ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Dr. H S Chopra, my Guide and Supervisor is what every scholar looks for in a teacher - an ultimate manifestation of knowledge, understanding, compassion and humility. But, for Prof. Chopra, this study could not have completed. I express my heartfelt gratitude to him. Being his student was indeed a matter of privilege and honour for me. I shall always cherish my association with him.

Dr. J S Yadava, Director at the Indian Institute of Mass communication gave me the first break in public opinion research at the time of mid-term poll in India in 1991, from where started my deep passion for the subject. I am indebted to Prof. Yadava for his constant support, encouragement and sharing of knowledge.

Prof. Vepa Rao, a journalist of long standing and a professor of Journalism has long inspired me, both for his scholarship and as a teacher. That he painstakingly went through every single page of my thesis, an unnerving experience for a busy man like Prof. Rao (which he never let me feel), has left me with a feeling that I could not have asked for more! My sincere thanks.

My gratitude is due to the JNU specially the School of International Studies the former Dean, Prof. Zafar Imam, present Dean, Prof. G P Deshpande, the chairperson of the Centre for American & of West European Studies, Prof. Christopher Sam Raj, the academic section specially Deputy Registrar Mr. Jagdish Chandra, Section Officer, Mr. Sohan Lal for their efforts towards my field trip to the USA.

My sincerest thanks are due to the German Government especially the Press and Information Office at Bonn, The Inter Nations’ offices at Frankfurt, Bonn, Hamburg, Berlin and Leipzig which not only financed my entire trip to Germany but for their networking and their indescribable care and hospitality. All this was made possible by Ms Mechtild Ewart, Third Secretary (Press and Inf.) at the German Embassy at New Delhi. I am grateful to her. Dr. Jagdev and Christine Sawhney sent me huge packets of literature on the 1994 election and dozens of books from their book shop every time, I wrote to them. The efforts which must have gone into identifying the sources and procuring the material need no emphasis. Meeting them at Bonn was an experience by itself. I shall cherish their warmth and affection for a long time.

My thanks are also due to Ms Donna Roginski at the USIS, New Delhi for networking my appointments in the US. The efforts by Ms Charlie Hatton at the Foreign Press Office at
Manhattan and Mr. Bill Armsbruster at the Foreign Press office at Washington in fixing up all my appointments with a cross section of experts and making the primary data available to me deserve all appreciation.

I would like to thank all the experts in the three countries for sparing their time and sharing their insights with me. I am especially grateful to Dr. Abhilasha Manhot, an IIMC alumnus and now Director at the Gallup & Robinson Inc. in the US for sending me useful research data on the 1991 Presidential Election.

I would like to thank Neeloy for helping me in converting long and dreaded statistics into graphics, Prof. N Sarkar and Dr. Hemant Joshi for "packaging" my thesis, Mr. Venkatraman for keying in most of the manuscript efficiently specially in the face of tight schedules which hung as Damocles' sword over him, Ms S Bhardwaj and Mr. S K Kapoor who helped me at the drafting stage.

I am indebted to the JNU, IIMC, Planning Commission, PTI, USIS and Max Mueller Bhavan libraries in India and The New York Public library, The American University library, The library of the Congress in Washington for allowing me access and the help rendered by the library staff.

Sunita Singh, Manju Sharma and Vandana Sharma comprised my brave rescue team which helped me in improving my German and assisted me in translating a huge treasure of primary and secondary data in German. I appreciate their efforts and perseverance.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank all those who have reposed their faith in me - my family in particular and my students who most of the time are my sounding boards.

I earnestly dedicate this study to them - who believe there is no alternative to democracy. Amen!

New Delhi, 8 April, 1997. Jaishri Jethwaney