

Uttar Pradesh Pre-Election Tracker Survey, December 2016

About the Survey

A pre-election tracker survey (second round) was conducted in Uttar Pradesh by Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi, for ABP News. The survey was conducted from December 5 through December 17, 2016 among 5932 voters in 309 locations (polling stations) spread across 65 assembly constituencies. These are the same constituencies where Lokniti had conducted the first round of the tracker survey in July-August 2016. Four out of five locations in every assembly constituency were also the same as the first round, as were the respondents sampled in them. The sampling design adopted was Multi-stage random sampling. The assembly constituencies where the survey was conducted were randomly selected using the probability proportional to size method. Thereafter, four polling stations within each of the sampled constituencies were selected using the systematic random sampling method. For the current round of the tracker survey, one additional polling station was added in each constituency. This too was chosen randomly. Finally, the respondents were also randomly selected from the electoral rolls of the sampled polling stations.

Before going to the field for the survey, field investigators were imparted training about the survey method and interviewing techniques at day-long training workshops held at Delhi, Aligarh, Lakhimpur Kheri and Azamgarh. The field investigators asked the respondents a detailed set of questions in a face-to-face interview in Hindi. The duration of the interview was approximately 30-35 minutes. The survey could not be conducted at 16 locations spread across 9 assembly seats. At some locations the non-availability of sampled respondents or difficulty in finding households necessitated replacements/substitutions.

The achieved sample has been weighted by age-groups, gender, locality, religion, and caste group, based on Census 2011 information. The poll has an overall margin of error of plus or minus 1.8 points. The error margin increases for cross-tabulations.

Profile of Achieved Sample in Uttar Pradesh

| | Survey Sample (%) | Census 2011 (%) |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Scheduled Caste (18+ years) | 20.4 | 19.9 |
| Muslim | 17.6 | 19.3* |
| Women (18+ years) | 40.0 | 48.1 |
| Urban (18+ years) | 17.3 | 24.2 |
| 18-25 years | 18.2 | 27.3 |
| 26-35 years | 28.8 | 24.6 |
| 36-45 years | 22.4 | 19.3 |
| 46-55 years | 15.4 | 12.2 |
| 56+ years | 15.2 | 16.6 |

*Includes all ages

The fieldwork of the study was coordinated by Prof. Anil Kumar Verma (Centre for the Study of Society and Politics, Kanpur), Prof. Mirza Asmer Beg (Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh), Prof. Sudhir Khare (D.A.V. Postgraduate College, Azamgarh), and by the Lokniti team in Delhi. The survey was designed and analysed by a team of researchers at Lokniti. The team included Asmita Aasaavari, Arushi Gupta, Dhananjay Kumar Singh, Himanshu Bhattacharya, Jyoti Mishra, Souradeep Banerjee, Shashwat Dhar, Shreyas Sardesai and Vibha Attri. The survey was directed by Prof. Sanjay Kumar, Prof. Suhas Palshikar and Prof. Sandeep Shastri of Lokniti.

Survey details in a nutshell

| | |
|---|--|
| Conducted by | Lokniti-CSDS, for ABP News |
| Dates of fieldwork | Dec 5-17, 2016 |
| No. of Assembly Constituencies covered | 65 |
| No. of Polling Stations (Locations) covered | 309 |
| No. of interviews conducted (Sample size) | 5932 |
| Overall Margin of Error | +/- 1.8 |
| Sampling method | Multi-stage random sampling |
| Fieldwork method | Standardized face to face interview in Hindi |

Summary of Findings

Lokniti team

With just a few weeks left for assembly elections to begin in Uttar Pradesh, the latest turf war in the ruling Samajwadi Party may well have affected its seemingly bright electoral prospects. The Lokniti-ABP News election tracker survey in Uttar Pradesh (UP) **conducted between December 5 and 17, 2016 among 5932 voters spread across 65 assembly constituencies** had found the Samajwadi Party to be leading its main opponents the BJP and BSP, mainly on account of the popularity of Akhilesh Yadav. Despite major events such as demonetization, surgical strikes, and the September-October feud in the Yadav family having taken place since the first round of the tracker survey conducted in August 2016, the December survey found little to have changed in terms of people's voting preferences, with the SP retaining its front runner status. The ruling party led by Akhilesh Yadav was expected to secure 30 percent of vote, the same as August. The BJP and its allies were found to be polling 27 percent votes, also the same as August. The other major player in UP politics, the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), was likely to witness a four percentage point drop in its vote share since the August survey. Mayawati's party was estimated to get 22 percent votes. The Indian National Congress (Congress) continued to be a distant fourth in the race. However, the party was found by the December survey to be doing slightly better compared to the previous survey and was estimated to get 8 percent of the vote, a three-point rise.

While the overall state-wide picture had not changed much, some significant shifts were found to have taken place at the regional level. The SP appeared to have taken the lead over the BJP in

Eastern UP or Poorvanchal, where it was expected to corner 35 percent of the total vote, up from 29 percent in August. The BJP was doing much better in Western UP compared to the August survey. Modi's party was netting 37 percent of the votes in that region, which was a gain of seven points. This gain was largely at the expense of the BSP which seemed to have declined steeply in Western UP since the August survey. The BSP, however, was doing much better in the Awadh region and emerged as the frontrunner there with 33 percent of the vote. This was a gain of five percentage points since August.

In a reversal since August, the December survey found the SP to be receiving greater support among younger voters (33 percent) than the elderly (28 percent) and among women (32 percent) than men (28 percent). While the ruling party continued to be ahead of the BJP and BSP in the rural areas, it was also giving stiff competition to them in Urban UP, particularly to the BJP. The BJP was ahead of the SP by just one percentage point in urban parts of the state. This gap had been wider in August at four points. The SP's gains among urban voters since August appeared to be largely at the expense of the BSP.

The survey found the caste-based voting preferences to be more or less intact in December, with the BJP getting a lion's share (55 percent) of the upper caste vote and the SP securing three-fourths (75 percent) of the Yadav vote. SP's support among the Muslims however had fallen by eight percentage points since August. Interestingly, the BJP seemed to be doing a lot better among Muslims than it was in August. The BSP's dominance among the Jatavs (74 percent) and Dalits (56 percent) was more or less intact. A major division of votes seemed to be happening among non-Yadav OBCs, one-third of whom were found by the survey to be voting for the BJP, about a quarter for the SP, a fifth for the BSP and a tenth for the Congress. Compared to the August survey, the SP and the Congress had made significant inroads among these middle and lower OBCs in the December survey.

The December survey revealed striking variations in the decisiveness of voters of major parties, as measured by the likelihood of the voter changing his/her choice come Election Day. It was found that Congress and SP voters were among the most indecisive, with 24 percent of the former and 17 percent of the latter stating that their voting choice might change on the day of election. BSP voters were found to be the least likely to waver in their commitment to vote for their party on the day of election, with only about 11 percent of them hinting at the possibility of a change in their voting choice. The indecisive proportion among BJP voters was 15 percent.

In what was a good sign for the ruling party, the anti-incumbency sentiment against the SP government had mellowed in December. About 45 percent of the respondents said they would not want the SP government to be back in power. This figure was 50 percent in the August survey. Correspondingly, around 39 percent of the respondents had said they would like to see the SP government back at the helm, an increase of five percentage points since August.

Interestingly, Chief Minister Akhilesh Yadav's popularity appeared to have grown between August and December. In response to an open-ended question, some 28 percent respondents in December

said they would like to see Akhilesh Yadav back as the chief minister, compared to 24 percent in August. BSP supremo Mayawati, who was running neck and neck with Akhilesh Yadav in the August survey, saw her ratings fall by three percentage points in the December survey. Moreover, for the first time in many years, Akhilesh's government was rated better than Mayawati's, with 41 percent respondents opining that the present SP government is better than the previous BSP regime, compared to 32 percent respondents who thought otherwise. In past surveys most voters had viewed Mayawati's government as being better than Akhilesh's.

Akhilesh Yadav's growing popularity in UP politics seemed to be clearly manifesting itself in the voting considerations of his party's voters. On being asked what will matter to them the most while deciding whom to vote for in the upcoming assembly elections – party, local candidate or the chief ministerial candidate of a party, about a third (31 percent) of the SP voters said they would vote on the basis of the 'CM candidate', compared to 27 percent among BSP voters and 12 percent among BJP voters. Akhilesh also seemed to have emerged as a much stronger leader vis-à-vis his father and SP supremo Mulayam Singh Yadav since August. Whereas 40 percent of the voters in August had agreed with the proposition that Mulayam should replace Akhilesh as chief minister, the figure recorded in response to the same question in the December survey was 33 percent. In fact, a greater proportion of voters disagreed with the idea (37 percent) which had not been the case in August. Popular opinion on the power tussle within the Yadav family also favored Akhilesh, with a plurality of all voters (25 percent) putting the blame on his uncle Shivpal Yadav. Yadav voters were found to be even more critical of Shivpal with 38 percent blaming him for the family feud.

The survey found Narendra Modi to be quite popular in Uttar Pradesh. However his popularity seemed to be getting somewhat neutralized by Akhilesh Yadav's popularity. The survey findings revealed that people's assessment of the performance of Akhilesh in the state was better than their rating of Modi's performance at the Centre. While 70 percent of voters were found to be satisfied with Akhilesh Yadav's performance as chief minister, the figure of satisfaction with Modi's performance as prime minister was relatively less at 65 percent. In the August survey it had been the other way round - Modi had been assessed slightly more positively than Akhilesh. Even the proportion of those 'fully satisfied' with Akhilesh Yadav's performance (34 percent) was slightly higher than those 'fully satisfied' with Modi's performance (31 percent) in the latest survey. Moreover, the survey recorded a six to eight percentage point rise in the level of dissatisfaction with the performance of the NDA government and Prime Minister Modi. Last but not the least, a vast majority of voters in the state (47 percent) continued to be of the opinion that Modi had failed to bring *achhe din* or good days. 35 percent thought that he has succeeded.

The Prime Minister's decision to demonetize 500 and 1000 rupee notes did not find a high level of support among voters in UP, at least not the kind that was being claimed by his own survey. While 35 percent respondents lauded the Prime Minister's move, 34 percent said it was the right decision but taken without preparation. Meanwhile, 22 percent felt it was a wrong decision that should never have been taken. Interestingly, over half of those who thought it was the right move but done without preparation, were found to be voting for the SP and the BSP.

Nearly half the respondents claimed to have faced a lot of trouble exchanging or depositing old notes, only one in ten reported facing no trouble at all. Furthermore, an overwhelming majority (51 percent) believed that the common man has suffered more than the rich on account of demonetization. Only 20 percent said the rich had suffered more. These findings certainly challenge the Modi government's narrative (at least in Uttar Pradesh) of the rich facing a hard time due to the so-called surgical strike on black money, while the poor sleep peacefully.

When asked to state the single most important issue for them in the upcoming election, demonetization was the spontaneous response of only 8 percent respondents. Although this figure is not too high, what is significant is that a majority (54 percent) of them were found to be voting for the SP and relatively very few were for the BJP. For most respondents (21 percent), development or *vikaas* is going to be the key voting issue. One issue that is increasingly becoming the single most important for UP's electorate is unemployment. About 15 percent of respondents said that lack of jobs was the key election issue for them, up from 10 percent in August.

Surprisingly, the BJP seemed to be getting no significant advantage among those who have heard (66 percent) about India's surgical strike in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK), an issue that dominated political discourse in the month of October. The vote preference of those who had heard about it was evenly split 30-30 between the SP and the BJP. Asked who should get the credit for surgical strikes conducted by India – the Indian army or the Modi government, almost half the respondents (47 percent) said it should go to the Indian army, compared to only 21 percent who thought that credit must be given to Modi government alone. Moreover, some three-fifths of the respondents (61 percent) felt it was wrong to draw electoral mileage from the surgical strike.

The survey also tried to capture, through an open-ended question, people's views on possible alliances. It found that voters of all major players, particularly the BJP, wanted their parties to go it alone in these elections. Congress voters, however, were most open to the idea of an alliance. They were also most vocal while answering the question. While 66 percent of them said that their party should go it alone, 24 percent were in favour of a pre-election tie-up. Significantly, out of these 24 percent, a majority 18 percent wanted the party to fight the election along with the SP. Similarly, among the few SP voters who wanted the party to contest in alliance, most were in favour of tying-up with Congress.

Uttar Pradesh Pre-Election Tracker Survey, December 2016 (Findings)

Overall Vote Share, December 2016 - SP was ahead

| | Survey estimate December 2016 (%) | Change since the August 2016 survey (% points) |
|----------------------------------|---|--|
| Samajwadi Party (SP) | 30 | 0 |
| Bharatiya Janata Party+ (BJP+*) | 27 | 0 |
| Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) | 22 | -4 |
| Indian National Congress (Cong.) | 8 | +3 |
| Others (Oth.) | 13 | +1 |

Note:*BJP+ includes BJP, Suheldev Bharatiya Samaj Party and the Anupriya Patel faction of Apna Dal. In the survey, the respondents were asked to indicate who they would vote for on a ballot paper that carried the names of 20 major political parties along with their symbols. The Anupriya Patel faction of Apna Dal and the Krishna Patel faction of Apna Dal were both included on the ballot paper as separate choices. They were however given the same symbol. Undecided voters who did not disclose their vote preference have been distributed proportionally after a careful analysis.

The question asked was: If elections in Uttar Pradesh are held tomorrow then what party will you vote for? We are giving you a slip which has the names and symbols of different parties. Please mark your vote on this slip and put it in this box.

Region-wise Vote in December - SP was ahead in East UP, BJP in West; BSP in Awadh

| | Frontrunner | Second | Third | Fourth | |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| Eastern UP | SP 35 (+6) | BJP+ 30 (-5) | BSP 18 (-7) | Cong 8 (+4) | Oth 9 (+2) |
| Western UP | BJP+ 37 (+7) | SP 16 (-1) | BSP 12 (-10) | Cong 4 (-2) | Oth 31 (+6) |
| Rohilkhand | SP 47 (-1) | BSP 33 (+2) | BJP+ 16 (+2) | Cong 1 (0) | Oth 3 (-3) |
| Awadh | BSP 33 (+5) | BJP+ 26 (+6) | SP 25 (-10) | Cong 12 (+6) | Oth 4 (-7) |
| Doab and Bundelkhand | SP 25 (0) | BJP+ 23 (-2) | BSP 21 (-5) | Cong 10 (+4) | Oth 21 (+3) |

Note: Figures in parentheses represent percentage point change since August 2016 survey when sample size was 4452.

In a reversal since Aug, SP was getting more support among younger voters in Dec

| Age group | Vote % for SP | Vote % for BSP | Vote % for BJP+ | Vote % for Cong. |
|-------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 18-25 years | 33 (29) | 17 (27) | 27 (27) | 8 (5) |
| 26-45 years | 29 (30) | 26 (26) | 27 (27) | 7 (6) |
| 46+ years | 28 (31) | 21 (26) | 28 (27) | 9 (3) |

Note: Figures in parentheses are from the August 2016 survey. The rest of the respondents indicated a preference for other parties.

In a reversal since Aug, SP was getting more support from women than men in Dec

| | Vote % for SP | Vote % for BSP | Vote % for BJP+ | Vote % for Cong. |
|-------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Men | 28 (31) | 22 (25) | 28 (28) | 9 (4) |
| Women | 32 (29) | 22 (27) | 26 (26) | 7 (6) |

Note: Figures in parentheses are from the August 2016 survey. The rest of the respondents indicated a preference for other parties.

SP was doing better in urban areas in December compared to August

| | Vote % for SP | Vote % for BSP | Vote % for BJP+ | Vote % for Cong. |
|-------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Rural | 31 (32) | 23 (25) | 26 (27) | 8 (4) |
| Urban | 28 (24) | 18 (29) | 29 (28) | 9 (8) |

Note: Figures in parentheses are from the August 2016 survey. The rest of the respondents indicated a preference for other parties.

Caste bases of parties were more or less intact without any drastic changes since Aug survey

| | Vote % for SP | Vote % for BSP | Vote % for BJP+ | Vote % for Cong. |
|--------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Upper castes | 12 (-3) | 8 (-1) | 55 (0) | 10 (+5) |
| Yadavs | 75 (+7) | 4 (-1) | 14 (-2) | 5 (+1) |
| Other OBCs | 23 (+4) | 20 (-3) | 34 (-4) | 10 (+5) |
| Jatavs | 7 (-1) | 74 (-1) | 8 (0) | 4 (+2) |
| Other Dalits | 16 (+2) | 56 (0) | 13 (-3) | 11 (+8) |
| Muslims | 54 (-8) | 14 (-4) | 9 (+5) | 7 (-1) |

Note: Figures in parentheses represent percentage point change since August 2016 survey. The rest of the respondents indicated a preference for other parties.

Cong, SP's voters more likely to change voting choice come Election Day than BJP, BSP's

| | Will vote for same party on election day (%) | May vote for someone else (%) | No Response (%) |
|-------------------|---|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| All voters | 73 | 17 | 10 |
| Cong voters | 59 | 24 | 17 |
| BJP voters | 79 | 15 | 6 |
| SP voters | 74 | 17 | 9 |
| BSP voters | 81 | 11 | 8 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

The question asked was: On the day of voting will you vote for the same party which you voted for now or your decision may change?

Spontaneous CM preference among voters in December

| | % | Change since August 2016 (% points) |
|---------------------|----|-------------------------------------|
| Akhilesh Yadav | 28 | +4 |
| Mayawati | 21 | -3 |
| Narendra Modi | 5 | +3 |
| Yogi Adityanath | 4 | -1 |
| Rajnath Singh | 4 | -3 |
| Mulayam Singh Yadav | 3 | -1 |
| Rahul Gandhi | 3 | +2 |
| Arvind Kejriwal | 3 | +3 |
| Amit Shah | 3 | +2 |
| Varun Gandhi | 1 | -2 |
| Priyanka Gandhi | 1 | 0 |
| Ram Gopal Yadav | 1 | -1 |
| Other names | 6 | +2 |
| No response | 17 | -5 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

The question asked was: After the upcoming election, who would you prefer as the next Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh?

Question asked was an open ended question; no choices were offered to the respondents.

Akhilesh Yadav was the overwhelming choice for CM among SP voters in December

| | Preference for CM (%) | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------|
| | Akhilesh Yadav | Ramgopal Yadav | Mulayam Singh and Shivpal Yadav | Other SP leaders | Non-SP leaders | No response |
| Among SP voters in Dec 2016 | 83 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| Among SP voters in Aug 2016 | 68 | 5 | 9 | 2 | 4 | 12 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

The question asked was: After the upcoming election, who would you prefer as the next Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh?

Question asked was an open ended question; no choices were offered to the respondents.

Anti-incumbency sentiment had weakened by December

| | Aug 2016 (%) | Dec 2016 (%) | Change since Aug 2016 (% points) |
|---|--------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| SP govt. should get another chance | 34 | 39 | +5 |
| SP govt. should not get another chance | 50 | 45 | -5 |
| No opinion | 16 | 16 | 0 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

The question asked was: Do you think the current Samajwadi Party government in Uttar Pradesh should get another chance?

Anti-SP government voters continued to be badly divided between BJP and BSP

| Vote choice of those not in favour of giving SP another chance | Aug 2016 (%) | Dec 2016 (%) |
|---|--------------|--------------|
| BJP+ | 39 | 41 |
| BSP | 37 | 36 |
| Others | 24 | 23 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

People's satisfaction with Akhilesh was higher than their satisfaction with Modi in Dec

| Performance of... | Fully Satisfied | Somewhat satisfied | Somewhat dissatisfied | Fully Dissatisfied |
|---------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Akhilesh Yadav as CM | 34 (+4) | 36 (+5) | 8 (+2) | 17 (-9) |
| SP govt. in Uttar Pradesh | 33 (+7) | 36 (-2) | 8 (+1) | 18 (-8) |
| Narendra Modi as PM | 32 (-1) | 33 (-2) | 8 (+1) | 22 (+7) |
| NDA govt. at Centre | 27 (+3) | 36 (-3) | 8 (+1) | 21 (+5) |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest of the respondents did not give their opinion.

Figures in parentheses represent percentage point change since August 2016 survey.

The questions asked were:

(1) What is your opinion about Akhilesh Yadav as chief minister? Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with his performance? (*Probe further whether somewhat or fully*) (2) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with his performance of the Samajwadi Party government in Uttar Pradesh over the last five years? (*Probe further whether somewhat or fully*) (3) What is your opinion about Narendra Modi as prime minister? Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with his performance? (*Probe further whether somewhat or fully*) (4) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the NDA government at the Centre over the last two and a half years? (*Probe further whether somewhat or fully*)

For the first time in many years, Akhilesh's government rated better than Mayawati's

| | Present SP govt is better than previous BSP govt. | Previous BSP govt. was better than present SP govt. | Both have been equally good | Both have been equally bad | No opinion |
|-----------------|---|---|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------|
| Dec 2016 | 41 | 32 | 3 | 16 | 8 |
| Aug 2016 | 31 | 34 | 7 | 15 | 13 |
| Jul 2013 | 26 | 29 | 10 | 17 | 18 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not add up to 100 due to rounding. Sample size in Dec 2016 is 5932; Sample size in Aug 2016 was 4452; Sample size in Jul 2013 was 3285.

The question asked was: If we compare the current Akhilesh Yadav-led SP government in Uttar Pradesh with the previous Mayawati-led BSP government, which of them in your opinion has been better?

CM candidate consideration was more crucial for SP voters compared to voters of BSP, BJP

| | In the soon to be held assembly election, I will vote on the basis of... | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--|-----------------|--------------|---|---|---------------|-------------|
| | Party | Local candidate | CM candidate | Modi's name (<i>unstated option</i>) | Gandhi family/Manmohan Singh's name (<i>unstated option</i>) | Other matters | No response |
| All voters | 47 | 19 | 20 | 8 | 1 | <1 | 5 |
| SP voters | 49 | 13 | 31 | <1 | <1 | <1 | 5 |
| BSP voters | 50 | 16 | 27 | 1 | <1 | <1 | 5 |
| BJP voters | 48 | 10 | 12 | 27 | <1 | 1 | 3 |
| Cong voters | 43 | 15 | 19 | 2 | 15 | 0 | 6 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

The question asked was: While deciding whom to vote for in the assembly elections to be held in the next few months, what will matter to you most - party, local candidate or the chief ministerial candidate of a party?

The options of 'Modi' and 'Gandhi family/Manmohan Singh' were unstated and were not read out to the respondents.

Akhilesh a stronger leader vis-à-vis his father now

| 'Instead of Akhilesh Yadav, Mulayam Singh should be made the chief minister' | Aug 2016 (%) | Dec 2016 (%) |
|--|--------------|--------------|
| Agree | 40 | 33 |
| Disagree | 28 | 37 |
| No response | 32 | 30 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

The question asked was: Now I will read out a statement. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with it - Instead of Akhilesh Yadav, Mulayam Singh should be made the chief minister?'

Most voters blamed Shivpal Yadav for family feud more than Akhilesh Yadav; Muslim voters were least willing to give a response on this matter

| | Akhilesh was more responsible for family tussle | Shivpal was more responsible for family tussle | Neither was wrong (<i>silent option</i>) | Both were wrong (<i>silent option</i>) | Outsiders were to blame (<i>silent option</i>) | No response |
|-------------------|---|--|---|---|---|-------------|
| All voters | 6 | 25 | 4 | 20 | 8 | 37 |
| SP voters | 7 | 25 | 7 | 18 | 13 | 30 |
| Yadavs | 8 | 38 | 6 | 14 | 14 | 20 |
| Muslims | 7 | 21 | 4 | 17 | 9 | 44 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not add up to 100 due to rounding

The question asked was: In your opinion, who is more responsible for the tussle that took place between Akhilesh Yadav and Shivpal Yadav?

Muslims were more likely to say Akhilesh has become weaker from family feud than Yadavs

| | Akhilesh has become stronger due to family tussle | Akhilesh has become weaker due to family tussle | Family tussle has made no difference to Akhilesh's position | No response |
|-------------------|---|---|---|-------------|
| All voters | 18 | 26 | 23 | 32 |
| SP voters | 33 | 14 | 28 | 25 |
| Yadavs | 37 | 14 | 29 | 19 |
| Muslims | 26 | 21 | 18 | 35 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not add up to 100 due to rounding

The question asked was: In your opinion, has Akhilesh Yadav become stronger or weaker after the recent tussle between leaders in the Samajwadi party?

Perception of parties - Perception about SP had improved the most since August

| | SP | BSP | BJP | Cong |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| <i>Positive aspects</i> | | | | |
| Party best for governing Uttar Pradesh | 28 (24) | 28 (29) | 27 (25) | 8 (5) |
| Party best for maintaining law and order | 25 (21) | 35 (34) | 25 (23) | 6 (4) |
| Party best for ensuring Hindu-Muslim brotherhood | 35 (29) | 20 (19) | 21 (21) | 8 (6) |
| <i>Negative aspects</i> | | | | |
| Most corrupt party | 26 (28) | 12 (9) | 19 (13) | 21 (24) |
| Most nepotistic party | 42 (40) | 10 (8) | 16 (12) | 14 (15) |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest of the respondents did not give their opinion. Figures in parentheses are from Aug survey.

The questions asked were:

(1) Now I will ask you to compare the four main parties of Uttar Pradesh – Congress, BJP, BSP and SP. Tell me which party among them is best for the following things? a) Governing UP b) Maintaining law and order c) Ensuring Hindu-Muslim brotherhood.

(2) Now I will ask you to compare the four main parties of Uttar Pradesh – Congress, BJP, BSP and SP. Tell me which party among them is most...? a) Corrupt b) Nepotistic.

Joblessness increasingly becoming the most important issue for many voters

| If polls are held today, the most Important voting issue will be... | August 2016 (%) | Dec 2016 (%) | Change since Aug 2016 (% points) |
|---|-----------------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| Development | 33 | 21 | -12 |
| Price rise | 18 | 11 | -7 |
| Unemployment | 10 | 15 | +5 |
| Demonetization | -- | 8 | +8 |
| Corruption | 4 | 7 | +3 |
| Poverty | 4 | 7 | +3 |
| Electricity, roads, water supply | 3 | 2 | -1 |
| Farmer woes | 2 | 1 | -1 |
| Other issues | 7 | 9 | +2 |
| No opinion | 19 | 19 | 0 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

The question asked was: If Assembly elections in Uttar Pradesh take place tomorrow then what will be the most important issue for you while casting your vote?

Question asked was an open ended question, no choices were offered to the respondents.

Vote preference of 8 percent respondents who said demonetization will be the single most important issue - SP got lion's share

| | Vote for SP (%) | Vote for BSP (%) | Vote for BJP+ (%) | Vote for Cong. (%) | Vote for Oth. (%) |
|---|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Demonetization will be single-most important issue (8%) | 54 | 16 | 12 | 6 | 13 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Low support for demonetization in Uttar Pradesh; Over half of the 34 percent who said it was a right move but done without preparation were voting for SP and BSP.

| Demonetization was a... | % | Their Vote preference | | | |
|--|----|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| | | Vote for SP (%) | Vote for BSP (%) | Vote for BJP+ (%) | Vote for Cong. (%) |
| Right move | 35 | 17 | 14 | 49 | 6 |
| Right move but done without preparation | 34 | 33 | 20 | 19 | 10 |
| Wrong move, should never have been taken | 22 | 47 | 30 | 7 | 8 |
| No response | 9 | 23 | 42 | 20 | 7 |

The question asked was: People have different opinions regarding the cancellation of Rs 500 and Rs 1000 notes. Some people believe that this was a right move; some others believe that it was the right move but done without any preparation, while some others say it was a wrong decision that should never have been taken. What is your opinion?

Upper and Middle classes of UP most critical of demonetization

| | Demonetization was a right move | Demonetization was a right move but done without preparation | Demonetization was a wrong move | No opinion |
|--------------|---------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|------------|
| All | 35 | 34 | 22 | 9 |
| Rich | 33 | 40 | 23 | 5 |
| Middle class | 30 | 39 | 24 | 7 |
| Lower class | 41 | 33 | 19 | 7 |
| Poor | 33 | 31 | 24 | 13 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not add up to 100 due to rounding

10% stated that someone in their household had to forego two square meals at least once during Nov-Dec; SP, BSP, Cong were getting higher than avg. support among them

| | Vote for SP (%) | Vote for BSP (%) | Vote for BJP+ (%) | Vote for Cong. (%) | Vote for Oth (%) |
|---|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Household member/s had to forego two square meals at least once during the last one month (10%) | 37 (+7) | 25 (+3) | 20 (-7) | 14 (+6) | 4 (-9) |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding. Figures in parentheses represent deviation from overall vote that the parties are estimated to get.

The question asked was: During the last one month, was there any day on which you or any of your family members had to forego two square meals?

Nearly half the respondents faced a lot of trouble exchanging or depositing old notes

| While depositing and exchanging old Rs 500 and Rs 1000 notes, I... | % |
|--|----|
| Faced a lot of trouble (<i>pareshani</i>) | 48 |
| Faced some trouble | 21 |
| Faced little trouble | 4 |
| Faced no trouble | 10 |
| Faced trouble but it was for the overall good | 12 |
| No response | 5 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

The question asked was: How much trouble have you faced in depositing or getting exchanged your old Rs 500 and Rs 1000 notes – a lot, somewhat, less or none at all?

Less than one-third highly optimistic that demonetization will solve black money problem

| Demonetization will... | % |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| Solve black money problem a lot | 29 |
| Solve black money problem somewhat | 31 |
| Not solve black money problem much | 10 |
| Not solve black money problem at all | 19 |
| No response | 11 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

The question asked was: In your opinion, to what extent will the cancellation of old Rs 1000 and Rs 500 notes be able to solve the problem of black money - a lot, somewhat, very less or not at all?

Majority believed that the Common man has suffered more than Rich due to demonetization; this sentiment was strongest among the Poor

| | Common man has suffered more than the Rich | Rich have suffered more than common man | Both have suffered equally | No one has suffered | No response |
|--------------|--|---|----------------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| All | 51 | 20 | 21 | 4 | 5 |
| Rich | 47 | 18 | 27 | 4 | 4 |
| Middle class | 47 | 20 | 24 | 4 | 6 |
| Lower | 51 | 20 | 20 | 5 | 4 |
| Poor | 56 | 19 | 17 | 2 | 6 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

The question asked was: People have different opinions regarding the cancellation of old Rs 1000 and Rs 500 notes. Some people say that due to this move, the common man has suffered more than the rich. On the other hand, some others say that the rich have suffered more than the common man. What is your opinion?

About one in four voters believed BJP stands to benefit a lot electorally from demonetization

| Demonetization will.... | % |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| Benefit BJP a lot in elections | 26 |
| Benefit BJP somewhat in elections | 24 |
| Affect BJP somewhat in elections | 6 |
| Affect BJP a lot in elections | 19 |
| Neither benefit nor affect | 9 |
| Cannot say | 16 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

The question asked was: In your opinion, will the BJP gain or lose from the move to cancel Rs 500 and Rs 1000 notes in the election?

Digital reality of Uttar Pradesh

| | % |
|--|----|
| Have an Aadhaar card | 91 |
| Someone in household has a bank account | 80 |
| Someone in household has a debit/credit card | 46 |
| Have a mobile phone (<i>includes both normal and smartphone</i>) | 74 |
| Have a smartphone | 23 |
| Have a mobile phone with internet access on it | 22 |
| Household has a computer/laptop/tablet | 13 |
| Household has a computer/laptop/tablet with internet access on it | 6 |

BJP was getting no big advantage among two-third voters who have heard about India's surgical strike in PoK

| | Vote % for SP | Vote % for BSP | Vote % for BJP+ | Vote % for Cong. | Vote % for Oth |
|--|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Heard about India's surgical strike in PoK (66%) | 30 | 17 | 30 | 9 | 14 |
| Not heard about India's surgical strike in PoK (34%) | 31 | 31 | 22 | 6 | 10 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

The question asked was: Have you heard of the surgical strike conducted by India in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir?

Opinion on who should get credit for India's PoK surgical strike

| | % |
|-------------------------------|----|
| Indian army should get credit | 47 |
| Modi govt. should get credit | 21 |
| Both should get credit | 24 |
| Neither should get credit | 3 |
| No response | 5 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

The question asked was: (*If heard of the surgical strike*) Who among these should get the credit for surgical strikes conducted by India in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir - the Indian army or the Modi government?

Opinion on drawing political mileage from India's PoK surgical strike

| | % |
|--|----|
| Drawing electoral mileage from it is Right | 22 |
| Drawing electoral mileage from it is Wrong | 61 |
| No response | 17 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

The question asked was: (*If heard of surgical strike*) In your opinion, is it right or wrong to make the surgical strikes an election issue?

Most still of the opinion that Modi has failed to bring *Achhe din*, however proportion has dipped somewhat since Aug survey

| | Aug 2016 (%) | Dec 2016 (%) |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|
| Narendra Modi has failed to bring <i>achhe din</i> (good days) | 52 | 47 |
| Narendra Modi has succeeded in bringing <i>Acche Din</i> | 32 | 35 |
| No opinion | 16 | 19 |

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

The question asked was: Please tell me do you agree or disagree with this statement that I will read out to you? - Narendra Modi has failed to bring *Achhe Din*/good days.

View on possible alliances - most Cong voters who wanted an alliance wanted it with SP

| | Fight on its own | Alliance with SP | Alliance with BSP | Alliance with BJP | Alliance with Cong | Gave no response |
|-------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| SP voters | 66 | - | 2 | 1 | 7 | 22 |
| BSP voters | 59 | 3 | - | 1 | 4 | 29 |
| BJP+ voters | 78 | 2 | 1 | - | 3 | 16 |
| Cong voters | 66 | 18 | 2 | 4 | - | 10 |

Note: Figures are percentages. The rest of the respondents took names of other smaller parties.

The questions asked were: In the upcoming assembly election – a. Which party should the Congress contest with? b. Which party should the BJP contest with? c. Which party should the SP contest with? d. Which party should the BSP contest with?

The questions were asked in an open ended way and no names were offered.

SP and BJP were seen as frontrunners by most voters in December

| Those who say... | % |
|-----------------------------|----|
| SP will win this election | 24 |
| BJP will win this election | 23 |
| BSP will win this election | 18 |
| Cong will win this election | 4 |

The question asked was: In your opinion, which party will win or be the frontrunner in the upcoming election in Uttar Pradesh?