

RATING THE GOVERNMENTS

At the national level, the news is not very good for UPA-II. It does not have much to celebrate at the State level either

Theme: PERFORMANCE AT THE CENTRE AND THE STATES

In the last two decades, State-level politics has become the principal arena of political contestation. Ordinary citizens look at national politics through the prism of their own State. The nature of political choices, party affiliations, major issues and the political orientation of social communities are all determined at the State level. In the 1990s, national mandates had looked like nothing but the sum total of State-level verdicts. But in the last two elections, especially in 2009, national-level politics asserted its autonomy again. In order to understand the national mood, therefore, we need to separate the popular ratings of the Central government and State governments.

At the national level, the news as it emerges from the CNN-IBN & CNBC-TV 18 'State of the Nation Poll,' conducted by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), and presented by

The Hindu, is not very good for the UPA-II government. More people are dissatisfied with its functioning now than over the last seven years. Popular opinion is evenly split on whether the United Progressive Alliance should get another chance. This was not so with the UPA-I in 2009, or even with the National Democratic Alliance in 2004. When asked to compare UPA-I with UPA-II, the popular verdict is decisively against the current government, even among UPA voters. The level of alienation from the government is higher among the urban, the educated and the well-to-do sections of the population.

At the State level the picture is mixed, though the UPA does not have much to celebrate here either. Four of the five top-rated State governments are run by the Bharatiya Janata Party and its allies, while the Congress and its allies figure thrice in the list of five States at the bottom of the list. The presence of strong NDA leaders at the State level is clearly one reason. Chief Ministers such as Nitish Kumar, Raman Singh, Shivraj Singh Chauhan and Narendra Modi have maintained, if not improved, their high approval ratings. But some of the BJP's first-time Chief Ministers, such as Arjun Munda, Ramesh Pokhriyal, and of course B.S. Yeddyurappa, are not rated very high. For the UPA, some of the recently elected Chief Ministers, such as Mamata Banerjee and Oommen Chandy, or the re-elected Tarun Gogoi, are exceptions to the

general norm of indifferent ratings. Long-serving Chief Ministers such as Sheila Dikshit and Bhupinder Singh Hooda have experienced a sharp erosion in their popularity. Ashok Gehlot and Prithviraj Chavan have very average ratings. In N. Kiran Kumar Reddy the Congress has the only Chief Minister who gets a more negative than positive rating. His rival Y.S. Jaganmohan Reddy enjoys a good deal of popular sympathy.

The assessment of a given State government closely follows the personal rating of the Chief Minister concerned — except that the Karnataka and Maharashtra governments have been rated better than their respective Chief Ministers. Ruling parties in the election-bound States of Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Uttarakhand face an unhappy electorate: the proportion of the electorate that wants them out exceeds that which wants the incumbent government to continue. In this respect, the verdict on the Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand governments is worse than that of their predecessors in the last Assembly elections. In Uttar Pradesh, the previous Samajwadi Party government is considered to have been better than the current one led by the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP). Some of the key uncommitted segments, such as the upper castes, Muslims and the OBCs, are against the BSP government and willing to give the Congress a chance.

This national survey (done across 19 States in a total of 1,300 randomly selected locations) also provides an opportunity to assess the popular mood on the contentious issue of Telangana. Public opinion in Andhra Pradesh has got polarised along regional lines around two of the six options suggested by the Srikrishna Commission. Coastal Andhra and to a lesser degree Rayalaseema are polarised behind the demand to maintain an undivided Andhra Pradesh. Ironically, the people in Telangana are less polarised but tilted clearly in favour of a separate Telangana state with Hyderabad as its capital. Over the last two years, the public mood has been polarised further in both parts of the State.

Yogendra Yadav

(Queries about the survey may be sent to election@csds.in)

CMs: NITISH KUMAR TOPS THE PERFORMANCE CHART

| Chief Ministers | Satisfied with performance | Dissatisfied with performance |
|--|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Nitish Kumar (Bihar) | 93 | 6 |
| Raman Singh (Chhattisgarh) | 86 | 13 |
| Mamata Banerjee (West Bengal) | 81 | 8 |
| Shivraj Singh Chauhan (Madhya Pradesh) | 78 | 11 |
| Narendra Modi (Gujarat) | 76 | 12 |
| Naveen Patnaik (Orissa) | 72 | 24 |
| Oommen Chandy (Kerala) | 67 | 17 |
| Jayalalitha (Tamil Nadu) | 67 | 18 |
| Tarun Gogoi (Assam) | 62 | 16 |
| Ramesh Pokhriyal (Uttarakhand) | 60 | 29 |
| Ashok Gehlot (Rajasthan) | 58 | 28 |
| Arjun Munda (Jharkhand) | 58 | 28 |
| Prakash Singh Badal (Punjab) | 54 | 30 |
| Bhupinder Singh Hooda (Haryana) | 52 | 42 |
| B.S. Yeddyurappa (Karnataka) * | 51 | 42 |
| Prithviraj Chavan (Maharashtra) | 51 | 24 |
| Mayawati (Uttar Pradesh) | 50 | 36 |
| Sheila Dikshit (Delhi) | 48 | 48 |
| N. Kiran Kumar Reddy (Andhra Pradesh) | 34 | 58 |



Nitish Kumar

Question asked: What is your assessment of the Chief Minister of your State over the last few years? Would you say that you are 'satisfied' or 'dissatisfied' with his/her performance?

Four out of the top five Chief Ministers with the highest performance ratings, belong to either the BJP or the NDA. Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar has the highest satisfaction ratings among all Chief Ministers. Three of the five Chief Ministers with the worst performance ratings, belong to the Congress. Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister N. Kiran Kumar Reddy has the worst rating among all Chief Ministers, followed by Delhi's Sheila Dikshit. Among the States going to elections in 2012, Uttarakhand was most satisfied with the performance of its Chief Minister, Ramesh Pokhriyal. For every two persons who are 'dissatisfied' with his performance, there are four 'satisfied'. In the case of Mayawati (Uttar Pradesh) and Prakash Singh Badal (Punjab), the ratio is less favourable.

CNN-IBN & CNBC-TV18 STATE OF THE NATION POLL Conducted by CSDS

PRESENTED BY THE HINDU

DISSATISFACTION WITH UPA-II HIGH

| Assessment of UPA-II's performance | 2006 | 2009 | 2011 |
|------------------------------------|------|------|------|
| Satisfied | 58 | 65 | 49 |
| Dissatisfied | 22 | 20 | 30 |

Question asked: What is your opinion about the performance of the Congress party-led UPA government at the Centre?

While the proportion of those 'satisfied' with the UPA government's performance is more than those who are 'dissatisfied,' there has been a huge drop in the proportion of those 'satisfied.' In 2009, for every person 'dissatisfied' with the Central government's performance, there were three 'satisfied.' Now it is down to one is to one-and-a-half.

ON GIVING THE UPA ANOTHER CHANCE

| Assessment of UPA government's performance | NDA 2004 | UPA 2009 | UPA 2011 |
|--|----------|----------|----------|
| Yes | 48 | 55 | 37 |
| No | 30 | 45 | 35 |
| Too early to say | - | - | 6 |

Question asked: After the present term is completed, do you think that the present Congress party-led UPA government at the Centre should get another chance?

There is a very small difference of two percentage points between those who want the UPA to continue and those who want it out. The difference was 10 percentage points in 2009. The sentiment against the UPA continuing in power is stronger in the urban areas and among the upper classes. While in the rural areas and among the middle, lower and poor classes, the sentiment against the UPA is also fairly strong, there are still more people among these sections who want the UPA to continue in power, than not continue. In the urban areas and among the upper classes, it is the other way round.

BJP-NDA-RULED STATES PERFORM BETTER?

| State government of... | Satisfied with performance | Dissatisfied with performance |
|------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Bihar | 90 | 9 |
| Chhattisgarh | 86 | 13 |
| West Bengal | 79 | 9 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 75 | 12 |
| Gujarat | 72 | 15 |
| Orissa | 72 | 22 |
| Tamil Nadu | 70 | 16 |
| Karnataka * | 64 | 29 |
| Assam | 63 | 17 |
| Kerala | 63 | 22 |
| Uttarakhand | 60 | 26 |
| Rajasthan | 58 | 26 |
| Maharashtra | 55 | 32 |
| Jharkhand | 53 | 31 |
| Haryana | 52 | 42 |
| Punjab | 51 | 31 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 50 | 35 |
| Delhi | 45 | 49 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 42 | 51 |

*Survey was conducted when B.S.Yeddyurappa was the Chief Minister. Question asked: What is your assessment of the work done by your State government over the last few years? Would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with it?

The level of satisfaction with a State government is highest in Bihar, followed by Chhattisgarh. Most BJP-NDA-ruled States are seen as better-performing than Congress-ruled States. Delhi and Andhra Pradesh are the only States where there are more people 'dissatisfied' with the State government than 'satisfied.'

UPA-I BETTER THAN UPA-II

| Categories | UPA-I better | UPA-II better | Both equally good | Both equally bad |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|
| All respondents | 33 | 16 | 11 | 13 |
| By voting preference | | | | |
| UPA voters | 35 | 18 | 15 | 6 |
| By level of education | | | | |
| College and above | 41 | 17 | 11 | 16 |
| By locality | | | | |
| Towns/cities | 38 | 15 | 10 | 15 |
| Metros | 34 | 10 | 12 | 23 |
| By class | | | | |
| Upper | 37 | 15 | 12 | 15 |

Question asked: The Congress-led UPA government has been in power for the last seven years (2004-2011). Comparing the first term (2004-2009) with the second term (2009-2011), in which has it been better?

When asked to compare the first term of the UPA with the second, most respondents across all categories said UPA-I was 'better.' For every person who feels UPA-II is 'better,' there are two who feel UPA-I was 'better.' The preference for UPA-I is highest among UPA voters, the college educated, urban respondents and the upper class.

INCUMBENTS HIT IN ELECTION-BOUND STATES

| State government of... | 2007 | | 2011 | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| | Should continue | Should not continue | Should continue | Should not continue |
| Uttar Pradesh (SP in 2007) | 37 | 47 | 29 | 50 |
| Punjab (Congress in 2007) | 43 | 51 | 36 | 38 |
| Uttarakhand (Congress in 2007) | 48 | 38 | 35 | 41 |

Question asked: After the present term is completed, do you think that the present ruling party's government in the State should get another chance? (Data for 2007 based on post-poll surveys conducted in Punjab and pre-poll surveys conducted in Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh during the Assembly elections.)

Among the States going for elections in 2012, the sentiment of the people against the incumbent government is quite high. In Uttar Pradesh, over half the respondents want Mayawati's government out. In 2007, Mulayam Singh's government was rated more favourably. In neighbouring Uttarakhand too, most respondents are against giving the BJP government another chance. In 2007, the incumbent Congress government had a better popularity level than this, even though it lost the election. In Punjab the difference between those wanting the Prakash Singh Badal's government to continue and not continue is very small. The rejection of the government is not as high as it was for Amarinder Singh's government in 2007.

INCREASED SUPPORT FOR 'UNITED ANDHRA'

| Andhra Pradesh should be... | May 2009 | July 2011 |
|---|----------|-----------|
| Bifurcated into Andhra and Telangana (opinion in Telangana) | 42 | 50 |
| Trifurcated into Andhra, Telangana and Rayalaseema (opinion in Rayalaseema) | 3 | 1 |
| Not divided and remain united (opinion in Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra) | 71 | 90 |

Question asked: People have different opinions on the issue of a separate Telangana state. Some people say that Andhra Pradesh should be bifurcated into Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, while some say that the State should be trifurcated into Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and Rayalaseema. Others say that Andhra Pradesh should continue as a united State. What is your opinion on the issue?

The sentiment against dividing Andhra Pradesh and carving a separate Telangana state from it, has only increased in regions outside Telangana. Most people in these regions want Andhra Pradesh to stay united, more so compared to 2009. While the sentiment in favour of a separate Telangana state can only be found in the Telangana region and has increased there compared to 2009, it is still not as strong as the overwhelming sentiment against it in the rest of Andhra Pradesh.

SHEILA DIKSHIT'S POPULARITY DOWN

| Sheila Dikshit (Delhi) | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2011 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Satisfied with performance | 54 | 41 | 63 | 48 |
| Dissatisfied with performance | 40 | 49 | 31 | 48 |
| Nitish Kumar (Bihar) | | | | |
| Satisfied with performance | 93 | 89 | 79 | 93 |
| Dissatisfied with performance | 6 | 11 | 19 | 6 |
| Shivraj Singh Chauhan (MP) | | | | |
| Satisfied with performance | 68 | 70 | 81 | 78 |
| Dissatisfied with performance | 20 | 20 | 13 | 11 |
| Raman Singh (Chhattisgarh) | | | | |
| Satisfied with performance | 69 | 54 | 75 | 86 |
| Dissatisfied with performance | 23 | 24 | 12 | 13 |
| Narendra Modi (Gujarat) | | | | |
| Satisfied with performance | 63 | 63 | | 76 |
| Dissatisfied with performance | 18 | 23 | | 12 |
| Naveen Patnaik (Orissa) | | | | |
| Satisfied with performance | 70 | 75 | | 72 |
| Dissatisfied with performance | 16 | 13 | | 24 |
| Bhupinder Singh Hooda (Haryana) | | | | |
| Satisfied with performance | 62 | 58 | | 52 |
| Dissatisfied with performance | 23 | 18 | | 42 |

Question asked: What is your assessment of the Chief Minister of your State over the last few years? Would you say that you are 'satisfied' or 'dissatisfied' with his/her performance?

Delhi Chief Minister Sheila Dikshit's popularity has dropped considerably since 2008. But this is not the first time her ratings have gone down; they were worse when a similar survey was done in 2007. 'Satisfaction' with Nitish Kumar's work is even higher than it was when he was re-elected Bihar Chief Minister nine months ago. Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Shivraj Singh Chauhan's ratings are as high as they were when he was re-elected in 2008. Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Raman Singh's performance ratings are the highest they have ever been. For every one person 'dissatisfied' with Gujarat Narendra Modi's performance, there are six who are satisfied; in 2007 this figure was just three. Orissa Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik remains almost as popular as he was in 2007. However, the proportion of those 'dissatisfied' with his work has also gone up. Approval ratings of Haryana Chief Minister Bhupinder Singh Hooda have been declining steadily over the years.

ON THE SRIKRISHNA COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

| Recommendations of Srikrishna Commission report on Telangana | All | Telangana | Coastal Andhra | Rayalaseema |
|--|-----|-----------|----------------|-------------|
| Maintain the present status | 55 | 13 | 88 | 68 |
| Divide the State into Telangana and Seemandhra with Hyderabad as the capital of Telangana | 18 | 48 | 0 | 0 |
| Keep Andhra Pradesh united but create a Telangana Regional Council | 3 | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Divide the State into Seemandhra and Telangana with Hyderabad as a Union Territory | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| Divide the State into Rayala-Telangana and Coastal Andhra regions with Hyderabad as part of Rayala-Telangana | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Divide the State into Telangana and Seemandhra with enlarged Hyderabad as Union Territory | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Have not heard of the Srikrishna Commission report and its recommendations/No opinion | 20 | 27 | 10 | 26 |

Question asked: The Srikrishna Commission Report has provided six options on the issue of Telangana (See answer categories 1 to 6). Which recommendation do you agree with most?

A massive majority in Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra supports the 'status quo' (united Andhra) recommendation of the Srikrishna Commission. In Telangana, while the support for a division of Andhra is strong, it is nowhere close to the strong opposition to it in other parts of the State.

How to read the tables

- All figures in percentage and rounded off.
- Data for 2009 based on the National Election Study conducted during the Lok Sabha polls.
- Data for 2007 based on the State of the Nation survey conducted by the CSDS in January that year.
- Data for 2006 based on a poll conducted by the CSDS in July that year.
- If figures do not add up to 100 per cent, it is because some respondents had no opinion.

