondents was 7.09 on a scale of 10

Karnataka	Importance of Issues Score (out of 10)	Performance of Government Score (out of 10)
Urban	7.61	7.13
Rural	7.82	7.05
Overall	7.72	7.09

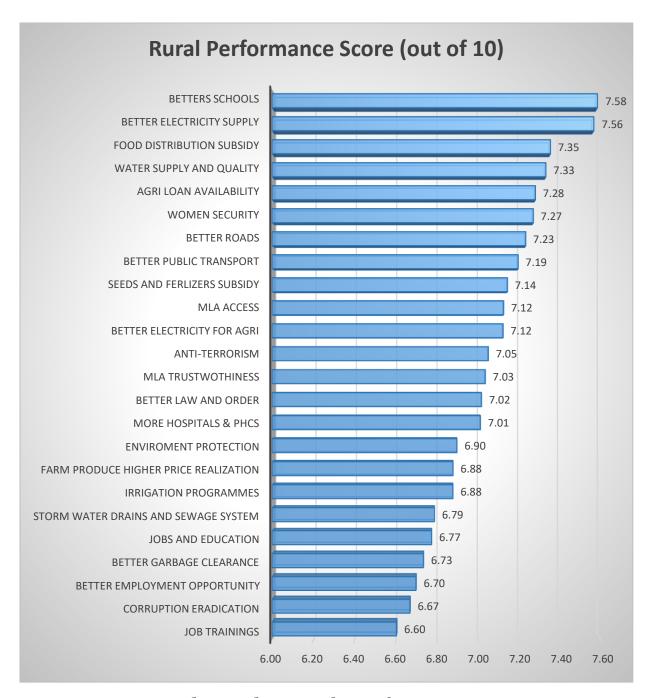


Karnataka Rural Significant Issues:



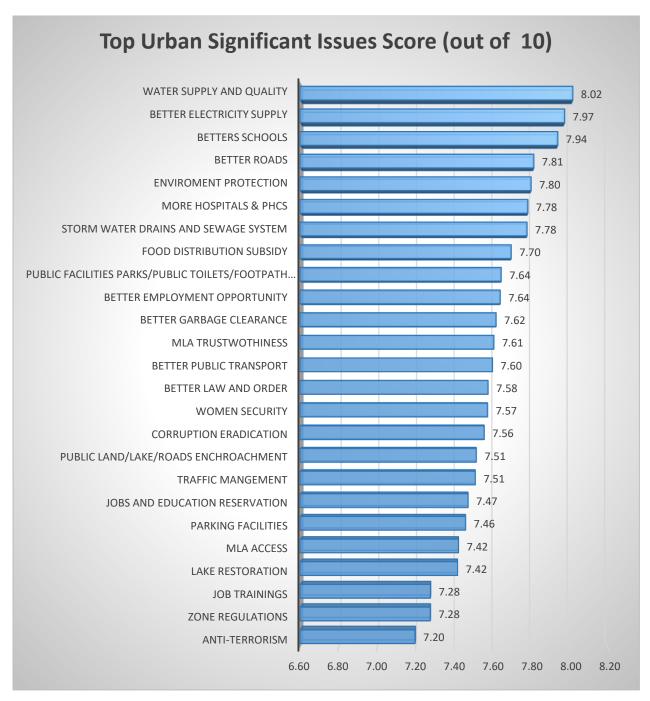
Graph: Rural Karnataka and their most important issues

Rural Performance Rating of the Government



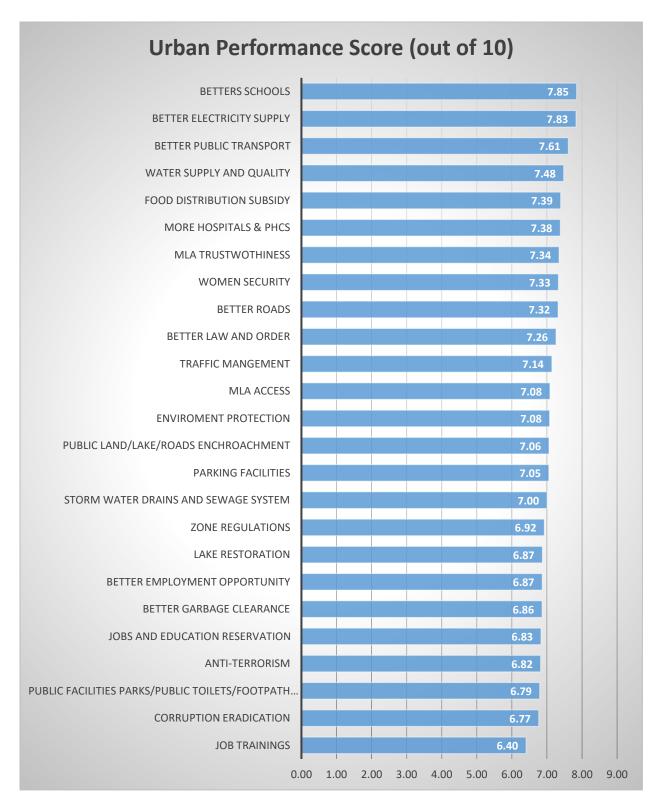
Graph: Rural Karnataka Performance Score

Karnataka Urban Significant Issues



Graph: Urban Karnataka and their most important issues

Urban Performance Rating of the Government



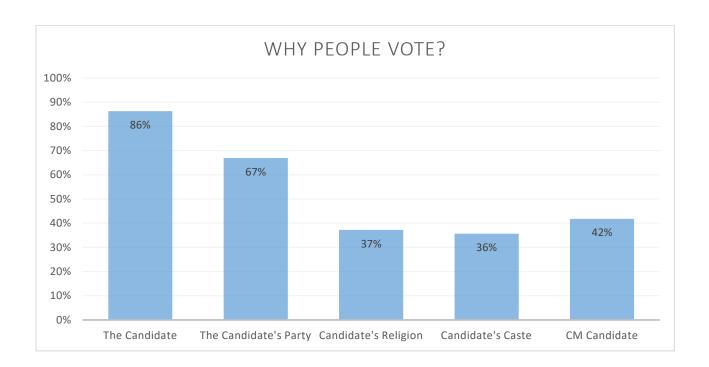
Graph: Urban Karnataka Performance Score

VOTING BEHAVIOUR

The survey tried to identify the important factors that people take into account before voting for a particular Candidate. Issue like whether the Candidate matters the most or his Political Party or other issues like caste/religion of the Candidate and CM Candidate of the party

Voting Behaviour	Karnataka
Why people vote:	
Party	67%
Candidate	86%
CM Candidate	42%
Religion	37%
Caste	36%

The survey asked respondents about the reason they vote for a particular candidate. They were given five choices—candidate, party, party's chief ministerial candidate, religion and caste. Respondents had to rank each of these as either very important, important or not important. Taking the weighted average across respondents for each of these factors, we can gauge the aggregate importance of each of the five factors across all voters.



It is interesting that, according to the survey, the most important factor for voters is the candidate, followed by the party and CM candidate.

CONCLUSION

The survey assessed the voter characteristics and the voter perception towards issues of importance to them and how they think the Government has performed on those issues. Thus, the analysis brings out mainly two important questions to the forefront. What important factors may drive divergence? What can be done to improve congruence?

Through the analysis, we can see that men and women whether in rural or urban areas, are equally interested in politics and have actively participated in bringing forth their concerns. The decisions of the policy makers are likely to differ from the preferences of the constituents; however, this survey provides an opportunity to the policy makers to evaluate the issues that the respondents have raised and work towards minimizing the gap between voters and Government.

The voters have to make a choice from among those candidates that are available. It is assumed that the voters vote for candidates that have similar opinions, based on the promises made during election campaigns and in their election manifesto. However, besides the lack of information with the constituents, the candidate's own preferences are not transparent, they advertise what seems to be good for election or re-election, and they avoid talking or declaring anything that could be unpopular.

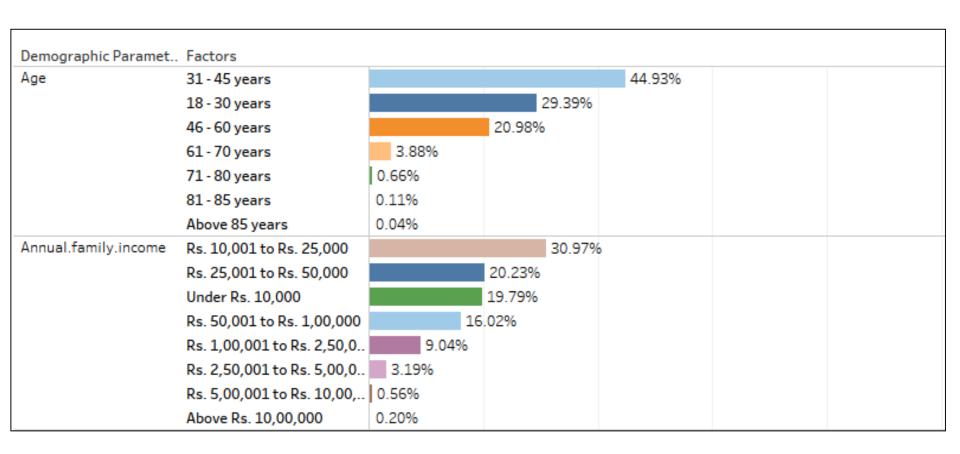
The relative importance of these promises shift with proximity to the elections. The fact that the electorate has no role once the politician is elected and the suspended animation of electorate is brought back to life only when next elections are due allows the priority of the candidates elected to be determined by the political parties. It is then hoped that the electorate takes care to elect a better politician to represent them.

Political representation is about championing constituents' preferences. In the larger and complete report, we also provide constituency wise information. However, the top two issues of employment and better health services remain relevant across the country. We hope this report will help people's representatives to do their work more effectively. The gap between people's expectations and its fulfilment needs to be addressed.

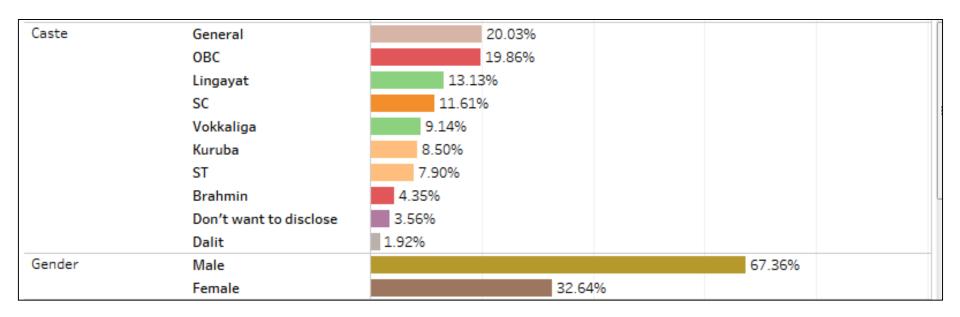
Political Survey: Karnataka

Demographic Profile

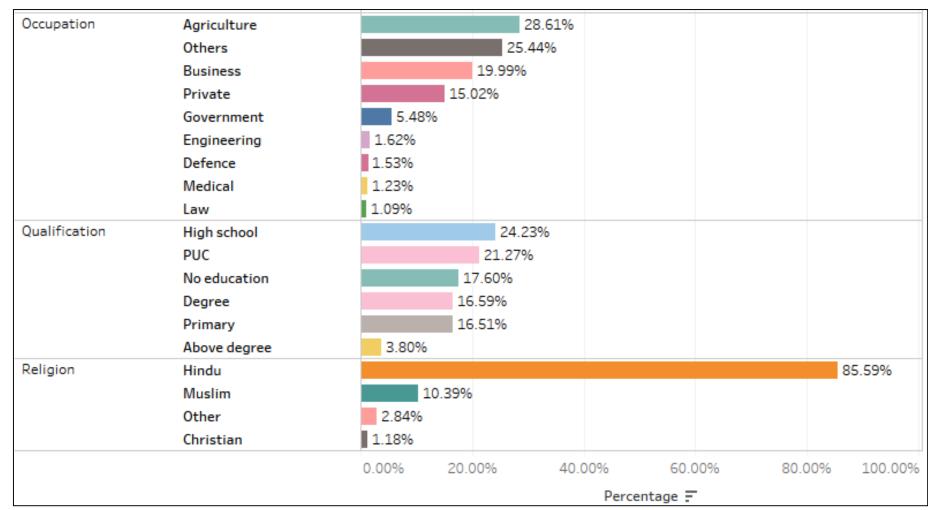
Age and Income



Caste and Gender



Occupation, Qualification and Religion



Questions marked with a * are required

* Name of surveyor
* District, Taluk, Assembly Constituency, and Location
Select ▼
* Name of survey respondent
Phone number of survey respondent
Those number of survey respondent
* Veter leastion
* Voter location Rural
Urban
Urban
* Gender
○ Male
○ Female
* Age
○ 18 - 30 years
31 - 45 years
○ 46 - 60 years
61 - 70 years
71 - 80 years
81 - 85 years
○ Above 85 years
* Religion
→ Religion → Hindu
Muslim
Christian
Other

* Caste
Brahmin
Dalit
Kuruba
Lingayat
Vokkaliga
General
○ SC
○ ST
○ OBC
Don't want to disclose
* Qualification
No education
Primary
High school
O PUC
Degree
Above degree
* Occupation
Agriculture
Business
Defence
Engineering
Government
Law
Medical
Private
Others

* Annual family income			
Under Rs. 10,000			
Rs. 10,001 to Rs. 25,000			
Rs. 25,001 to Rs. 50,000			
Rs. 50,001 to Rs. 1,00,000			
Rs. 1,00,001 to Rs. 2,50,000			
Rs. 2,50,001 to Rs. 5,00,000			
Rs. 5,00,001 to Rs. 10,00,000			
Above Rs. 10,00,000			
* Did you vote in the last elections?			
Yes			
○ No			
* If no, why?			
Missing name			
Not registered			
Not interested			
* If yes, did the candidate you voted for in	the last election win?		
○ Yes			
○ No			
What are the reasons you vote for a candid	ate? Rate the factors in the tabl	e by order of importance	
what are the reasons you vote for a candid	Not important	Important	Very important
* The candidate			
* The candidate's party			
* Candidate's religion		0	0
* Candidate's caste	0	0	0
* Chief ministerial candidate	0	0	0
Are you happy with the following schemes?	?		
	Yes	No	I do not use this scheme
* Indira Canteen	0		0
* Anna Bhagya	0	0	0
* Cycle Bhagya	0	0	0
* Krishi Bhagya	0		0
* Anila/Gas Bhagya	0		
* Shaadi Bhagya			

* Shaadi Bhagya

What are the issues that are important to you in an election? (Urban)

what are the issues that are important to you	Low	Medium	High	Not Applicable
* Accessibility of MLA			0	0
* Better law and order / policing			0	
* Better public transport			0	0
* Better roads				
* Eradication of corruption			0	
* More hospitals / primary health care centers				
* Trustworthiness of MLA				
* Security of women				\circ
* Better electricity supply				
* Better employment opportunities				
	Low	Medium	High	Not Applicable
* Better garbage clearance			0	0
* Reservation for jobs and education				
* Subsidized food distribution				
* Water supply and quality			0	
* Restoration of lakes				0
* Functioning of storm water drains and sewerage system	0	0	0	0
* Traffic management			0	
* Encroachment of public land, lakes and roads	0	0	0	0
* Parking facilities			0	
* Public facilities / basic amenities - parks, public toilets, quality footpaths, etc	0	0	0	0
* Zoning regulations				
* Anti-terrorism			0	0
* Better schools			\circ	0
* Environmental protection			\circ	\bigcirc
* Training for jobs			0	0

What are the issues that are important to you in an election? (Rural)

what are the issues that are important to you	Low	Medium	High	Not Applicable
* Accessibility of MLA				
* Better law and order / policing				
* Better public transport				
* Better roads				
* Eradication of corruption				
* More hospitals / primary health care centers				
* Trustworthiness of MLA				
* Security of women				
* Better electricity supply				
* Better employment opportunities				
	Low	Medium	High	Not Applicable
* Better garbage clearance				
* Reservation for jobs and education				
* Subsidized food distribution				
* Water supply and quality				
* Functioning of storm water drains and sewerage system	0	0	0	0
* Agricultural loan availability				
* Electricity for agriculture				
* Higher price-realization for farm products				
* Irrigation programmes				
* Subsidy for seeds and fertilizers				
* Anti-terrorism				
* Better schools				
* Environmental protection				
* Training for jobs				

How has your MLA performed on various issues? (Urban)

* Training for jobs

How has your MLA performed on various issues? (Rural)					
	Bad	Average	Good	Not Applicable	
* Accessibility of MLA				\circ	
* Better law and order / policing					
* Better public transport					
* Better roads					
* Eradication of corruption					
* More hospitals / primary health care centers					
* Trustworthiness of MLA					
* Security of women					
* Better electricity supply					
* Better employment opportunities				\bigcirc	
	Bad	Average	Good	Not Applicable	
* Better garbage clearance				\bigcirc	
* Reservation for jobs and education					
* Subsidized food distribution					
* Water supply and quality					
* Functioning of storm water drains and sewerage system	0		0	0	
* Agricultural loan availability	0				
* Electricity for agriculture					
* Higher price-realization for farm products					
* Irrigation programmes					
* Subsidy for seeds and fertilizers					
* Anti-terrorism					
* Better schools			0		
* Environmental protection					
* Training for jobs					

Survey Software Powered by QuestionPro